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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XXVIII.

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History of the United Provinces, or Republic of Holland.

SECT. VII.

Containing the Death of Queen Elizabeth, and the Transactions which followed, to the Conclusion of the Truce with Spain and the Archduke Albert, in the Year 1609.

THIS year was ushered in by the death of queen Elizabeth, an event which was by no means disagreeable to the states general. The spirit of that princess was violent and arbitrary, and the superiority she assumed so disgusting, that necessity alone forced them to comply with her humour. The Hollanders had now thrown off that humility which characterised them, when the protection of the English queen was first implored; wealth, power, and the success of their arms, inspired a haughtiness which could not suit with the spirit of Elizabeth. From the character of James I. they hoped to find in him an ally equally powerful, but less troublesome and imperious.

A.D. 1603.

Death of Elizabeth, queen of England.

The states send ambassadors to James I.

rious. To secure the interest of this prince, a solemn embassy was sent to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of England. The ambassadors besought his majesty to continue the English auxiliaries in the pay of the states, and suffer them to be recruited; they expressed their hope that he would enter into a league with other powers of Europe, to oppose the aspiring views of Spain after universal monarchy; adding, that her late majesty having desired they would equip a squadron of large men of war to join an armament she intended against Spain, they had accordingly got ready nine ships and two frigates, which were lying in the Downs for his majesty's orders. To this address James answered in general terms, expressing his intention to live upon terms of friendship with the states general; but being just come to the crown, he declined involving himself in a war so early [a].

The court of Spain adopted the most vigorous resolutions to support the archduke, as they now entertained certain expectations that he would have no issue by Isabella, and of consequence the Netherlands would again revert to the crown of Spain. While mutual preparations were making, the governor of Boisleduc, by a stratagem, cut off five troops of confederate cavalry, most of whom he made prisoners. Upon this event Maurice determined to lay siege to the place; and though he could not expect to reduce it without artillery, which the depth of the roads prevented him from bringing up, yet to check the insolence of the garrison, and stop their incursions into the territories of the states, was an object of considerable importance. Thither Albert marched with all expedition; but on his arrival found that Maurice had not seriously determined on the siege, because he had neglected to occupy all the posts necessary for that purpose. To profit by the situation of the confederate army, the archduke detached, in the middle of the night, the marquis De Bella, with a select body of troops, to seize and fortify a post which would greatly straiten the enemy's quarters. Maurice had intelligence of the motion, and prepared to frustrate the design. He set out at the head of three thousand English, Scotch, and French, with whom he fell upon the marquis with such irresistible impetuosity, as soon obtained a complete victory, and possession of the important post disputed. It was this activity and penetration which rendered the prince on every occasion superior to his enemies, who possessed all his prudence and experience without that intuitive talent so

Maurice defeats a body of Spaniards.

[a] Le Clerc, lib. viii. Meteren, lib. xxv.

essential

essential to the general. After this action, the prince abandoned all the forts and works he had erected, and remained for two days encamped in the open country, at a short distance from the enemy, to provoke them to an engagement. But Albert had now so little inclination to try the fortune of a battle, that he retired, and, under pretence of the severity of the cold, put his troops in winter-quarters [b]. Such were the operations of the campaign, after the most vigorous resolutions had been taken on both sides, of pushing their operations with uncommon diligence and perseverance.

Progress of the siege of Ostend.

As to the siege of Ostend, it proceeded but slowly; both the general without, and the governor within, had been changed, but no considerable advantage resulted to either party. Rivas commanded the army, and practised every expedient to approve himself worthy of the trust; but he was repeatedly baffled by the diligence of Vander Noot, the governor. At last he succeeded in reducing three outforts, which he joined to the quarter commanded by fort Albert, by means of a great platform, mounted with heavy cannon, and surrounded with gabions full of earth. The garrison erected a battery, to frustrate the effects of this platform; and threw bombs so successfully, as to destroy the whole attempt, and cost the enemy infinite labour and expence. They seconded the fire of their battery by a vigorous sally, in which seven hundred Spaniards were killed, and an equal number made prisoners. Disappointed in this design, Rivas applied his mind to cutting off the communication between the garrison and the sea. Pompey Torgou, the best engineer in the service, contrived a kind of floating battery, which would have prevented the entrance of ships, provided it could be secured from the fury of the waves, by dykes and other defences. To raise these, above half the army was assiduously employed for several days, and when the work was almost perfected, Rivas had the mortification to see the whole destroyed by a storm of wind, and an incessant shower of bullets poured out from the heavy artillery of the garrison. Upon the whole, though no officer ever laboured with more diligence than Rivas, he made little progress; a circumstance which so chagrined the archduke, that he resolved to commit the conduct of the whole to the marquis Spinola. Before the marquis would accept that honour, he desired leave to examine the state of the siege; for which purpose he sent experienced officers to view the works. Some of these dissuaded him

[b] Grot. lib. xii.

from hazarding his reputation in an undertaking which must necessarily prove unsuccessful, from the impossibility of cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea. Others were of a contrary opinion; they believed the town must infallibly surrender in time, and that perseverance would surmount every difficulty. The love of glory stimulated Spinola to embrace this last opinion.

A.D. 1604. In the month of October he took charge of the army, and soon distinguished his capacity. Before the spring of the succeeding year he advanced his works so far, that the states general plainly perceived that Ostend could only be saved by hazarding a battle, or at least making such a diversion as would probably oblige the archduke to withdraw his army. The latter expedient was thought the least hazardous; and upon this the states resolved fixing for that purpose upon the siege of Sluys, a place so important that it would certainly engage the archduke's attention. The army, amounting to fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, embarked immediately for Zealand, where they were met by prince Maurice, attended by William Nassau, governor of Friseland, Frederic Henry Nassau, his brother, general of the horse, three other princes of the house of Orange, the prince of Anhalt, the deputies of the states general, and the council of state. Next day the fleet set sail for Flanders, and the troops landed on the banks of the canal Swartagate, after they had taken two small forts on the isle of Cadsant. It is imagined, that if Maurice had proceeded directly to Sluys, according to the advice of the deputies, he might have taken the place unprepared, and obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Ostend, by cutting off all their convoys of provision. On the contrary, he rejected the proposal, as attended with a thousand difficulties, which could only be foreseen by those who were experienced in the art of war; but the reasons he offered were such as confirmed the suspicions of the deputies that he was not desirous of finishing a war, upon the continuance of which depended his own great authority, and the elevation of the house of Nassau [c].

The states resolve to besiege Sluys.

Maurice proceeded with reducing all the out-posts which could obstruct the siege of Sluys. He took Isendyck, defeated a body of twelve companies of German foot posted at Ardembourg, and took possession of Middlebourg, in Flanders, which the enemy evacuated at his approach. Whether he ought not to have proceeded directly to Sluys, is what cannot be determined at this distance of time,

[c] Bentivog. par. iii. lib. vii. Meteren, ubi supra.

through

through all the miſts of prejudice and paſſion which obſcure this whole tranſaction. Albert had no ſooner intelligence of the motions of Maurice, than he detached Velaſco, general of the horſe, to take poſt at Damare, a ſtrong ſituation between Bruges and Sluys, and by every poſſible means to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy. Maurice determined to diſlodge him, and with that intention detached a numerous body of cavalry, under generals Ghend and Bax. The Dutch met with almoſt unſurmountable obſtacles, by reaſon of the difficulty of the roads, and the reſiſtance made by Velaſco. Bax was wounded, and his troops were on the brink of being defeated, when the infantry ſeaſonably arrived, renewed the engagement, forced the poſt, and defeated the Spaniards with great ſlaughter. Upon this ſucceſs the prince inveſted Sluys, evacuating all the poſts which commanded the town, and taking the beſt meaſures for preventing the garriſon from receiving ſuccours, until his lines were completed. Serrano, a Spaniſh officer of reputation, commanded in the town; but he was badly provided with neceſſaries, and ſupported only by a ſlender garriſon, of which circumſtance he gave the archduke immediate notice. Supplies of men and proviſion were frequently thrown in before Maurice had finiſhed his lines: one indeed would have imagined that he purpoſely ſuffered the garriſon to be reinforced, in order to try the ſtrength of his own capacity in reducing a town which had every advantage that nature and art could communicate. At laſt he had ſo completely inveſted it, that the archduke placed all his hopes of the ſafety of Sluys in the marquis Spinola, who was far advanced in the ſiege of Oſtend, and had gained more ground in a few weeks, than the former generals had gained in the two preceding years. Spinola however had too much diſcernment to undertake diſlodging prince Maurice, which was neceſſary for the relief of the garriſon. He found his lines too ſtrong, and drawn too judiciouſly to be forced. After having viewed the poſts, and found them impregnable, he marched with all expedition to Damare, where he attacked a detachment commanded by William of Naſſau, who received him gallantly, and ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole Spaniſh army, until he was ſupported by prince Maurice; and then Spinola was obliged to retreat, after having loſt above a thouſand men. Next day, the garriſon being reduced to the laſt extremity for want of proviſion, capitulated on honourable conditions, and marched out with their arms and baggage, but ſo emaciated and exhauſted, as to excite the compaſſion of their enemies. The garriſon of Sluys, when it

Sluys taken by prince Maurice.

ſurrendered, amounted to four thouſand men, ſo weakened with diſeaſe and hunger, that ſeveral hundreds dropt down dead in the ſhort march to Damare [d].

The ſucceſs of Maurice greatly chagrined Spinola. That prince had, in the ſpace of three months, reduced the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Netherlands; whereas the Spaniards had ſpent three years before Oſtend, and it was ſtill a matter of doubt whether they would ſucceed.

Spinola returning to the ſiege, ſoon demonſtrated the poſſibility of reducing the ſtrongeſt ſituations. He blew up mines every where, he made violent aſſaults, and hemmed the beſieged within ſo narrow a circle, as determined the fate of Oſtend. Several governors ſince Noot's departure had been killed, and a multitude of inferior officers were either ſlain or grievouſly wounded. Almoſt every ſhot from the enemies' batteries now did execution, as the balls fell within a ſmall compaſs wholly occupied by the troops. At laſt a ſtrong wind from the ſouth-weſt, at high water, gave the finiſhing blow to the works of the beſieged, which being newly erected in the room of others that were demoliſhed, could not withſtand the fury of the waves. They were all overturned, and it was afterwards in vain for the garriſon to reſiſt; however they refuſed to ſurrender before the ſentiments of the ſtates and prince Maurice were known. A council was immediately called at Sluys, to deliberate whether the relief of the garriſon was to be attempted, or the place immediately ſurrendered. The latter opinion prevailed, and orders were accordingly diſpatched to the governor. The capitulation, in which the garriſon and inhabitants obtained the moſt honourable terms, was ſigned the 20th day of September, above three years after the town had been firſt inveſted, and it had coſt the lives of a hundred thouſand brave ſoldiers. By means of this fortreſs, the ſtates general employed the whole ſtrength of Spain for three campaigns, and prevented the archduke from entering with a ſuperior army into the United Provinces, while it left Maurice at liberty to reduce Rimbach, Grave, and Sluys. Curioſity drew the archduke and ducheſs to ſee the remains of a place which had ſo long and glorioufly reſiſted the whole force of their arms; but ſcarce the veſtiges of what it had been could now be traced; all was a heap of ruins, and thoſe fine works, upon which ſuch vaſt ſums had been laviſhed, were reduced to rubbiſh and a mere chaos. As for Spinola, he was loaded with honours, and equally careſſed as if he had

Oſtend taken by Spinola.

[d] Bentivog. tom. iii. lib. vii. p. 177.

terminated

terminated the war. He went to the court of Madrid to ſolicit ſupplies for the enſuing year, was graciouſly received by the king, and promiſed all he required. He gave Philip a clear detail of the ſtate of the Netherlands, and the neceſſity of carrying the war into the enemy's country. He obſerved, that by croſſing the Rhine, and finiſhing their operations on that ſide, they might eaſily penetrate into the provinces, which they would find impracticable on the ſide of Zealand, where canals, rivers, and dykes, rendered the Hollanders inacceſſible. He repreſented, in the moſt lively colours, the diſorders conſequent on the mutiny of the troops, which proved the greateſt obſtruction to the ſervice, and demonſtrated that the diſeaſe was incurable, unleſs they were paid more regularly; for loyalty and fidelity did not require that ſoldiers ſhould fight upon truſt, and ſtarve in the cauſe of their country. He proved that the damages ſuſtained from the depredations of the mutineers coſt the government more than if they were ſcrupulouſly paid, and that the miſmanagement of the revenue was the whole ſource of the evil. The king and council were fully convinced with his reaſoning, and they entered immediately on the neceſſary meaſures to ſend Spinola back, with full power to remedy all the diſorders of which he complained. On his departure he was declared marſhal-general of the camp, and commander in chief of the Spaniſh and Italian forces. He had authority to diſpoſe of the king's revenues and troops in the provinces, in what manner he thought proper. He was created a knight of the Golden Fleece, and loaded with honours and preferments, which equally ſhewed the gratitude of Philip and the merit of Spinola [c].

A.D. 1605.

During the abſence of the marquis de Spinola, terrible diſturbances happened among the Spaniſh troops. Several of the mutineers had already entered into the ſervice of the ſtates; others were plundering the ten provinces, and ſome had the inſolence to demand the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of the Netherlands, as ſecurity for the payment of their arrears. Albert's ſituation was truly deplorable; the ſcarcity of money rendered him incapable of ſatisfying the troops, and his want of authority prevented his protecting his ſubjects from their violences. He became, through no fault of his own, equally obnoxious to the inhabitants and the ſoldiers, while the ſtates at the ſame time refuſed the ſupplies neceſſary for the maintenance of the court, until their de-

[c] Bentivog. tom. iii. lib. viii. p. 177. Meteren, lib. xxv. Le Clerc, lib. viii.

mands were anſwered, and aſſurances given that the foreign troops ſhould be withdrawn. Spinola fortunately arrived in time to ſtop the progreſs of an evil, which muſt ſoon have worked the ruin of the provinces. He began with immediately paying off the troops, and bringing them back to their duty, with redreſſing the grievances of the people, and giving all poſſible ſatisfaction to the ſtates. Then he ſet on foot his levies, which were proſecuted with ſuch diligence in Germany, Italy, and the provinces, that the ſtates general of the United Provinces became ſoon ſenſible of the neceſſity of oppoſing this vigilant officer with all their prudence and fortitude.

Motions of prince Maurice and Spinola.

Maurice had orders to augment the troops, and levy a body of horſe in Germany. The king of France promiſed ſuccours in a ſecret manner, and adviſed the ſtates to enable the prince to enter early upon action, and ſtop the deſigns of Spinola. By exerting his utmoſt endeavours Maurice had his army complete a month before their expectation. In the month of May he made a bold attempt on Antwerp, which proved fruitleſs, though it was planned with the utmoſt prudence, and conducted with all imaginable reſolution. The ſhipwreck of the veſſels employed in the enterprize ruined the whole, and afforded the Spaniards an opportunity of making a great number of priſoners. It was farther intended, by this expedition, to attack Spinola at his head-quarters in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, before his whole ſtrength was collected; but both enterprizes failed through a variety of croſs accidents. The prince having provided all the forts on the Scheld with every neceſſary, reſolved to remove the ſeat of war into Flanders, to prevent Spinola's deſign of penetrating into the United Provinces; and the Italian general throwing a bridge over the river, enabled his troops to turn themſelves on every ſide, and commence hoſtilities in whatever quarter was found moſt convenient. Maurice was encamped in the neighbourhood of Iſendyck, and Spinola imagining his deſign was to attack Sas van Ghent, or Bruges, removed to a ſituation where he could watch the motions of the confederates, without any danger of being attacked, his camp being ſurrounded with fens and marſhes [f].

While the two principal armies were attentively obſerving each other, the archduke detached the count de Buquoi with a body of eight thouſand men, to ſeize upon certain paſſages of the Rhine. This officer, reduced Keiſerſ-

[f] Grot. lib. xiv. Meteren, ibid.

waert,

waert, into which the coadjutor of Cologne put a garriſon, thereby infringing the neutrality with reſpect to the United Provinces. The motions of count Buquoi put Maurice in fear that an attempt would be made on Reinbach; to prevent which, he detached his brother Henry, and Erneſt of Naſſau, to put this important place in a ſtate of defence. They encamped on the Rhine, threw a bridge over the river, and choſe ſuch a ſituation as ſhould enable them to ſuccour Weſel, Reez, Emmerick, or Rhimberg. Weſel armed the burghers in its own defence. The inhabitants of Liguen, Oldenzeel, Grol, and Bravoort, demanded ſupplies of them, and proviſions from the deputies who attended prince Henry, which they promiſed, and neglected, not imagining that Spinola would penetrate ſo far. In this opinion they were deceived; the marquis perceiving he could do nothing in Flanders, left the reduction of that province to count Frederic de Bergh, and ſuddenly arrived with five thouſand men on the banks of the Rhine, halting at Boorort. This river he croſſed on the 24th of July, having received intelligence that the provinces of Friſeland and Overyſſel were defended only by a ſmall body of forces. To ſecure his retreat, he ordered the count de Buquoi to build forts in certain poſts; and to conceal his deſign, it was debated in the archduke's cabinet-council, whether Grave, Sluys, Breda, or Bergen op Zoom, ſhould be inveſted. Informed of the fluctuations in the enemy's councils, the ſtates little imagined the United Provinces were in danger, and had accordingly neglected the precautions neceſſary to their ſecurity.

As ſoon as the forts at Keiſerſwaert were finiſhed, Spinola laid his plan of operations before the council, which met with univerſal approbation. He could not avoid traverſing the dominions of the duke of Cleves, and of other neutral princes; but he determined that his army ſhould maintain ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, as could afford no juſt cauſe of complaint: he ſent the count de Serle to aſſure the magiſtrates of the towns, that no violence ſhould be offered to the privileges of the inhabitants; leaving the count de Buquoi with a ſtrong detachment, to proceed with the reſt of the army through Cleves and Weſtphalia, and maintaining ſuch regularity and order, as even forces praiſe from the Dutch writers. Having penetrated into Overyſſel, he firſt preſented himſelf before Oldenzeel, at a little diſtance from Linguen, which was the principal object of his attention. In one day he reduced the former town, which was poorly fortified, ill provided, and weakly garriſoned. At the ſame time Trivulcio was detached to occupy

Spinola's conqueſts.

occupy all the poſts around Linguen, and take the proper meaſures for forming the ſiege. The garriſon of Linguen conſiſted of five hundred German ſoldiers, under the conduct of Cobbin, who had juſt begun to repair the fortifications, ſuffered from penurious motives to fall into ruins. The ſtates even neglected to lay in the neceſſary ſtores, becauſe they hoped prince Maurice could return ſoon enough from Flanders, to fruſtrate all the ſchemes laid by Spinola; but they ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of that frugality which had more than once endangered the ſafety of the provinces. The town was inveſted, and the approaches were ſo vigorouſly carried on, that Cobbin capitulated ten days after the trenches were opened. It was perhaps an error in Spinola, to check the ardour of his troops, and the rapidity of conqueſt, by loſing time in repairing the fortifications of Linguen; but his deſign was to ſecure a retreat, and maintain a footing in the province, ſhould he be forced to retire on the arrival of Maurice. He knew that a ſtrong garriſon would be able to employ the prince's ſtrength, while the Spaniſh forces might leiſurely quit Overyſſel, and carry their conqueſts into another provinces [s].

Prince Maurice was no ſooner acquainted with the intention of the Italian general, than he iſſued the neceſſary orders for preſerving his conqueſts in Flanders, and proceeded with his army to oppoſe the enemy in Overyſſel. His firſt deſign was to relieve Linguen; but the garriſon having ſurrendered before his arrival, he made diſpoſitions for covering all the other towns that lay expoſed. William of Naſſau, governor of Friſeland and Groningen, likewiſe began his march for the provinces, to remove the apprehenſions of the people, and ſecure their fidelity to the ſtates, in which views he proved ſucceſsful. The great object was to prevent Spinola from croſſing the Yſſel; for which purpoſe, Maurice ſtrictly watched his motions. After he was joined by William, the army amounted to nine thouſand infantry, and three thouſand cavalry, and was conſiderably augmented by a number of Spaniſh mutineers, who now wholly deſerted that ſervice, and proved extremely faithful to the ſtates general. Villar, the chief officer among the deſerters, attacked and defeated a detachment commanded by the baron de la Chaus, who was killed in the engagement. The vigilance of Maurice, and the advanced ſeaſon, obliged Spinola to retire, after he had left ſtrong garriſons in Linguen and Oldenzeel. He can-

[s] Le Clerc, lib. viii. Meteren, lib. xxvii.

toned

toned his troops round Malheim, at such distances as furnished the prince with the idea of surprising the Spaniards. A scheme for this purpose was drawn out; and had the execution been equal to the design projected, the Spaniards would have sustained an irretrievable blow. Prince Frederic and general Bax, were appointed to conduct this difficult and important enterprize, which failed through some misunderstanding. The attack was made by the cavalry, who were astonished to find the enemy drawn up, when they expected to have catched them unprepared; however, the onset was made with such impetuosity, as would have produced the desired effect, had not Spinola arrived with fresh forces, renewed the engagement, and after an obstinate conflict, turned the fortune of the day, when a body of Dutch infantry appeared in support of their countrymen. The action was now a second time renewed with redoubled fury, and the combatants were continually augmented, with troops powering in from all quarters. In the end, the Spaniards would have obtained a complete victory, had not two battalions of French, commanded by the count de Chatiller, secured a retreat to the Dutch, by keeping up a close, unremitting fire on the enemy's flank, which extended towards the river.

Prince Maurice checks his progress, but fails in an enterprize finely projected.

Such was the issue of a plan, upon which Maurice placed great dependence. The loss was considerable on both sides, but writers are divided with respect to the number. Bentivoglio alledges, that Spinola left three hundred dead in the field; but that the loss of the Dutch exceeded five hundred men, besides Emmerville, the best officer among the French auxiliaries[g]. Meteren on the contrary, affirms, that Maurice had two hundred men killed, and the enemy near three times that number; whereas Grotius reckons the loss pretty equal, but allows the victory clearly in favour of Spinola, the Dutch being not only disappointed in the intention of the attack, but forced to leave the field of battle. What beyond doubt determines the dispute, is, that the enemy immediately afterwards laid siege to Wachtendock, and reduced this strong fortress, without the prince's having it in his power to relieve the garrison. While this siege employed the count de Buquoi, to keep up the credit of his arms, Maurice made an attempt on Gueldres, which proved unsuccessful, and rather contributed to augment the disgrace he endeavoured to avoid. These misfortunes, however unjustly, affected the

[g] Bentivog. p. iii. lib. vii. p. 187. Meteren, lib. xxvii. p. 574. Grot. lib. xiv. p. 470.

reputation

reputation of this great commander, who was often under the neceſſity of acting agreeable to the inſtructions of the ſtates, contrary to his own ſentiments; frequently he entruſted the execution of delicate enterprizes to his officers, and was always curbed by a faction, which now openly profeſſed themſelves enemies to the aſpiring ambition of this prince, and the growth of the houſe of Orange.

We ſhall conclude the tranſactions of the year with obſerving the rapid progreſs of the infant India company, which not only received the joyful news of vaſt conqueſts made in Aſia, of ſeveral rich captures of Portugueſe Indiamen, but of the ſafe arrival of thirteen large ſhips, loaded with ſpices, and the moſt valuable merchandize of India.

Naval affairs

About the ſame time, a Dutch ſquadron, equipped for that purpoſe, had the good fortune to fall in with a fleet of tranſports, which was carrying a battalion of Spaniſh forces to recruit Spinola's army. The tranſports were chiefly Engliſh, except a few Hamburghers: they hoiſted the Engliſh flag; notwithſtanding which, the Dutch admiral attacked them with great fury, ſunk ſome, took others, and purſued the reſt to Dover, where he fired warmly upon them within reach of the Engliſh cannon. Five companies of ſoldiers were taken or deſtroyed, the ſeven remaining companies were blocked up for ſeveral weeks, and James was forced to put up with this violation of the neutrality, contenting himſelf with fruitleſs, diſregarded remonſtrances. His cautious, timid diſpoſition, could not long eſcape the diſcernment of the Dutch (A), and they ſeemed willing to revenge upon him the haughty uſuage they had been compelled to bear from the ſpirited Elizabeth. This year was likewiſe ſucceſsful in cruizes upon the Dunkirk privateers, many of which were taken, and their crews immediately hanged; by which example they were ſo terrified, as to keep cloſe in port, and ſuffered the Dutch commerce to proceed unmoleſted.

A.D.1606. The year was uſhered in with demands from the council of ſtate of the United Provinces, for ſupplies to ſupport

(A) It muſt however be confeſſed, that the ſtates general had reaſon to reſent the conduct of king James, who, according to their writers, took every opportunity of favouring the archduke and the Spaniards. He had not only withdrawn the Engliſh forces, but ſuffered them to be employed in the Spaniſh ſervice, and recruited in England. Beſides, the tranſports on this occaſion were almoſt all Engliſh, a circumſtance which could not fail of being deemed a violation of the neutrality he profeſſed.

the

the expences of the ensuing campaign. It appeared that the public charges were considerably augmented, without the army's being proportionably increased. Twelve hundred thousand florins were assigned for the extraordinary expences of the land forces; besides which, the council proposed that the provinces should liquidate all the sums due since the year 1599, which amounted to twelve millions of florins. The former demand was readily granted; but all the provinces exclaimed violently against an exaction, which would entirely impoverish the people, though it was no more than they had subscribed for the public service, and which, if performed, would have enabled prince Maurice to ruin Spinola, and terminate the war in a single campaign. Still, however, a faction exclaimed against the prince, and attributed the prolongation of the war to his ambition and avarice; although it was demonstrable, that, unable to keep the field, he was forced to act defensively, and was even too weak to succour Rhimberg, when besieged in the month of August.

Difficulties about raising the supplies in Holland.

Spinola's circumstances were altogether different. That general, when the campaign was finished, repaired to Brussels, to concert the plan of future operations with the archduke, and was so fortunate as to have all his proposals approved; but the concurrence of the court of Spain was necessary for the carrying them into execution, and it was presumed, the lively representations of Spinola would greatly influence his Catholic majesty. Accordingly he set out for Madrid, and was received by the king with the utmost cordiality. His proposals were immediately applauded; but the difficulty was to raise the sufficient supplies. Three hundred thousand doubloons a month, besides the revenues of Flanders, were demanded for the vigorous prosecution of the war, which was a sum too vast even for the Spanish monarchy, assisted with the treasures of Mexico and Peru, already drained by continual wars of near forty years standing. The best measures possible were however taken to answer Spinola's expectation, and with such alacrity did the whole court embrace the scheme presented, that an advanced sum of money was immediately remitted to Brussels, to make fresh levies. But the plan of operations was in some respects disconcerted by the tediousness of the negotiations at Madrid, and a fever which Spinola afterwards contracted, that prevented his return to the Netherlands, until the summer season was pretty far advanced.

Spinola obtains promises from the king of Spain of the necessary supplies.

This delay probably saved the United Provinces. The states spent the whole winter in deliberating upon the means

means of supporting the expences of the campaign, and the troops that would be necessary. The levies were not begun till late in the spring, and even then made under a variety of disappointments. The French king, embroiled with the duke de Bouillon, forbid troops to be raised in his country, and a war kindled in the territory of Brunswick, obstructed the levies made in Germany; above all, the parsimony and unseasonable frugality of the Dutch had almost ruined their affairs. At last the business of recruiting was undertaken, and Henry permitted a small body of French to pass into the Netherlands, before the end of the campaign [h].

He takes the field and enters the provinces.

Spinola did not hesitate about seizing the advantage gained by his superiority. He had two armies in the field; one composed of twelve thousand foot and two thousand horse, he led in person; the other, amounting to ten thousand infantry, and one thousand two hundred cavalry, was under the direction of the count de Buquoi. Both were provided with every necessary, and constantly attended by two thousand waggons loaded with provision. Advancing to the country of Twente, Spinola ordered the count de Buquoi to pass the Vaal, and enter the enemy's country; but in this attempt he was frustrated by the vigilance of Maurice, who raised such a variety of obstructions, as it was impossible to surmount. Baffled in his principal design, Spinola resolved not to lose the whole fruits of his superiority, and accordingly invested Grol, a circumstance which obliged Maurice to march to the relief of the garrison. He met with numberless difficulties in succouring the place; but was on the point of succeeding, and had wrote to the governor an assurance of speedy assistance, when the letter being intercepted by Spinola, and the siege vigorously pushed, the garrison was compelled to surrender in despair. This event obliged the prince to retire, and so animated the Spanish troops, that Spinola undertook the siege of Rhimberg. The prince de Soubise, and several volunteers of distinction, immediately threw themselves into the town, with a view of displaying their courage; the defence was obstinate; but colonel Utenhove was at length under the necessity of capitulating. Maurice, in vain practised every method to save Rhimberg; he would even have ventured a battle, had the states approved of so desperate a remedy; but all was in vain; the activity of Spinola rendered his utmost endeavours fruitless.

[h] Le Clerc, lib. viii. Meteren, lib. xxviii.

Scarce

Scarce had the Spaniſh general completed the reduction of this ſtrong town, when the troops mutinied. At firſt he endeavoured to prevail on them by arguments to return to their duty, and finding reaſon uſeleſs, he employed force. This augmented the evil, and more enflamed the paſſions of the mutineers, who thought themſelves hardly enough uſed in being deprived of their pay. They even increaſed to two thouſand horſe and foot, retreating towards Breda, where they could inſure quarters. Maurice took advantage of the ſpirit of rebellion, and the ſickneſs that prevailed in the Spaniſh army. He marched towards Overyſſel, with intention to recover the late loſſes ſuſtained by the provinces. He began with Lochem, which he reduced in three days, and then proceeded to Grol; but he had ſcarce formed the ſiege of this place, when he foreſaw numberleſs difficulties in the proſecution. Still however he purſued his deſign, in expectation that the confuſion in Spinola's army would prevent his giving him any annoyance. Confiding in this hope, he abated of his uſual caution. Spinola's intelligence was good; he aſſembled eight thouſand infantry, and twelve hundred horſe, and ſet out with the utmoſt ſecrecy and expedition to attack the prince's quarters, while the garriſon, informed of his intention, kept up a briſk fire on the beſiegers. Maurice however had advice of Spinola's march; he conſulted the deputies what ſhould be done, and had their conſent to hazard a battle, if neceſſary. But he did not chuſe to riſque the ſafety of the provinces on the iſſue of an engagement; though the French auxiliaries, and even the Dutch troops, loudly demanded battle. On this occaſion, he certainly acted with prudence, though it afforded a handle to his enemies, to cenſure his courage, and at the ſame time his deſire to prolong the war. Maurice had too much fortitude and true magnaminity to enter upon dangerous meaſures for mere popular applauſe. He had already exhibited too many proofs of courage, to be juſtly taxed with cowardice, and he left his general conduct to ſpeak for his fidelity. In a word, he reſolved to retire, and executed his purpoſe in ſo maſterly a manner, that Spinola did not think proper to purſue; and contented himſelf with reinforcing the garriſon [1].

His troops mutiny.

He relieves Grol.

After Spinola had accompliſhed the relief of Grol, he returned to Bruſſels, to remedy the diſorders which threatened deſtruction to the archduke's affairs. Every method was tried to appeaſe the mutineers, and in ſome

1 Bentivog. par. iii. lib. vii. p. 107.

meaſure

meaſure with ſucceſs. Such was the confidence they repoſed in Spinola, that they returned, upon his promiſe that their arrears would ſoon be advanced; but the remittances from Spain falling ſhort of expectation, he failed in his engagements, and yet ſtill had the good fortune to retain the affections of the ſoldiers, who ſhifted the blame from him, upon the ſhoulders of the archduke. In fact, Spinola and his friends had advanced large ſums to the crown of Spain, of which they began now to dread the loſs, together with the blighting of thoſe laurels acquired in the two laſt campaigns. But the difficulty conſiſted in extricating himſelf. To throw up his command, would but leſſen all his proſpects of being reimburſed, and to continue his commiſſion, would be hazarding the reputation he had gained with ſo much toil and labour. In theſe circumſtances his only hope was, that the United Provinces would not take advantage of the ſituation of the Spaniſh army; but would, from their uſual principle of frugality, involve Maurice in the ſame difficulties that attended him from the neceſſities of the court of Spain. Such was the ſituation of affairs at the cloſe of the campaign [k].

The ſtates general perceiving that little progreſs was made in the land-operations, thought the moſt effectual method of diſtreſſing Spain, and of concluding the war at a ſmall expence, would be to harraſs the Spaniſh ſhipping, and deſtroy the commerce of that kingdom. In purſuing this deſign, not only the expence of a fleet would probably be reimburſed by captures, but the Dutch trade greatly promoted, and new colonies erected on the ruins of the Portugueſe eſtabliſhments. One grand fleet was accordingly equipped to cruize on the Spaniſh coaſt, to watch the arrival of the plate flota, and protect the commerce of the provinces. This armament was preparing, when advice was received that a Dutch ſquadron of ſeven ſhips had fallen in with eight galleons from Peru. The Spaniards attacked the Dutch with great vigour, but met with ſo warm a reception, that two of the galleons were burnt, and the reſt ſo roughly handled, that three foundered at ſea and were loſt. This misfortune was ſeverely felt by the king of Spain, though it produced no immediate advantage to the Hollanders. It raiſed his indignation to ſuch a height, that he fitted out a ſquadron to intercept the Dutch, met them in their return, took the whole fleet, and ſent orders to the admiral to treat the priſoners in

[k] Le Clerc, ibid. Grot. lib. xiv.

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the ſame manner as the Dutch had uſed the Dunkirk pirates; upon which the crews were immediately hanged. To revenge this cruelty, the ſtates gave orders to admiral Hautain, who commanded their grand fleet, to attack the Caracca flota in the river Tagus, and burn and deſtroy the whole without mercy; but he was fruſtrated in this attempt, and forced to ſatisfy himſelf with ſome unſucceſsful deſcents on the coaſts of Spain and Portugal. As he was ready to quit his ſtation, eight galleons homeward bound were diſcovered. Hautain immediately gave chace, and drove two of the galleons on the rocks, where they periſhed; the reſt entered the Tagus, and eſcaped. Soon after he was overtaken in a terrible ſtorm, in which the whole fleet were diſperſed, and ſeveral ſhips were loſt. His ſquadron was now reduced to thirteen ſail, including frigates and brigantines, when the flota of Don Faiſardo, compoſed of nine men of war, and eighteen galleons were deſcried. The immenſity of the booty in view determined the Dutch admiral to attack the enemy, though greatly ſuperior to him in ſtrength. He endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, and was diſappointed. Vice-admiral Claſſen was ſeparated in this tack from the reſt of the Dutch fleet, attacked by five ſhips of the enemy, and engaged with the utmoſt fury. He defended himſelf for ſeveral hours with great intrepidity; but his main-maſt being ſhot away, and his ſhip otherwiſe greatly ſhattered, he reſolved to blow himſelf and crew into the air, rather than ſtrike to an enemy who had lately ſo cruelly treated his countrymen. This deſperate deſign he executed with admirable conſtancy, and periſhed with one hundred and fifty brave ſoldiers and ſkilful mariners. The engagement was warm between Hautain and the Spaniſh admiral, but night ſeparated the combatants, and prevented the deſtruction of both parties, who were each reſolved to die or conquer °. Such were the tranſactions of this year, towards the cloſe of which the richeſt India fleet ever ſeen from India arrived, with the agreeable news of farther advantages gained in Aſia, and the proſperous ſituation of the company's affairs.

The court of Spain begins to talk of peace.

The infinite loſſes ſuſtained by the Spaniards, by ſea and land, in Europe, Aſia, and America; the immenſe expences of the war; the little probability of reducing the provinces; the exhauſted ſtate of the treaſury; the vaſt debts contracted by the crown; and the mutinous diſpoſition of the troops, all ſuggeſted the firſt idea of the neceſſity of a truce with the obſtinate Hollanders. It was now ſeriouſly deli-

° Grot. lib. xv.

berated in council, and the motion supported by the persons most attached to the interests of their king and country. The Portuguese, who were the greatest sufferers in their East India traffic, made strong remonstrances to Philip III. on the damages sustained from a ruinous war, in which they were no way concerned. They had lost an infinity of rich ships, were deprived of their best establishments in the Indies, stripped of their commerce, and in the open way to destruction, if a speedy issue was not put to the disturbances in the Low Countries, which had already cost Spain and Portugal above double the intrinsic value of the Seven Provinces. They asserted, that the difficulty of the war would every year increase, with the inability of Spain to support it; that the enemy were growing rich and powerful upon the ruins of their trade and navigation, and would every year prove more formidable. They added, that the natural situation of the provinces, surrounded by deep rivers and the ocean, rendered them impregnable; and if Spain could not succeed through the spirited conduct of such generals as the duke of Parma and the marquis Spinola, while she exerted her utmost force, how could she expect a fortunate issue under any other generals, when her strength was spent and exhausted? Philip, wholly occupied with the pursuit of pleasure, was naturally pacific, and had prosecuted the war by the advice of his council rather than from inclination. His ministers insinuated to him that the French king was labouring to unite the provinces to his own crown, in order to extend his dominions over the Netherlands. It was, beyond doubt, less disadvantageous and dishonourable to Spain, to suffer the provinces to enjoy their liberty, and become a free state, than to fall into the hands of a powerful and ambitious rival, who was mounting by large strides to an equality with the house of Austria. The success of the infant India company, afterwards established upon a larger basis, made the king apprehensive, not only of the loss of his colonies in the East, but of that vast empire he possessed in the West Indies. It was at the same time whispered, that the Dutch would afford the Moors shipping to transport vast armies into Spain; and indeed it is astonishing that the provinces, amidst all their distresses, never attempted making this diversion. These considerations, joined to the inclinations of the archduke and Isabella, who were quite wearied out with the perpetual complaints of their subjects, determined Spain to make overtures for a truce. Even Spinola, was of opinion that it was better to enjoy the ten provinces in security and peace, than risque the whole Netherlands, and ruin Spain, in the fruitless attempt to conquer

rebel

rebel subjects, who had too long tasted the sweets of liberty, ever again to bear with ease the shackles of monarchy and absolute dominion. He said, that if to their growing empire in Asia, they should add establishments in America, Spain would be reduced to its primitive poverty [p].

Objections to a peace in Holland.

These sentiments of the Spanish court transpired before any formal proposals had been made. In Holland some alleged, that the report of pacific designs was industriously propagated, only to lull the provinces into security. Numbers of people pretended to discredit the rumour, because they lived, and had raised fortunes by the war. Others found out, that a peace would dissolve the union of Utrecht, and bring the trade of Holland and Zealand back again to Antwerp. On the other hand, the provinces most exposed wished for an equitable peace, and all moderate persons desired to see the public tranquillity re-established on such a footing as should secure the liberty of the provinces. These were the general sentiments of both parties, when the commissioners Walrave and Wittenhorst arrived from the archduke at the Hague, to make some proposals touching a congress. Prince Maurice was then in Overyssel; and the deputies to whom the ambassadors addressed themselves, gave such discouragement, that they returned to Brussels, without having publicly communicated their instructions. They were again sent to the Hague in the month of December, with orders to acquaint the states, that they had instructions from the archduke to assure them of the sincerity of his pacific views, and readiness to grant any reasonable terms. They were farther impowered to offer the states either a peace or truce, and the choice of time and place for fixing a congress, where the articles might be adjusted. To these assurances and demands the states general refused to give an answer, because the ambassadors had brought no letters expressly addressed to the states. This difficulty was not foreseen; but, to remove it, one of the ambassadors set out for Brussels, obtained the letter required, and returned to the Hague. Now the ambassador demanded a public audience of the states general, and obtained it on the 3d of January. They read publicly the arch- A.D.1607.

The archduke sends deputies to the Hague.

duke's letter, professing his hearty desire to heal up those wounds which had so long afflicted the Netherlands; they commented upon the letter; represented the uncertain event of war, the misery of the people, and the duty of conciliating fellow-subjects who were unhappily divided by civil discord. The states general answered, that while the

[p] Bentivog. par. iii. lib. viii. p. 204.

archduke formed any right to the United Provinces, it was impoſſible they could ever conſent to a treaty; that all the world allowed they were born a free people, and their highneſſes could never make out their pretenſions to dominion over them but by force; that it was incumbent on the ſtates to recover what had been inſidiouſly and oppreſſively wreſted from them; that they could not conſent in conſcience, in honour, or ſafety, to treat with princes who formed pretenſions on their undoubted liberties, until ſuch pretenſions were ſolemnly abjured; as for the reſt, they declared they would be no ways acceſſary to the evil conſequences which might enſue, ſince their reſolutions were all formed in ſelf-defence, and founded on juſtice and the natural rights of mankind, all of which dictated, that ſubjects might lawfully oppoſe the ambitious encroachments of their ſovereigns, and draw their ſwords againſt princes in defence of liberty [q]. With this anſwer the ambaſſadors returned, promiſing that they would ſoon acquaint the ſtates with the archduke's ſentiments.

It muſt be acknowleged that the general ſentiments of the United Provinces were averſe to peace; that the ſtates treated the archduke cavalierly, and raiſed all poſſible obſtructions in the way of a negociation; but ſuch were the circumſtances of the courts of Madrid and Bruſſels, that they now waved punctilio, and were contented to effect at leaſt a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities upon any tolerable conditions. With this view John Neyen, an eccleſiaſtic, extremely converſant in politics, inſinuating in his addreſs, able, penetrating, ſubtle, and eloquent, was again diſpatched to the Hague. Neyen was acquainted perſonally with the principal men in Holland; he had a great number of friends in that country, and, though a Catholic, was exceedingly beloved by the reformed, becauſe he had the art to make his opinions ſeem moderate. On his arrival he found the ſtates immoveably fixed in their reſolution to liſten to no terms, unleſs they were treated and addreſſed as a free people. To this demand the archduke had ſtrong objections, becauſe it was in fact acknowleging that he had hitherto maintained an unjuſt war; that he was in no condition to continue it; and that he had really no juſt pretenſions to the ſovereignty of the United Provinces. He apprehended that ſuch a conceſſion would be injurious to Philip's and his own reputation; and he was ſenſible of the danger of rewarding rebellion with liberty. However, neceſſity overcame his ſcruples, and he determined to grant

[q] Baudius de Judiciis, lib. i. p. 4.

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the demands of the states general, hoping, that if the negociation should turn out to his advantage, the event would plead his apology, and excuse the means he had practised of restoring peace to his subjects; but he first gave instructions to Neyen to endeavour to procure some mitigation of this hard preliminary condition. Neyen expatiated to the states on the archduke's pious intentions to spare the effusion of Christian blood, and of treating with the provinces upon the most equitable footing; he eloquently explained the mutual obligations of sovereigns and subjects, and enumerated with admirable address all the arguments in favour of indefeasible right, a topic since that time so hackneyed in other countries; he launched out upon the blessings of peace, and the advantages which the commerce of the United Provinces, in particular, would deduce from the establishment of public tranquillity; but he artfully avoided touching upon the liberty of the states general, and the preliminary demanded. Finding all his arguments to induce them to relax in this particular fruitless, he returned to Brussels, and was in a few days sent back with full powers to negociate with the United Provinces, as a free state, over which neither the Catholic king or the archduke had any just claim to sovereignty. He was directed to conclude either a truce or perpetual peace, according as he found the states general disposed; to offer them the choice of their own deputies, and the time and place for fixing the congress; and, to facilitate the treaty, to demand a suspension of arms for the space of eight months, during which no hostilities of any kind should be permitted; provided, however, that the propositions should in eight days be accepted. These overtures were contained in a writing, signed by the archduke on the 13th day of March, 1607, and accepted by a similar writing signed by the states on the 24th of April. At the same time, orders to suspend hostilities were reciprocally sent to all the governors of towns, generals, and commanders in either service. The articles of truce were exchanged at Lillo; and the archduke left the farther explication of the agreement of suspension to his envoy Neyen, who desired leave for this purpose to repair to the Hague. As Neyen received no immediate answer to his request, he construed the silence of the states into consent, set out for the Hague, and, on the 1st day of June, published an edict, whereby he declared, that the suspension took place at sea as well as land, limiting it however to the Northern ocean and the British channel. In this edict the frontiers were adjusted, as were several other particulars, which had before been omitted.

Foreign ministers, particularly the French ambassador at the Hague, were made acquainted with the determination of the states, and invited to send plenipotentiaries to assist at the congress. In consequence of this intimation, the French king sent the president Jeannin, and the sieurs Roissi and Busenval to Holland, where, on their first arrival, they gently expostulated with the states, for having come to a resolution so important to the tranquillity of Europe, without having previously acquainted their master with their intention, and received the advice of so constant and necessary an ally [r]. James, king of England, likewise promised that his ambassadors, Spencer and Winwood, should attend the congress.

Obstructions raised by the states to the progress of the negociation.

The chief difficulty that remained regarded the manner of opening the negociation. The deputies of the states foresaw the great revolution in affairs which so sudden a change from war to peace would produce, especially should prince Maurice disapprove of the treaty. The reputation acquired by the prince in the long course of his services, rendered him very powerful and very popular. Maurice was not only at the head of the army, but he held the stadtholdership of four out of the seven provinces, and the rest were under his direction, as his two cousins were governors. Several of the states became jealous of his authority and ambition; they united into a faction, pretended to fear that Maurice's popularity would aspire at absolute dominion, and gave themselves up to the direction of Barneveldt, pensioner of Holland, a minister equally able and faithful. They saw that the continuance of the war would certainly increase the prince's authority, and a truce proportionably diminish it, and open the way to the exertion of the functions of civil power: this consideration disposed the whole party to wish for the treaty, and to advance its progress and issue with all their weight and influence. It was farther necessary, they alleged, to shew their allies that the states had it in their power to conclude peace when they pleased; a demonstration which would render them more independent on their allies, oblige France to declare more openly, and induce all their allies to afford real, instead of imaginary assistance and large promises. On the other side, the Orange party threw all possible obstructions in the way of the treaty, receiving every proposal with great coldness and arrogance, starting punctilious difficulties upon every expression, and obliging the archduke, upon every trifling occasion, to send expresses into Spain,

[r] Metteren, lib. xxviii. Grot. Hist. lib. xvi.

and

and wait their return, without advancing a ſtep in the negociation. In this intereſt may be included the bulk of the people, as well as the whole body of militia by land and ſea. The former, by long habit, had contracted invincible prejudices againſt Spain, and the latter propoſed the improvement of their own fortunes. But there was one conſideration which weighed ſtrongly in favour of the oppoſite faction. This was the decline of the vaſt Spaniſh monarchy, ſo formidable under Charles V. and Philip II. owing to extenſive projects, ambitious councils, and unfortunate events. On the contrary, France was riſing to a great degree of power, conducted by a prince enterpriſing, conſtant, and intrepid. This king put an end to all domeſtic diſcord and misfortune by a peace with the houſe of Auſtria. It was obvious, however, that the temper of the nation, long accuſtomed to conſtant heats and commotions, would not long remain quiet without exerciſe; and to prevent the people from finding employment at home, it might be neceſſary for the king to contrive work for them abroad, which might at the ſame time promote the views of his own ambition. Flanders had anciently formed a part of the Gallic monarchy, and its princes derived and held their power of the kings of France. An enterprize to recover the ancient demeſnes of the crown lay extremely convenient, and ſeemed perfectly congenial to the diſpoſition of Henry, who was at this very time making great preparations, which might very probably fall on this ſide, if invited by any greater decay of the Spaniſh power in the Netherlands. It was farther obſerved, that the authority of Spain in the Low Countries was ſupported by treaſures, which came by long and perilous voyages from Spain; and by troops drawn from thence, from Italy, or Germany, at a great hazard and expence. The territory of the ten provinces was inconſiderable, and awed by the neighbourhood and jealouſies both of France and England; but if Henry were once maſter of Flanders, the body of the French monarchy would be ſo great, ſo entire, ſo populous, and flouriſhing, as would make an attempt on the liberty of the United Provinces fatal, and completely deciſive. It was this idea of a political balance, as well as a dread of the ambition of Maurice, that actuated that able miniſter Barneveldt, though many of his party were excited by perſonal reſentment to the prince, and drawn over by the preſents and promiſes of Spain[s].

[s] Bentivog. p. 209. Meurſ. Rer. Belg. lib. v.

Beſides the contending intereſts of the two parties, the negociation met with another obſtruction. The archduke had indeed given his ſolemn aſſurance, that he would obtain a declaration from king Philip, ratifying the means he propoſed, and the terms he ſhould ſtipulate in the treaty; but hitherto no declaration of the Spaniſh court had appeared to confirm the preliminary ſteps to the negociation. Such a declaration was neceſſary, becauſe the Netherlands reverted to the crown of Spain at the deceaſe of the archduke without iſſue; in which caſe all treaties with him would prove void, unleſs they were concluded with Philip's conſent. At laſt the declaration, couched in form of two acts, was obtained; of which circumſtance Spinola gave notice to the ſtates, deſiring a paſſport for Lewis Verreiken, the archduke's ambaſſador. When Verreiken preſented the declaration to the ſtates general aſſembled at the Hague, it was objected, that the king had approved in general terms of all that had been done, and promiſed ſtrictly to obſerve the armiſtice; but that he had deſignedly ſlurred over the clauſe where it was ſpecified, that the archduke treated with the provinces on the footing of a free ſtate, over which he had no juriſdiction. Not only this, but ſeveral other particulars in the manner and ſtyle of the act, were diſpleaſing to the ſtates general. They reſented the title given the archduke of ſovereign of all the Netherlands; the act's being written on paper inſtead of parchment; the king's ſubſcription, We the king; the ſeal affixed, which was not the great ſeal of Spain; and the demand that the Dutch ſquadrons ſhould be immediately recalled from the Spaniſh coaſts. In the end, the ambaſſador was informed, that the ſtates could not accept the declaration without conſiderable amendments. Vereiken laboured to remove the objections. He inſiſted that the Catholic king would never have ratified the preliminaries ſtipulated by the archduke, had not his intentions been wholly pacific; that, procuring the amendments required, would only retard the negociation; but that if the ſtates would, in the mean time, proceed to buſineſs, he would engage to obtain the declaration they wanted, as ſoon as in courſe it could be expected. But this propoſal was poſitively refuſed; and the ſtates, for their own ſecurity, gave the ambaſſador copies of ſuch a declaration as would quiet their ſcruples, in the Latin, French, and Spaniſh Languages; that no miſtake through the equivocal ſenſe of words, might ariſe[t]. In theſe, ſeveral articles, relative to religion were inſerted, which, it

[t] Meteren, lib. xxviii. Le Clerc. lib. viii.

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was apprehened, the court of Spain would not grant; and indeed the writing would seem to be calculated with that design, and dictated by the partizans of the house of Orange.

When the second ratification arrived at Brussels, the first observation which occurred, was, that the great seal was not affixed; but this difficulty the archduke engaged to surmount, should the contents prove otherwise agreeable to the sentiments of the United Provinces. The article with respect to religion, it was foreseen, would occasion more trouble. Verreiken and Neyen were dispatched to the Hague with this new ratification; which, though it was supported with all their eloquence and address, could not gain the approbation of the states. They objected, that, like the former, it was written in a loose style, upon paper, and sealed with a private signature. However, to preserve the appearance of candour, they said they would communicate the ratification to the provincial states, and report their opinion in six weeks; adding, that if the archduke thought proper to appoint plenipotentiaries in ten days, they would follow his example, and send deputies to the congress. Before the ambassadors departure, the states desired that the original ratification might be left in their hands; but this request was refused, though Verreiken, to oblige them all in his power, remained at the Hague, kept the ratification, and sent his colleague to attend the archduke's commands. By the 14th of November Neyen returned from Brussels, with orders to deliver the ratification to the states, upon receiving their written promise to restore it, in case the negociation should prove abortive. Even this expedient was rejected, and Neyen again forced to set out for Brussels, where he obtained the archduke's leave to surrender the ratification, without any promise or written acknowlegement. From such punctilious conduct and fastidious cavilling, it was obvious that the Orange party prevailed; that the general sentiments of the people were not pacific; and that the negociation would at last prove fruitless.

While the treaty went on in this channel, letters addressed to the states were received from the emperor, in which he expressed his astonishment at their not acquainting the imperial court with their intentions. He reminded them that the Netherlands were formerly a part of the empire, and that consequently they could not claim the privileges of a free state without his consent; nor would any grants made by the archduke and the king of Spain prove valid, without the full approbation of the Aulic council.

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To theſe letters the ſtates returned a civil anſwer, excuſing themſelves by affirming, that they imagined the king of Spain and the archduke had given his imperial majeſty timely information, otherwiſe they ſhould not be wanting in this mark of reſpect. They repreſented the cauſes which induced them to throw off the ſovereignty of Philip, and now inſiſt on the privileges of a free people; they alleged their having already been acknowleged independent by ſeveral ſtates and ſovereigns; and laſtly, that they apprehended it properly belonged to Philip, to enquire whether he had a power to make the grants he propoſed; that, as for themſelves, they had long taken the reſolution of being free, or of periſhing in the defence of liberty.

Scarce had the ſtates general returned this anſwer, and received the compliments of ſeveral foreign princes, when the provinces reported their opinion, that the ratification was a ſufficient baſis for negociating a peace or truce. This reſolution had been carried in all the provincial ſtates, in deſpite of the objections raiſed by the Orange faction. Never did the talents of Barneveldt appear more conſpicuous than on this occaſion; on which he equally diſplayed the orator, the ſtateſman, and the patriot. After having deliberated with the ambaſſadors of France and Great Britain, the ſtates acquainted the archduke by letter, that they were ready to enter upon the negociation, provided that nothing ſhould be demanded repugnant to their privileges, or obliquely directed againſt their liberties; and that if he would nominate plenipotentiaries, they would appoint an equal number of deputies (A). Towards the cloſe of the year

(A) It was at this very time, when the attention of all Europe was fixed on the approaching congreſs, which was to determine the fate of the United Provinces, that the Hollanders planned the ſcheme of a Weſt-India company, which ſhould likewiſe trade to Africa, upon the model of the Eaſt-India company. The project met with obſtructions, on account of the peace now negociating; as it was apprehended the king of Spain would diſpute any grants which could be made out to the company. However, though the ſtates choſe to avoid raiſing difficulties in the way of the treaty, which the whole world would have attributed to their deſire of prolonging the war, they permitted their grand armament to ſet ſail in queſt of the Caracca fleet, ſoon expected. Admiral Hemſkirk accordingly ſteered for the coaſt of Spain, received information that a Spaniſh ſquadron of ſix men of war lay in the bay of Gibraltar, and made diſpoſitions for attacking the enemy. Juan Alvazes d'Avila, commanded the Spaniſh fleet. He was

year the armistice expired; and the archduke gave the states general notice, of his desire to prolong it for a month. He likewise acquainted them by letter, that he had nominated plenipotentiaries, and expressed his inclination that the congress might sit with the utmost expedition. The marquis de Spinola, Ricardot, Mancidor, the archduke's secretary, Neyen, and Verreiken, were appointed ambassadors. It gave umbrage, that not one native of the Netherlands should be chosen to adjust the articles of a treaty, that wholly respected this country; but the power was in the hands of the Spaniards, and by exerting it they proposed to gain some advantages to themselves [u].

In the beginning of the following year, Spinola and the other ambassadors set out for the congress. As soon as they arrived in the territories of the states, they were received by Justin Nassau, and conducted to the Hague, without any expence. In all the towns the people flocked to see Spinola, whose reputation was as great in Holland, as in the other provinces of the Netherlands; and at Dordrecht, prince Maurice met that general, who seemed to regard the prince with astonishment and admiration. Maurice expressed sentiments no less favourable to Spinola, and they both paid those compliments which were certainly due to each other's merit. Various were the sentiments of the people on the arrival of Spinola in Holland. Before the arrival of the plenipotentiaries, the states had prevailed on the French ambassadors, that their master should become gaurantee of the treaty intended; and they ventured to engage, that his majesty should assist the states with ten thousand men, in case it was broke through the fault of the king of Spain or the archduke. By the 4th of February, the states ge- A.D. 1608.

[u] Meteren, lib. xxx. Le Clerc, lib. viii.

was attacked by Hemskirk with the utmost resolution, and the engagement continued with great fury, until the Dutch admiral lost his arm by a cannon-ball. The death of so brave an officer caused some confusion in the fleet; but the spirits of the Dutchmen were soon roused, by the gallant conduct of Verhoef, who succeeded to the command. After an obstinate fight, d'Avila was killed, his ship run a-ground, and burnt by the garrison of Gibraltar, to prevent his being taken; the rest of the Spanish fleet was burnt, sunk, or destroyed, and the victory declared indisputably in favour of the Hollanders, though they received no other benefit from it than the destruction of the Spanish armament (1).

(1) Meteren, lib. xxviii. Le Clerc, lib. viii. p. 248.

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neral thinking it was time to open the negocitation, sent compliments to the ambassadors, and demanded their instructions. Then they appointed William of Nassau and the sieur Broderode, with a deputy from each province, to confer with them. John Barneveldt was chosen to represent Holland. All were assembled in a great hall provided for that purpose, and the first day was spent in examining their reciprocal powers, in which a variety of difficulties occurred. We shall only mention, that the Dutch deputies demanded whether the ambassadors proposed treating with them as the representatives of a free state? To which interrogation they were answered in the affirmative. They next enquired by what right the archduke retained the arms of the provinces, if he proposed resigning the sovereignty? It was replied, that he was directed in this particular by the practice of other princes, the king of Spain retaining the arms and title of king of Jerusalem; the French king, those of Bavaria; and the king of England, the arms and title of sovereign of France, though they possessed not a foot of land in those countries. In a few days the Dutch deputies produced a schedule of the particular privileges they demanded, and the form of resignation required. The Flemish ambassadors declined giving an answer, but sent the writing to Brussels; and received the archduke's consent, that this article should be granted, agreeable to the desire of the states general, in hopes that an equivalent might be obtained relative to the commerce of the Indies. The facility with which an article of such importance was given up, created suspicions in the states, that either the archduke was not sincere, or that the congress would prove fruitless, on account of extraordinary demands touching some other points; though in fact it proceeded from an extreme desire of terminating a war, which had equally exhausted Spain and the ten provinces.

The congress sits at the Hague.

The next object was a general armistice, restitution, and compensation of losses; articles which were without difficulty adjusted, by leaving matters in their present situation; but it was more delicate and dubious with respect to commerce. Both equally affected the extensive trade of the East Indies; they had each too long experienced the advantages of this commerce to resign any part of it without reluctance. The directors of the East India company were deeply concerned in the issue of this article, and they made the strongest remonstrances to the states general and the deputies. Four days were taken up with the single article of commerce; the debates were warm and spirited, but nothing was determined. At length the Dutch deputies declared,

declared, that nothing but the acceptance of one of three propoſals they had to make could terminate the diſpute. The firſt was, that the provinces, in conſequence of a peace, ſhould ever have free leave to trade to the Indies; the ſecond, that they ſhould have liberty, in conſequence of a truce, for a certain number of years, or that at leaſt there ſhould be peace on this ſide the tropics, and both nations be left to promote their ſeveral intereſts by arms on the other ſide the line. This laſt propoſition was made becauſe the Hollanders knew themſelves greatly ſuperior by ſea, and the Indian princes in general diſguſted at the Portugueſe government. Two of theſe propoſitions were immediately rejected; the one being directly contrary to an expreſs inſtruction, that the commerce with the Indies ſhould on no account be allowed to the provinces; and the other to the inclinations of the archduke; which determined him to have the peace general, or the congreſs diſſolved. As to the ſecond propoſal, the ambaſſadors declared they would accept it with this reſtriction, that the ſtates ſhould agree to renounce the India trade at the expiration of the truce. But this reſtriction was refuſed, and the ambaſſadors deſired that the article of commerce might be deferred until others were adjuſted.

Next the Dutch deputies demanded a liſt of the articles, of which the ambaſſadors propoſed treating; but this ſatisfaction was denied, until they conſented that no advantage would be taken of omiſſions, and that, whatever ſhould happen to be forgot, might not be excluded. The deputies ſet the example, and gave in a liſt of their propoſitions, contained in twenty-eight diſtinct articles. They were followed by a ſimilar catalogue exhibited by the ambaſſadors in ſeven articles, the principal of which turned upon religion; but they were expreſſed ſo equivocally, and arranged with ſo little method, as afforded a large field for cavilling. With this writing they preſented a requeſt, that the ſtates would draw out a ſcheme of the European and Indian commerce, which they would tranſmit to the courts of Bruſſels and Madrid, provided it contained nothing which appeared too ſevere to the catholic king and the archduke. The propoſal was accepted, the writing prepared, and a demand made, that both parties ſhould reciprocally depoſit a certain ſum in Spain and Holland, as ſecurity for the performance of their engagements. The articles were firſt examined at the congreſs, and debated with much warmth. Ricardot, in particular, was ſo affected with the inſolence of the deputies, that he ſhed tears, and lamented the unhappy ſituation of Spain, which reduced a great

great monarchy to the neceſſity of temporiſing with a ſet of burghers and merchants. Spinola managed his temper with more addreſs, and to his conduct it was owing that the congreſs had not broke up long before. Neyen was diſpatched to Brabant and Spain with the ſcheme of commerce, which now received conſiderable amendment; but ſtill the bill was too harſh, and long rejected by the proud ſtomachs of the Spaniards, who could not make conceſſions with any grace to thoſe whom they uſed to command. Theſe propoſals met with a variety of obſtructions at the court of Madrid, and Neyen's long ſtay rendered it neceſſary to prolong the armiſtice to the end of the year.

About this time the ſtates general received advice of negociations carried on at the court of France, which almoſt determined them to break off the conferences precipitately. While Neyen continued at Madrid, Don Pedro de Toledo was ſent to Paris, to engage Henry in the intereſt of Spain, and thereby deſtroy the fruits of the whole negociation at the Hague. Philip could not be prevailed on to acknowlege the freedom of the provinces, unleſs they previouſly renounced the commerce of the Indies; but finding that the French monarch was deaf to all his propoſals, he concealed his ſentiments, in hopes of obtaining his ends by dint of addreſs and refined policy. At laſt, the ambaſſadors declared, on the 20th of Auguſt, that their final inſtructions, reſpecting the three great points of religion, liberty, and commerce were arrived: that his Catholic majeſty was reſolved to acknowlege the freedom of the provinces, upon no other conditions than that they ſhould re-eſtabliſh the Catholic religion, and renounce the India commerce. Upon this declaration they retired, leaving the deputies to deliberate upon an anſwer with the ſtates general, the council of ſtate, prince Maurice, and William of Naſſau. Theſe having communicated the propoſal to the foreign ambaſſadors at the Hague, it was reſolved that the negociation was at an end: and a manifeſto was publiſhed on the 23d, in which, after enumerating all the tranſactions of the congreſs, the whole blame of the conſequences that might enſue from a rupture of the treaty was thrown upon Philip and the archduke. The manifeſto was delivered to the Spaniſh miniſters, who complained loudly of the manner in which they were treated. They then demanded an audience of the ſtates general, and obtained it on the 27th. Here they propoſed a truce for a certain number of years; and the ſtates general accepted the offer, on condition, however, that the ſovereignty and freedom of the province ſhould be acknowleged

leged during, and at the expiration of the truce. This article exceeded the powers of the ambaſſadors; but they remitted the propoſal to Bruſſels, and received for anſwer, that what the ſtates demanded could only be granted on their renouncing the commerce of India, and eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion in all the provinces; that however the archduke had forwarded their propoſitions to the court of Spain, expected an anſwer in a few days, and hoped the ambaſſadors might in the mean while be permitted to reſide at the Hague. In this manner the truce was ſpun out to the end of September.

In the mean time prince Maurice, who never approved of the negociation, apprehending that a truce at leaſt would enſue, ſhould the Spaniards relax in their conditions, ſent a circular letter to all the magiſtrates of the cities. This letter was dated the 21ſt of September, and tended to alienate the minds of the people from the truce in agitation. In the arguments urged on this occaſion, it was eaſy to diſcern the politician, the patriot, and at the ſame time the aſpiring prince. He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſtoration of popery, and aſſerted the ſovereignty of the provinces; but he at the ſame time artfully inflamed the minds of the people, and rendered them averſe to peace, poſſibly with a view to his own intereſt. Certain it is, that the truce propoſed was neceſſary to both parties, and would have proved beneficial, could it have been obtained on equitable conditions. Maurice however ſeemed averſe to it upon any terms; and it was perhaps more the intereſt of the Spaniards to have concluded a perpetual treaty of peace.

On the 24th of September, the ambaſſadors gave notice to the ſtates that they were now empowered to treat with the provinces as a free republic, and conclude a truce for ſeven years; during which both parties ſhould freely trade to each other's dominions in Europe, retain what they now poſſeſſed, and deſiſt from all acts of hoſtility. They acknowleged, however, that the archduke was not authoriſed by the Catholic king to grant theſe conditions; but that he hoped to get them ratified. The propoſal was communicated through the channel of the French, Engliſh, and Brandenburgh ambaſſadors; but it was rejected, unleſs the ſovereignty of the ſtates was abſolutely acknowleged without reſtriction, and free leave granted to trade to the Indies. As ſuch conceſſions exceeded the powers of Spinola and his colleagues, the conferences broke up, and the ambaſſadors took their leave. At parting, Ricardot aſſured the ſtates that the archduke had acted with the utmoſt ſincerity throughout the negociation; he blamed their obſti-

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nacy, exhorted the ſtates to reflect ſeriouſly on the conditions they had rejected, which they might probably hereafter not be able to obtain by intreaty and ſolicitations; and he concluded with ſaying, that they muſt be reſponſible for all the conſequent effuſion of Chriſtian blood, ſhould the war be reſumed. The ambaſſador was anſwered by the penſioner Barneveldt, who inſtanced, as a proof of the ſincerity of the ſtates general, their refuſal to enter upon the conferences, until their ſovereignty was acknowleged. He concluded with retorting the allegation, that they would be reſponſible for the future effuſion of blood, ſince the ſeverity of the Spaniſh councils firſt kindled the war. The tyranny of Philip II. furniſhed the fuel, and the pride and inflexibility of Philip III. prevented its being extinguiſhed, at a time when all the combuſtible materials were already conſumed [w].

The negociation of peace broke off.

Soon after the departure of the ambaſſadors, it was diſcovered that Ricardot had either forgot, or deſignedly left at his lodgings, the original inſtructions given to the Spaniſh miniſters. Theſe the ſtates publiſhed, with a long comment in their own vindication; though poſterity have juſtly conſtrued the inſtructions to their prejudice. In every line the archduke's pacific intentions were apparent, and nothing but the faſtidious and inſolent demands of the ſtates, their caviling humour, and punctilious conduct, would have prevented the eſtabliſhment of a truce, on the ſame terms on which it was afterwards obtained. All the foreign miniſters would ſeem to be of this opinion. They concurred in preſſing the ſtates at leaſt to conclude a truce; and the preſident Jeannin, in particular, enforced his advice with a variety of arguments. When the ſtates objected that no dependence could be placed on the promiſes of the Spaniards, who had ſo often violated their engagements, he replied, that his maſter, the king of France, would guarantee the treaty, attack the violators with all his forces, and ſupport with all his might that prudence and perſeverance which enabled an oppreſſed people to treat with their ſovereign on the footing of a free republic.

The republic divided into parties.

It has already been frequently intimated, that the provinces were divided into two factions, one of which totally rejected the truce, and every propoſal that did not immediately contribute to the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid and laſting peace. At the head of this party was prince Maurice; whoſe intereſt and aſpiring views made him, it is alleged,

[w] Grot. lib. xvii. Baudius, lib. iii. Meurſius, Rer. Belg. lib. v. Meteren, lib. xxx. Le Clerc, lib. viii. Clarendon's Hiſt. of the Rebellion, tom. i.

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prefer war to the most advantageous terms of accommodation. It was, however, dangerous to profess himself an enemy to the tranquillity of his country; he therefore chose the safer method of obtaining his ends, by arguing against the consequences of the truce, sensible that Spain and the archduke were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant peace on the terms the states would demand. Barneveldt was the oracle of the other faction; he entered warmly into the opinion of the French ambassador, and thought a truce ought not to be rejected, because perpetual peace could not be obtained; it would, at least, afford the provinces a breathing, to enable them to renew the war with redoubled vigour. He penetrated into all Maurice's views, and represented in the strongest colours the danger of servitude to a family, whose patriotism was only a cloak to their ambition. Libels and pasquinades, calculated to blow up the sparks of civil dissension, were every day published; nor did the Orange party scruple to tax the kings of France and England with selfish views, in recommending a truce which could not be rigidly observed; which in consequence would involve the provinces in numberless calamities, and thereby prove beneficial to the commerce of France and England. A number of anonymous letters, threatening an attempt on his life, were received by Barneveldt, all of which he laid before the states, saying, that, though he despised the anger of the great, and the resentment of the deluded vulgar, while he was conscious of faithfully performing the duty he owed to his country, yet he could wish to resign an employment which he found rendered him odious. With these words he quitted the assembly, and was soon followed by deputies, sent to exhort him not to abandon the state at this critical juncture, when his ability and integrity were most wanted. Upon resuming the functions of pensionary, he represented, in the most lively terms, the advantages deducible from the succours offered by the two kings, and the regard which ought to be shewn to their sentiments; he gave in an exact calculation of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war; he refuted all the objections made to the truce; and by the weight of his influence, the spirit and strength of his arguments, brought over the province of Holland to the opinion of the five other provinces, which had declared in favour of the truce. Zealand alone, swayed by private motives, on account of the rich captures made during the war, and the influence of Maurice, remained deaf to all terms of accommodation. The dispute grew high, the Zealanders insisting that to conclude a truce without their

consent would be a direct infraction of the union of Utrecht; and the others remonstrating upon the injustice of one province's giving law to all the others [x].

A.D.1609.

The conferences renewed, and truce concluded for twelve years.

In these disputes the year was spun out, without any progress made, either in the prosecution of the war, or of a temporary pacification. However Barneveldt, and the foreign ministers laboured with so much zeal and assiduity, that they prevailed on the archduke to prolong the armistice, and send deputies to confer with the French and English ambassadors at Antwerp. There the great point was gained, of renewing the conferences with the states general of the United Provinces, then assembled at Bergen op Zoom. In the end, the conferences were removed to the Hague; and, after infinite obstructions were surmounted, a truce for twelve years was concluded on the 9th of April, ratified on the 14th, then published in all the towns of the Netherlands, and joyfully received by the majority of the people, especially of the Spanish provinces. In the first article of the treaty the archduke, in his own and the king of Spain's name, acknowleged the United Provinces as a free state, renounced all claim to sovereignty over them, but in such general terms as would admit of altercation. In the second, a truce for twelve years, by sea and land, through all the dominions of both parties, was concluded. By the third article the parties were to remain in possession of what they now held, without cession or exchange. In the fourth a general amnesty was stipulated, and full freedom of trade, by sea and land, granted to each other's dominions. This necessarily implied a cessation of hostilities in the Indies; however, great debates afterwards arose upon this account. Spain observing the rapid progress of the Hollanders in the India trade, apprehended they would soon become too powerful in that quarter; and the Dutch were willing to maintain the advantage of their superiority. Both, for this reason, disputed the article; yet it could not be set aside without destroying the whole treaty, and the fruits of all their laboured conferences. The fifth article regulated the imports, and duties to be paid by the subjects of the archduke and the states, trading to each other's dominions, which were to be on the same footing with those of other nations. The archduke used his utmost endeavours to have the duties at Lillo, on the Scheld, abolished, and the commerce of Antwerp restored to its former grandeur; but this was so diametrically opposite to the interest of the Hollanders, that it was impossible

[x] Aitsma, tom. i. lib. i. p. 16. Meteren, lib. xxx. fol. 660.

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it ſhould ever take place. The ſixth and ſeventh articles likewiſe regarded commercial affairs; but it would be unneceſſary to dwell on particulars; ſufficient it is to obſerve, that the truce was mutually beneficial, Spain being no longer in condition to ſupport the war, and the Hollanders having obtained the end of all their deſperate reſiſtance and invincible perſeverance in the cauſe of liberty. Philip of Naſſau was of all men the greateſt gainer by the truce; as, in conſequence of it, he entered into poſſeſſion of all his paternal eſtates in the Spaniſh Netherlands and Burgundy; while the ſtates rewarded the faithful ſervices of Maurice with a penſion of twenty-five thouſand florins, to be paid annually out of the public treaſury, beſides an appointment of ſixty thouſand francs as governor-general. Penſions were likewiſe ſettled on the other princes of the houſe of Naſſau: all were gratified in a manner that demonſtrated the high ſenſe the republic had of their merit; though they might poſſibly be diſappointed in their great deſign of raiſing prince Maurice to ſovereign authority. In this manner was a bloody, tedious war terminated, which had more than once almoſt totally extinguiſhed every ſpark of freedom, and annihilated the Proteſtant religion in the Seven United Provinces [z]. The fortune of the ſtates on this occaſion admirably diſplays how courage, conduct, and perſeverance, however baffled and diſappointed, will, in the end, riſe ſuperior to misfortune, and triumph over every adverſary.

SECT. VII.

Containing the religious Diſputes among the Proteſtants of the United Provinces; the Treaty with the Mooriſh Prince of Teutan; the Diſputes about the Succeſſion to to the Duchy of Cleves; in a Word, all the civil and political Tranſactions of the new Republic, to the Expiration of the Truce in the Year 1621.

SCARCE had the United Provinces taſted the ſweets of liberty and peace, when religious diſputes aroſe, to blight the felicity procured by obſtinate valour and invincible reſolution. James Arminius, of Oudewater, in the province of Holland, firſt a miniſter of the goſpel at Amſterdam, and afterwards profeſſor at Leyden, gave birth to *Religious diſputes in Holland.*

[z] Scriptores citat. ibid. p. 18 & 662. Etiam Baud. tom. iii. ſub fin

a new ſect, called after his own name, whoſe principles were founded upon doctrines as old as the belief of a ſupreme Being. The ſect was, however, in his time firſt diſtinguiſhed, and his diſciples were ſtigmatized as deſerters from the followers of Calvin. They aſſerted free-agency; they ſpoke ambiguouſly of God's preſcience; they deemed the doctrine of the Trinity not eſſential to ſalvation; many of them affirmed that the ſcripture requires no adoration of the Holy Ghoſt; and all declared that Jeſus is not equal to God the Father: in a word, they regarded the creed of St. Athanaſius as an unintelligible, unmeaning comment on an incomprehenſible myſtery. Theſe tenets were adopted by great numbers of the learned in Holland, and other Proteſtant provinces, particularly in Germany; but they had not been publicly taught from the profeſſorial chair before the elevation of Arminius to that office. Moſt divines who had received their education at Geneva, or in the Palatinate, brought with them from thence the doctrine of predeſtination: a violent conteſt aroſe between the parties; ſynods and religious conferences were held in divers places; the ſtates interpoſed, and the chief perſons of the republic eſpouſed either Arminius or Gomarus, who were the leaders of theſe factions; for ſuch in reality they ought to be eſteemed. Religion was only the pretext, policy was the ſource of thoſe impure and bitter invectives poured out on both ſides. The prince of Orange and Barneveldt ſeized this opportunity of venting their mutual animoſity, which now was greatly augmented by the credit which the penſioner acquired from accompliſhing the truce with the archduke, in deſpite of all the endeavours of the houſe of Naſſau. In all controverſies it is difficult to adhere to the original point in diſpute; it is particularly ſo in religious conteſts, where probably both parties are reaſoning upon what exceeds the limits of their underſtanding. The ſmalleſt deviation leads into a greater, and at laſt the diſputants end in ſomething which has not the ſmalleſt relation to the firſt ſubject of debate. Thus it was that a quarrel among obſcure divines, about points which neither could determine, became the bone of contention among the leading perſonages in the provinces, and laid the firſt conception of a humour that has ever ſince remained lurking in the conſtitution of the ſtate, breaking out upon all revolutions, and laying the foundation of that diſunion and diſcord, which will probably terminate one day in the total ſubverſion of the republic [a].

[a] Meteren, lib. xxxii. Le Clerc, lib. ix.

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With respect to civil affairs, the object of greatest consequence was to push with all imaginable vigour the advantage which the provinces in general might deduce from this interval of tranquillity; for, during the war, trade was altogether confined to Holland and Zealand. With this view the states ordered that one hundred and fifty Moors, taken on board Spanish captures, should be returned without ransom, and presented to the emperor of Morocco, in consideration of the civilities shewn by that prince to Hemskirk's fleet some years before, and to obtain certain commercial privileges in his dominions. Two ships of war were accordingly sent, under captain Hermansen, to the coast of Africa, having on board the Mooriſh prisoners, and a present of some black cattle from prince Maurice to the emperor. The presents were well received; all the immunities required were granted; and a proposition was made of declaring war jointly against the king of Spain, which the Dutch civilly declined, urging in excuse the last truce. This proposal was made by an alcaide, who returned with the fleet to Holland. The Mooriſh envoy, perceiving the states were averse to war, offered to take part of their fleet into his master's pay; but this demand was likewise refused, and, to qualify his disappointment, the ambassador was loaded with presents, and dismissed with the strongest protestations of respect and veneration for his master.

Treaty with the emperor of Morocco.

The next year was ushered in by an event which had almost frustrated the intention of the late treaty with Spain and the archduke, and involved in a fresh war all the provinces of the Netherlands. Prince John William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, dying without issue-male, his dominions devolved upon his sisters, in whose right the elector of Brandenburgh, and duke of Newburgh, demanded the succession. Several other competitors likewise appeared; but these were the chief. The elector applied to the French king and the Dutch to support his pretensions; the duke of Newburgh had recourse to the king of Spain and the archduke. At first the contention lay between the house of Saxony on the one side, and the houses of Brandenburgh and Newburgh on the other. Divers conferences were held to adjust the claims of the candidates amicably, but they proved fruitless. The archduke, newly respiring after a tedious war, had no inclination to involve himself in fresh disputes, in which he was properly no party; but it was his interest to provide that the Dutch should take no advantage of his pacific inclinations, and, under pretence of assisting the elector of Brandenburg, seize upon those

The truce broke by the death of the duke of Cleves.

places in the diſputed territory which lay moſt convenient to the provinces. The emperor claimed the right of deciding the diſpute; but Henry IV. did not chuſe that the houſe of Auſtria ſhould have any acceſſion of dominion or power. However, the former adjudged the duchies, under certain limitations, to the houſe of Saxony; and the aſſaſſination of Henry, by Ravillac, happened before that monarch had taken any meaſures to oppoſe the imperial verdict. Still the court of France eſpouſed the princes, and encouraged the ſtates general to undertake the ſiege of Juliers, to which they were ſolicited by the elector of Brandenburgh. Dutch writers allege, that the ſtates determined upon this meaſure with reluctance, apprehending it might be deemed an infraction of the truce; but they were compelled to it by Maurice, whoſe warlike, ambitious mind eagerly ſought a rupture, or at leaſt a war, in which his talents ſhone with ſuch peculiar luſtre. Accordingly, with fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, he traverſed Spaniſh Guelderland, without offering the ſmalleſt violence to the inhabitants, the ſubjects of the archduke Albert, and ſate down before Juliers. After a vigorous defence, the city capitulated by the 2d day of September, and was garriſoned by Dutch forces, under the pretext it ſhould be ſequeſtered in the hands of the ſtates until the diſpute might be finally decided. Albert regarded this tranſaction as an infraction of the truce. He perceived that the ſtates, actuated by ambition, relied too much on his pacific intentions; he therefore determined to venture the whole ſtate of Flanders rather than ſuffer ſuch an encroachment on right, and addition to the power and dominion of rebel provinces, not yet declared free, but treated with as free and ſovereign; a middle diſtinction made in the late treaty, by way of ſalvo to the pride of the court of Spain. He firſt demanded ſolemn reſtitution of the town of Juliers, in the name of the duke of Newburgh; but obtaining only ſhuffling, dilatory anſwers, an army was aſſembled under Spinola. As the ſtates had ſtrongly garriſoned their late acquiſition, they were under no apprehenſions about the deſtination of this army, not doubting but it was intended againſt Juliers; in which deſign the archduke would find himſelf diſappointed. The maſterly conduct, however, of Spinola, threw the provinces into the utmoſt conſternation. After having approached within ſight of Juliers, he wheeled round ſuddenly, marched to Weſel, and took it before the Dutch army could come to its relief. This town was ſtrong by nature and art; it was claimed by the duke of Brandenburgh as a dependency on

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the duchy of Cleves; but was held by the inhabitants under the protection of the ſtates general. Not leſs aſtoniſhed than awed by the ſucceſs of a bold attempt, which opened a way to the invaſion of the provinces, the Dutch applied to the mediation of England and France, and at laſt accommodated matters with the archduke by more abject conceſſions than they had ever before made in their moſt adverſe circumſtances. By this one ſpirited ſtroke Albert regained the reputation he had loſt from the terms granted in the late treaty, and the ſtates were juſtly chaſtiſed and mortified for that inſolent carriage ſhewn towards ſovereign princes and crowned heads, who were once their maſters [b].

The archduke and republic again reconciled.

The appearance of a rupture with the archduke cooled for a while the ardor of faction and religious controverſy in the United Provinces. No ſooner was the truce re-eſtabliſhed, than the civil diviſions broke out with redoubled ſtrength and vehemence. The Gomariſts renewed their proſecution of the Arminian diſſenters; they were puſhed on by the houſe of Orange, ſometimes protected by the ſtates, and oppoſed chiefly by Barneveldt, Grotius, Voſſius, the learned in general, and the magiſtrates of cities in which their influence prevailed. Arminius, on his firſt elevation to the profeſſorſhip, behaved with the utmoſt moderation; he ſcrupuloufly avoided giving offence, but was, in courſe of lecturing, forced to advance opinions which rouſed the indignation of the Gomariſts, who watched the opportunity of reſuming the diſputes. His doctrines were oppoſed, and he defended them with great temper and ability. The beſt pens in Holland, or indeed in Europe, were employed in his vindication. Grotius and Voſſius both embarked deeply in the cauſe; and the Leyden profeſſor became the head of a faction of which he was but an inconſiderable member. In ſome towns the Arminian clergy were impriſoned or expelled, in others the Gomariſts underwent the ſame treatment. Synods met in all the provinces; public diſputations were maintained; and both parties rather confirmed in their opinions than convinced of their errors. The ſuſpenſion of the clergy naturally led to an inquiry into the rights and powers of the magiſtrates, this into the prerogatives of the lieutenants or ſtadtholders of the ſeveral provinces, and that into the ſovereign right of the provincial ſtates and ſtates general. A queſtion purely ſpeculative became now a matter of the utmoſt conſequence to liberty. The Arminians were repreſented as ſecret friends to Spain, and enemies to the privileges of their country; the people were

The religious diſputes again revived

A.D. 1611.

[b] Idem. ibid.

inflamed; prince Maurice was raiſed to a greater height of popularity than he had ever before attained, being at the head of the army, and ſupported by the multitude, he ventured upon ſome bold and dangerous alterations in the civil government; changing the magiſtrates of cities at pleaſure, ſo as to obtain a majority in the provincial ſtates, and conſequently in the ſtates general. The firſt conteſted election of magiſtrates was at Leuwarde in Frieſeland, where the magiſtrates, legally choſen, were depoſed, and ſupplanted by others nominated by the populace. The next was at Utrecht, where the diviſions ran high in proportion to the number of the people. The burgomaſters were diſliked, and complaints were made of their aſſuming an authority inconſiſtent with the laws; promiſes of ſpeedy redreſs were given, but the populace wanted more. They demanded the authority, and by a violent election of burgomaſters uſurped the right of civil government. So general was this tumult, that even the Roman catholics took up arms, and inſiſted upon the free exerciſe of their religion, though expreſsly prohibited by the union of Utrecht, in which all other opinions beſides are licenſed. As the violence of of faction ran to a dangerous height, prince Maurice, attended by deputies from the ſtates general, repaired to Utrecht, in order to reſtore the tranquillity of the city; but, inſtead of meeting with the reſpect his quality, his office, and his merit, demanded, he was groſsly inſulted, and forced to retire precipitately. This event determined the ſtates general to aſſemble at Woerde, and to ſummon the provincial ſtates of Utrecht and prince Maurice before them. After long deliberation, no remedies, adequate to the diſeaſe, could be found; the ſtates of Utrecht were therefore diſmiſſed, with a ſerious exhortation to apply themſelves vigorouſly to the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, which might probably terminate in anarchy, and the deſtruction of all government, unleſs ſeaſonably prevented. It is difficult to find the cauſe of the commotions in Utrecht; they would ſeem to be a conſequence of the original diſpute between Arminius and Gomarus; but then the parties, in the heat and zeal of controverſy, had changed opinions; and Maurice was inſulted by the very populace by whom he had been adored [c].

A.D. 1612. *Commotions at Utrecht.*

When the provincial ſtates of Utrecht returned, they reported the cenſures paſſed on their conduct by the ſtates general; which ſo enraged the populace, that, flying to

[c] Utembogard, par. iii. p. 488. Meteren, lib. xxxii. Le Clerc, lib. ix.

arms,

arms, they committed a thouſand diſorders, and raiſed ſuch tumults as the new magiſtrates could not appeaſe. The burghers were ordered to ſend four deputies to attend the ſtates at the Hague, with the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of Utretcht. It was added, that if they choſe the ſtates ſhould ſit rather at Utrecht than the Hague, their inclination ſhould be gratified, provided the garriſon was reinforced with four more companies of ſoldiers, to ſuppreſs diſorders, and protect the aſſembly againſt inſults. All theſe admonitions and conceſſions produced no effect. The Utrechters remained obſtinate, and the ſtates talked of laying ſiege to the city. Previous, however, to violent meaſures, they publiſhed a circular letter, addreſſed to all the provincial ſtates of the union, acquainting them with the tranſactions at Utrecht, and requiring their advice and aſſiſtance. Meanwhile a body of forces had orders to file off towards Utrecht. At firſt the magiſtrates laughed at the motion of the army; they imagined the ſtates would never puſh matters to extremities; but they no ſooner beheld the city almoſt completely inveſted than they changed their tone, and beſought the magiſtrates of Amſterdam to interpoſe as mediators. In conſequence of this requeſt, a kind of reconciliation was effected, and the Utrechters were puniſhed, by depoſing the new magiſtrates, and reſtoring thoſe who had been expelled by the people. Thus ended, without effuſion of blood, a tumult which might have endangered the ſafety of the commonwealth, had not the government acted with great ſpirit and reſolution.

The religious diſputes now become political.

With reſpect to the clergy, their diſputes became purely political. It was debated, how far the ſovereign authority might interpoſe in eccleſiaſtical affairs? Whether the clergy might not, in conſcience, be under the neceſſity of preaching doctrines contrary to the legiſlative power? Whether the ſovereign authority has power to aſſemble the clergy, and to chuſe the members of the aſſembly? Whether the eccleſiaſtical ſynods are ſubject to the ſovereign power? and, admitting they are, Whether by that means the ſovereign is not made arbitrary over the conſciences of his ſubjects? The parties came to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of Remonſtrants, and Contra-Remonſtrants. Libels, paſquinades, and violent invectives, mutually enflamed their ſpirits. At Utrecht factions were renewed; and it was viſible the people only watched an opportunity to ſubvert the government, and reſtore their own favourites to the magiſtracy. This conſideration induced the ſtates general to inveſt the council of ſtate with authority to exact a freſh oath of fidelity from the magiſtrates, burghers, and other

other inhabitants. The populace were now exaſperated to the higheſt pitch. They knew themſelves guilty of ſedition; by the oath required they became guilty of perjury. They formed the project of gaining poſſeſſion of the garriſon, commanded by the chevalier Ogle, who was appointed to that truſt by prince Erneſt of Naſſau. Canter and Helſdingen, the perſons raiſed to the magiſtracy in the late tumults, entered into the conſpiracy; and all bound themſelves by an oath to ſecrecy, and fidelity to their engagements. By ſome means, however, their deſign tranſpired; ſome of the conſpirators were ſeized, put to the torture, and an ample diſcovery obtained. The two chiefs were baniſhed for life, and forbid, at the peril of their lives, ever ſetting foot in the United Provinces. Several of the conſpirators were condemned to death; but afterwards reprieved, and pardoned.

As the controverſy could never be decided by arguments, where each party built upon the authority of the ſacred writings, the contra-remonſtrants ſolicited the ſtates general for a national ſynod to ſit under the direction of the ſtates; and they granted the requeſt, as the moſt probable method of terminating diſputes; but were oppoſed by the provincial ſtates of Holland and Utrecht. Thus, not only the eccleſiaſtical, but the civil government was divided. Barneveldt ſaw the ruin that impended, and he endeavoured to divert it, by propoſing certain eccleſiaſtical laws to be confirmed by the ſtates. The ſcheme had been projected ſeveral years before, but never carried into execution. It was now approved by a variety of members of the ſtates of Holland, but rejected by others, until the religious controverſy ſhould be firſt decided. Whatever was done before this event, would, it was urged, be premature, and the laws would have the approbation only of one party. Barneveldt, however, meant to ſilence all diſputation by the force of laws; but this ſtep was contrary to the intereſt and views of the Orange faction, who made a handle of the propoſal, to the prejudice of that great ſtateſman and patriot. He was accuſed of dangerous deſigns upon religion; notwithſtanding which he carried his point in the province of Utrecht, and was in a fair way of ſubduing the rage of faction [d]. At Rotterdam matters went otherwiſe. One Giſelius, a violent contra-remonſtrant, ſtirred up the people by his ſeditious harangues. He preached that it was unlawful to communicate with the remonſtrants; he was admoniſhed to moderation by the magiſtrates, but in vain. He was exhorted to

[d] Brandt, lib. xxv. Utemb. p. 4.

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hold a conference with his opponents, and to compromise their differences amicably, but to no purpose; he refused to appear, and continued his inflammatory harangues from the pulpit. The magistrates published a proclamation, declaring, that neither they nor the remonstrants were the authors of those factions which disturbed the public tranquillity, and forbidding the people to credit the calumnies published against the clergy. At last it became necessary to suspend Giselius. He was accordingly forbid to preach within the jurisdiction of Rotterdam. This was called persecution, the notion of which is attended with the worst consequences in a free government. His partizans caballed in private, became dangerous, and obliged the magistrates to order Giselius immediately to quit the city. He refused to obey, but was compelled, and ignominiously led through the public streets by a bailiff. The Orange party made an excellent handle of this circumstance. They exclaimed, that liberty was at an end; that the magistrates usurped a power altogether unconstitutional; they even asserted, that the remonstrants were in the interest of the Jesuits, and conspiring again to subjugate their country to the Spanish tyranny. However absurd the accusation might appear to all judicious persons, it was so artfully propagated as to gain credit. Mourier, a French writer of reputation, then resident in Holland, relates, that so convinced was the princess dowager of Orange of the ambitious designs entertained by prince Maurice, that she seriously remonstrated with him upon the subject. He even alleges, that the prince endeavoured to prevail on her to gain Barneveldt to his purposes, assured that the consent of this honest patriot would easily pave the way to sovereignty. He farther relates, that the princess closeted Barneveldt, used all her influence with him, and received for answer, that nothing could be more consonant to his wishes than the glory and elevation of the house of Orange, could this be obtained consistently with the liberty of his country. Barneveldt then expatiated upon the hazard of the project, which must necessarily terminate in the ruin of the family, and possibly of the commonwealth. In a word, he spoke with so much strength and energy, that he entirely overcame the princess, converted her to his own opinion, made her a rigid stickler for liberty, and persuaded her to exert all her influence to induce Maurice to lay aside his purpose, and heal up those divisions in church and state, which could never produce any other effect than the destruction of all parties [e].

Ambitious designs of prince Maurice, and steadiness of Barneveldt.

[e] Contin. de Reidan. lib. xxvi. Brandt. lib. xxvi.

Maurice,

Maurice affect to abstract himself entirely from the ecclesiastical disputes. When Barneveldt told him, faction ran so high that the states of Holland must have recourse to him to assist their authority, he pretended astonishment, and declared his aversion to meddle in these matters. However, Barneveldt had too much discernment not to fathom his private sentiments; which the prince indeed inadvertently hinted in the conversation about the remonstrants. The pensioner proposed, that the states general should be moved to grant a general toleration, with respect to the disputed points; and that the clergy of each side, who were suspended, should be restored to their functions. To this proposition the prince, in appearance, consented; and it was accordingly decreed by the states, assembled at the Hague, in the year 1616, that every violation of such general toleration as contributed to the public tranquillity, should be punished in the most effectual manner by the civil and ecclesiastical powers. It was farther decreed, that if any fresh disputes should arise upon points hitherto uncontroverted, they should be decided by a majority in the provincial or national synods. These resolutions were, however, opposed by the deputies of Rotterdam, the Briel, the Hague, Benthuysen, and a variety of towns, where the people declared they could not, with a safe conscience, hear doctrines openly preached, which must give offence to every sincere Christian. It was not considered, that Jews, Armenians, and Mohammedans, were permitted the free exercise of their several religions in Holland. Still, however, the states pursued their first resolution, though they relaxed a little in favour of the deputies, on condition they would not suffer persons within their jurisdiction, who embraced the toleration, to be oppressed. In the end, the deputies were dismissed, with an exhortation to examine the affair coolly and deliberately, and to assist with all their influence in restoring the public tranquillity, which could not be a task of great difficulty, considering that both parties were of the same religion, had the same form of worship, the same public ceremonies, the same manner of exposing vice and cherishing virtue, and differed only in a few points of little consequence to salvation, or indeed to society.

The excellent design of the states was, however, considerably obstructed by the pride and conceit of the theologians, who would not admit that any part of their system was capable of amendment; and by the secret endeavours of the Orange faction to lessen the influence, and blast

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the character of Barneveldt, as well as to diminish the authority of the provincial states of Holland. This purpose could not be accomplished but under the mask of liberty and religion, which ever work powerfully on the minds of the vulgar, who least understand them or enjoy their benefit. The nobles and magistrates of Holland were attacked in public writings; and Barneveldt, in particular, after forty years faithful service, was libelled as a traitor to his country. He had frequently represented this abuse of liberty to the states; but the point was delicate: laying any restraint on the press would enflame the minds of the people, and afford the fomentors of sedition the fairest opportunity of declaiming against the government. Barneveldt now gave in a draught of his plan for suppressing libels and inflammatory publications; but it was strongly opposed by the magistrates of Amsterdam, notwithstanding their own conduct was the subject of the keenest satires and pasquinades which had yet appeared. They gave no other reason for their opposition, but that they did not approve of renewing laws which had been repealed after mature deliberation. Nevertheless, in the following year, Barneveldt so far prevailed, that the ordonnance was published, though it was never put in force, nor received by many of the towns[f].

Barneveldt proposes restraining the liberty of the press.

Such was the state of parties, that the remonstrants were obliged to meet privately in some towns, and the contra-remonstrants in others. Wherever the faction happened to be most powerful, they seized on the churches, and excluded their opponents. At Amsterdam the remonstrants were weakest; but hearing that the states had in other cities granted the use of churches to the contra-remonstrants, upon their petitioning, they wrote to Leyden for a minister of their sect to preach the gospel in Amsterdam. One Rembert Bischop was sent; and, on his arrival, the reformists met in a private house, to hear divine service, and perform their devotions. Finding the place too small for their numbers, they hired a large warehouse belonging to a merchant; their opponents complained to the magistrates of their illegal assemblies; but obtaining no redress, they assembled in a tumultuous manner, during public worship, broke the windows, forced the doors, abused the minister, and threatened the lives of the audience. The remonstrants now, in their turn, complained to the magistrates, and demanded justice and protection; but they were answered, that the best method to secure themselves would

The populace rise against the remonstrants.

[f] Brandt. ibid. Le Clerc, lib. ix.

be

Prince Maurice declares himself head of a party.

be to avoid such meetings as incurred the resentment of their fellow-citizens. What encouraged the populace in their tumults, and made the magistrates remiss in the discharge of their duty, was the conduct of prince Maurice, who had, about this time, declared in favour of the contra-remonstrants, and desired that a clergyman of their principles might be sent to preach in the French chapel at the Hague. The remonstrants were now afraid to assemble; they petitioned the magistrates for the same protection granted to other sects: they pleaded the toleration edict; but obtained no satisfactory answer, though the magistrates were too cautious absolutely to deny their petition. At last they had recourse to the states; but the apprehension of involving themselves in disputes with the magistrates, obliged the states to shift off the matter, by recommending the petitioners to the burgomasters of Amsterdam.

Not only the open declaration of prince Maurice, but the conduct of Dudley Carleton, the British ambassador, encouraged the contra-remonstrants to proceed in a higher strain. They now threw off all respect for the states of Holland, and Barneveldt was grosly insulted in the assembly, by a person greatly his inferior in birth, capacity, influence, and integrity. Every thing contributed to the public confusion, and all moderate persons dreaded, that anarchy and the dissolution of the government would ensue. The states were reduced to the necessity of imploring the prince's protection, which he artfully with-held, under various pretexts. He even issued several orders to prevent the troops from assisting the magistrates in quelling tumults and suppressing seditions. This conduct induced Barneveldt to labour diligently in keeping the states assembled, as the only means of preserving the constitution. As last the magistrates of the several towns, seeing they could expect no assistance from the military power to enforce the laws, resolved to augment the garrisons and guards of their own authority, agreeable to the original laws of the country, as Grotius demonstrates [g]. They communicated their intention to the prince, who was displeased, alleging it was an encroachment upon the prerogative of the governor of the province. Upon this pretence he quitted the Hague in the night, and set out for the Briel, where he introduced two companies of soldiers in despite of all the remonstrances of the magistrates. He had not acquainted the council of state with his reso-

He refuses to assist the states of Holland.

Seizes on Briel, &c.

[g] Apolog. cap. x.

lution,

lution, a circumstance which gave great offence to that assembly, as it was an established custom with the governors to take their leave in form. Maurice, however, disregarded their sentiments; he had now thrown off the masque, and resolution was necessary to obtain a majority in the states, by changing the magistrates in the cities.

Advice of the transaction at Briel soon arrived at Leyden; and the magistrates, apprehending they might be favoured with a similar visit, assembled the chief burghers, who formed the resolution, that, in case the prince should approach the city, a deputation should meet him, to request he would offer no violence to their privileges, by forcing armed troops into the city. The same resolution was taken by the magistrates of Haerlem, Torgau, and Woerde; but Maurice had by this time gained possession of Delft and Scheidam. Thence he sent circular letters to the cities of the province of Holland, justifying his conduct; but they were so ill received by the magistrates in general, that he was, more than ever, convinced he could never effect his purposes while Barneveldt's interest was so considerable; nor could this be diminished but by obtaining a majority in the states, by placing his own creatures in the public offices of the cities. However, before he made an attempt on the cities of the province of Holland, he made trial of his authority at Nimeguen, where, during the war, he had retained the power of changing the magistrates at pleasure. Here he deposed three of the chief magistrates, who espoused Barneveldt, and favoured the remonstrants. The disgraced magistrates threw themselves under the the protection of the states of Holland, and implored their assistance. Their request was granted, and the states immediately wrote to the states of Guelderland; but the city of Amsterdam, and some other places, interposed, and refused to suffer the letter to pass in the name of the states of Holland, because their deputies had opposed the contents [h].

He has great influence in Guelderland.

After this transaction, Maurice went to the states of Guelderland, informed them of what he had done at Nimeguen, and received their thanks and applause. Here his influence carried every thing; he exhorted the states to assist him in supporting the authority of the states general against the encroachments of the provincial states, and curbing the insolence of the city-magistrates, who had the presumption to raise troops, and act in a military capacity, in defiance of the laws, and to the destruction of all liberty. Accordingly, the states of Guelderland charged

[h] Brandt. Apolog. cap. x. Contin. de Reidan. lib. xxvi.

their

their deputies to the ſtates general, to repreſent the prince's reſolution to ſupport their authority; but it appears that neither Maurice nor the ſtates entertained a juſt idea of the nature of the government, or underſtood the laws of their country. The power he aſſumed, in quality of governor, was by no means conſiſtent with the liberty of the cities, which, from time immemorial, had enjoyed the right of nominating their own magiſtrates, and levying guards for their defence; the deprivation of theſe privileges could not therefore but excite a ferment, and raiſe ſuſpicions in the breaſt of every friend of liberty and his country. As to Barneveldt, he was ſo much affected by the public diſturbances, ſo anxious and ſo ſolicitous about the fate of the republic, and ſo diligent in oppoſing the ambitious purpoſes of prince Maurice, that he was ſeized with a fever, which had almoſt deprived Holland of her moſt faithful and able miniſter. On his return to the ſtates, perceiving he could not ſtem the torrent, and that the prince would one day wreak his whole vengeance upon his head, he deſired leave to reſign the office of penſionary, and retire into private life, where he might at leaſt freely deplore the unhappy fate of a country, that, after having foiled the whole power of the Spaniſh monarchy to enſlave her, was now on the eve of falling a prey to civil faction, and the ambition of her own children.

The great point now in debate was, whether a national ſynod ſhould be held? Maurice attended the ſtates at Overyſſel, and there ſtrongly recommended a meaſure which alone, he ſaid, could terminate the diſputes of the clergy: his ſpeech, however, was regarded as a ſnare; he now appeared in a military capacity, in which it is allowable to ruin your enemy either by ſtratagem or open force. On this ſubject the deputies of Haerlem ſpoke freely, at the next aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland. They were the firſt who ventured to declare their ſuſpicions, and their reſolution to ſupport the ſtates againſt all enemies. To this effect they delivered a memorial to the ſtates of Holland, to which their deputies demanded an immediate anſwer. The only point about which any difficulty occurred, was, the adjuſting the contingents for ſupporting the expence of the government for the current year. Haerlem demanded that all the cities in arrear ſhould make up their accounts before demands were made on thoſe who had already advanced their proportions. At length thoſe new deputies were wholly determined by the prudence, the equity, and ability of Barneveldt. Something was likewiſe due to the ſpirit and good ſenſe of Maurice, the

A.D. 1614.

French

French ambaſſador, who, by order of the king, demanded an audience. Among a variety of other topics, Maurier told the ſtates, that, in his opinion, there remained only three methods of re eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity of the provinces; either open force, a general deciſion of their differences, or a compromiſe, in which both ſides muſt relax. As to the firſt, no man, he urged, of underſtanding and honeſty would recommend it; the ſecond was attended with a thouſand difficulties, which muſt ariſe in courſe of debate, where both ſides were too much heated and enflamed to reaſon diſpaſſionately; the laſt, in his opinion, was the only probable meaſure: a general toleration, until ſome better expedient could be found, would in the mean time diſarm faction, and fruſtrate the ſchemes of thoſe men whoſe ambition would be gratified at the price of public felicity and liberty.

Though the diſputes in the ſtates of Holland yielded to the remedies applied by Barneveldt and Maurier, it was otherwiſe with the provinces in general. Maurice remained firm in his ſentiments, was too powerful to be openly charged, and too artful to diſcloſe his purpoſes. He ſecured the Engliſh miniſter in his intereſt, and, with all the contra-remonſtrants, demanded a national ſynod, as the only effectual application to a diſeaſe, which, he ſaid, would ſoon deſtroy the conſtitution. Upon Barneveldt's oppoſing this meaſure, libels, more bitter than any of the former, were every day puhliſhed; and that great man was forced to have recourſe to the juſtification of his conduct, which merited the higheſt applauſe and deepeſt gratitude from his country. He publiſhed a remonſtrance, in which he recited the particulars of his birth, ſervices, and education; the cauſe of the preſent diſorders, and the only means which appeared to him adequate to the removal of that malignity which affected the whole maſs of humours. Corroſive applications, he ſaid, were unadviſeable; they irritated and enflamed the habit, without anſwering any of the indications, or touching the ſeat of the diſeaſe; ſuch were the infamous libels, propagated to blight the faireſt characters, and ruin thoſe perſons in the opinion of the people, who alone were capable of ſaving the commonwealth. He deſired it might be conſidered, that the exceſſive malice and rancour contained in thoſe writings could not be altogether levelled againſt him; they muſt A.D. 1615. have a deeper deſign; that of deſtroying the other faithful ſervants of the public, overthrowing the rights and privileges of the cities in particular, of the country in general, and annihilating the very ſhadow of liberty, and a repub-

lican government. The virulence, the calumny, and bare-faced falſehood of the writers, evidently demonſtrated by what religion they were animated. They did not even endeavour to conceal their ſentiments, reſpecting the eſtabliſhment, and made no ſcruple of avowing the violation offered to the liberties of certain cities, under pretence that there was a neceſſity to uſe compulſion in chuſing the magiſtrates. Were their profeſſions of zeal for religion, and their country, ſincere, they might have purſued methods more honourable, and conſiſtent with the true ſpirit of devotion and patriotiſm; but it was much eaſier to propagate calumnies than to prove facts; bold aſſertions were ſufficient evidence to the vulgar; and, provided their paſſions were influenced, it was not neceſſary to convince their judgment. He concluded with again recommending Chriſtian toleration to all who remained attached to the reformed religion, and diſputed only about ſpeculative points uneſſential to ſalvation. He laid before the ſtates an account of the public expence; beſought them to contribute unanimouſly to the ſupplies wanted for the enſuing year; then, addreſſing himſelf to the deputies of certain provinces in arrear for their contingents, he exhorted them to uſe their utmoſt efforts with their conſtituents to remove every obſtruction to the peace, and reſtore the unanimity and felicity of the commonwealth [a].

A.D.1616. An air of ſimplicity and candour, of good ſenſe and pub-
A.D.1617. lic zeal, of deep penetration, profound judgment, and extenſive knowlege, powerfully recommended this performance to every ſincere patriot: it was however attacked with all poſſible marks of inveterate rancour; the author was loaded with abuſe and obloquy; and even the ſtates were attacked with a degree of malignancy, which could not paſs unnoticed: accordingly they offered a reward for the diſcovery of the author, or printer of the libel, and took Barneveldt under their immediate protection. They were ſupported by the towns of Haerlem, Leyden, Rotterdam, the Briel, and Schoonhoven. By theſe inſtructions were given to their deputies, to repreſent, at the next aſſembly of the ſtates, the neceſſity of taking meaſures for preſerving the freedom of electors, and the liberties of the cities, promiſing to indemnify the deputies, and ſupport them with all their ſtrength and influence. The ſtates accordingly remonſtrated with prince Maurice, on the preſent ſituation of affairs; they repreſented, that certain perſons, meaning himſelf and the Orange faction, had, contrary to juſtice,

[a] Grot. Apol. cap. xx.

and

and the mutual obligations into which they had entered, violated the rights and privileges of the province of Holland; that his highneſs was perfectly well acquainted with the duties of a ſtadtholder, which chiefly conſiſted in maintaining the ſovereignty of the province, and protecting the general liberties of the cities and inhabitants; that the ſtates were bound, in conſequence of their oath, to preſerve the government, and determined by their reſpect for the houſe of Orange, to ſupport the magiſtrates and people, in the due exertion of their authority, againſt all oppreſſion. They exhorted him, therefore, to aſſiſt their laudable endeavours; to uſe his influence with the other provinces; to protect and aid the authority of the ſtates in eccleſiaſtical matters; to join with them in the moſt efficacious methods of terminating thoſe obſtacles, which occaſioned ſo much grief to every ſincere patriot; to protect in particular the province of Holland, againſt the encroachments of the other provinces, excited by the machinations of certain turbulent divines; to deſiſt from demanding a national ſynod, ſo contrary to the expreſs meaning of the treaty of Utrecht; to prevent the courts of juſtice from receiving orders and directions, contrary to the reſolutions of the ſtates; to oblige them to confine themſelves within the limits of their inſtructions, without encroaching on the privileges of the ſtates or cities; to acquieſce in the ancient right of the cities, to provide for their own ſecurity by levying guards and garriſons, when the forces of the ſtate were inſufficient; to oblige the officers of the army to obey the orders of the ſtates, the council of war, and the magiſtrates of thoſe towns where they ſhould happen to be quartered. They likewiſe requeſted, that his highneſs would not attempt to garriſon towns, or interfere in the elections of magiſtrates, without the conſent of the ſtates and council of war; that he would beſtow no military preferments, and neither augment or diminiſh the garriſons, without previouſly acquainting them; and, laſtly, they earneſtly intreated, that he would give no ear to evil counſellors, who ſought to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of their country, and only regarded the republic and the Orange family as the means of their own elevation; but that he would always rely on the advice of the ſtates, who regarded his honour and intereſt as the honour and intereſt of their country. This method his father, the late prince of Orange, of glorious memory, always followed, and he conſtantly met with the warmeſt returns of gratitude; ſecured the liberties of the provinces, and raiſed them from an oppreſſed, inſulted, deſpicable people, to a

powerful, formidable, and free republic. The meaſures here pointed out, were no leſs neceſſary, they ſaid, to the good of the public than for the ſecurity of individuals. They could not by any means allow the ſmalleſt violation of their liberties, which they were obliged by oath to defend with their lives and fortunes. Better it was, they ſaid, to die honourably than to ſurvive the loſs of thoſe bleſſings which their anceſtors and themſelves had purchaſed at the exhorbitant price of their blood. In a word, they aſſerted, that if they were properly aſſiſted by the influence and power of the ſtadtholder, they would undertake ſpeedily to ſubdue all controverſies which affected the public tranquillity, cloſe up thoſe wounds, which by habit would become incurable, reſtore order, diſcipline, and regularity to the ſtate, and prevail on all the provinces to contribute their ſeveral proportions, for the ſupport of the government and common cauſe [b].

Hiſtory does not inform us what reply Maurice made to this remonſtrance; we are only told that he was greatly ſhocked, but not moved to ſecond the purpoſes of the ſtates, or convinced by their arguments. On the contrary, he aſſembled a great number of divines of his own faction at Amſterdam, to aſſiſt the magiſtrates in drawing up reaſons to convince the ſtates of the neceſſity of a national ſynod. This, with another writing, was preſented, and clearly refuted by Grotius, who was too cloſe, clear, and learned for his antagoniſts. It was at length propoſed by the council of ſtate, that three theologians from each province ſhould meet, to adjuſt the conditions of a mutual toleration; and that if they could come to no agreement in the ſpace of a month, the Proteſtant clergy of Germany, France, England, and Switzerland, ſhould be invited to their aſſiſtance. The propoſal was approved by a majority of voices in the ſtates; but Amſterdam, and the deputies of ſome other cities, oppoſed the reſolution, and ſtarted a variety of objections. They were eager for a national ſynod, in which they were ſtrongly ſupported by the provinces of Zealand, Groningen, Friſeland, the Ommelans, and prince Maurice, this diviſion among the cities, the powerful faction in favour of the contra-remonſtrants, and the terror of Maurice in his military capacity, entirely deſtroyed the authority of the ſtates of Holland, and rendered them incapable of proſecuting their moderate deſigns. Still, however, the council of ſtate continued to urge their propoſition, declaring null and void all that had been tranſacted in favour

[b] Grot. Apol. lib. xx.

of

of a national ſynod. The council became now more than ever affected to the ſtates, from the affront offered them by the prince's departure to the Briel, without their conſent or knowlege. The breach with the council of ſtate conſiderably diminiſhed the intereſt of Maurice; but it did not retard any of his projects. Backed by four provinces, beſides a variety of cities and towns, he expected to ſurmount all oppoſition, and to effect ſuch alterations in the conſtitution as would infallibly raiſe him to the ſovereignty of the provinces. He made no ſcruple of declaring, that augmenting the garriſons, ſuppreſſing tumults by a military force, in a word, levying troops for the protection of the cities, without the authority of the governor, were in themſelves acts of rebellion. The truth was, theſe ſteps formed obſtructions to his deſign of changing the magiſtrates. The city of Utrecht inſiſted upon an exertion of this privilege, handed down from time immemorial, but, to avoid altercation, the magiſtrates firſt ſent deputies to confer with the prince and the ſtates general. Barneveldt, in the name of the ſtates of Holland, had an audience upon the ſame ſubject; but all his arguments could not prevail with Maurice to ſuffer the garriſons to be under the direction of the magiſtrates, or to relinquiſh his project for retrenching the privileges of the cities [c].

Soon after theſe conferences Maurice repaired to Utrecht, attended by three deputies from the ſtates general. He was received with great marks of diſtinction, and the burghers were ordered to appear under arms. The magiſtrates and clergy waited upon him with compliments; and to the latter he ſaid, that his intention was to reſtore the public tranquillity, by aſſembling a national ſynod, when all the controverted points ſhould be canvaſſed, and their diſputes finally decided. The reply was, that nothing could be expected from ſuch an eccleſiaſtical court where the parties were to ſit in judgment, but altercation, debate, and confuſion; they therefore intreated him to lay aſide the project, as dangerous, and at all events inadequate. Notwithſtanding this repulſe from the clergy, Maurice propoſed to the provincial ſtates of Utrecht the diſbanding of the new levied garriſons, and the convocation of a general ſynod. The propoſition being communicated to the deputies of Holland, they waited on the prince, and exhorted him to contribute to the repoſe of the provinces, to ſupport the privileges of the towns, and to protect the public tranquillity; but they hinted not the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion that

[c] Le Clerc, lib. iv.

he was labouring to overthrow the constitution, and execute designs very opposite to their request. Maurice was more sincere; he plainly gave the deputies to understand, that their arrival in Utrecht was by no means agreeable. However, they held conferences with the states; after which the prince was told, that the guards raised by the magistrates were perfectly constitutional; and, with respect to religion, that a national synod could not be convoked without detriment to the privileges of the provincial states, who were supreme within the jurisdiction of the province. After several fruitless negociations, held upon the supposition that the prince would not venture upon any alterations without authority, at last his design was discovered, and the states, unable to oppose, determined to connive at his measures. His authority was great in the army, and his influence general over the minds of the people, who regarded him as the bulwark of liberty, and the hero who had rescued the provinces from the tyranny of the Spaniards. Before the blow was struck, the members of the states, with Ledemberg, the secretary, quitted the city, and repaired with all diligence to the Hague, there to expect the issue. Already Maurice had occupied the principal avenues leading to Utrecht, which he lined with soldiers. When he had assembled a sufficient force, he ordered the new levies raised by the magistrates to appear, upon which he released them from the oath taken, obliged them to lay down their arms, and disbanded the whole garrison. Grotius affirms, he had no authority for this measure, that the power was entirely in the provincial states; and that Maurice had interpreted their silence, their inability to appease him, and their abrupt departure, into an assent of his measures. Afterwards he went to the town-house, where he loudly complained of the injury done to his honour by those new levies, which deeply reflected on his integrity and patriotism. This was all the apology he offered for the grossest violation of the privileges of the city and province. His aim was to pass for the protector of the church and state, and, indeed, his conduct was so specious, that it gained the affections of the vulgar, who strenuously pressed him to assume the sovereignty.

Maurice offers violence to the privileges of Utrecht.

Next he procured a few of the burghers to accuse the present magistrates of abusing their office. This was sufficient reason for deposing them, and substituting in their room the friends of Maurice and the contra-remonstrants. Accordingly the prince proceeded to the election, or rather nomination of new magistrates, and to appoint a perpetual instead of an annual council. All the remonstrants were

turned

turned out of their places. Ledemberg, secretary to the states, was forced to resign, and his office was immediately filled up by a creature of the house of Orange, after he had for thirty years served the public with unblemished integrity. A variety of alterations were besides made in the other several departments of the state; even the clergy were deprived of their stipends, and forced to evacuate the city, and many of them to quit the province of Utrecht. The contra-remonstrants, encouraged by these favourable changes, demanded the cathedral church, then possessed by the remonstrants. Taurin, the minister, refused to comply; but he was soon obliged to take sanctuary under the wing of Ledemberg, with whom he retired to the Hague. Upon the secretary's being arrested a few days afterwards, Taurin escaped to Antwerp, to avoid the same fate [d].

Prince Maurice having terminated matters to his wish at Utrecht, set out for the Hague, where he made report of the late transaction, and received the thanks of the deputies of the four provinces in his interest. The deputies of Holland were likewise exhorted to prevail on the cities to disband the new levied guards; but it was obvious, from their answer, that they looked upon the prince's conduct as an infraction of the privileges of the provinces. They perceived that the least tumult would furnish a pretext for similar trespasses on the constitution, and the means of procuring a majority in the states general, by rendering himself absolute in the cities, and of consequence in the provincial states. They concluded with saying, they would report the prince's request to their constituents, as the matter was of too great importance for them to determine of their own authority. They demanded, that, in the mean time, the cities of Holland might be left in the full exertion of their privileges; but they were served in a similar manner with those of Utrecht, and even the cities in the prince's interest were not exempted from a variety of changes, introduced probably to shew his impartiality. It was not possible indeed to ward off the blow, because the stadtholder had the army at command, and the states of Holland were wholly disarmed. Besides, he took his measures with such prudence and art, as seemed even to have deceived Barneveldt himself. At the very time Maurice was projecting the fall of that patriot, he was loading his relations with favours, and preferring them to very considerable employments. The pensioner's son was created master of the dykes and A.D. 1613.

[d] Brandt. lib. xxix. Grot. Apol. cap. 20.

foreſts, a lucrative and honourable office. To the younger ſon of Barneveldt, he gave the government of Bergen op Zoom, by which he placed in his hands one of the keys of the United Provinces. At laſt, the artifice, the power, and addreſs of Maurice rendered his party every where ſuperior. He gained over to his intereſt Francis Aerſens, ſon of Cornelius Aerſens, ſecretary of ſtate, who had been long ambaſſador at the court of France. The violence, the ability, and vigour of Aerſens, quickened the meaſures of the prince. His aſpiring ambition ſcrupled at no action which could promote his intereſt; perniciouſly bold, and deteſtably eloquent, he converted the nobleſt qualities to the worſt purpoſes; ruined his country, oppreſſed innocence, and ſacrificed patriotiſm to the ſhrine of thoſe ill-fated virtues, which might have proved the bulwark of liberty, and ſtrongeſt barrier of the commonwealth. Aerſens ſtimulated Maurice to what he was before inclined by his own diſpoſition. To his counſel may be attributed the ſolemn ſynod aſſembled in the month of November, at Dordrecht, to which the ſtates general, the provincial ſtates of the Seven Provinces, the kings of England and France, the elector Palatine, the landgrave of Heſſe, the cities of Bremen, Verden, Geneva, and the proteſtant cantons of Switzerland, diſpatched their ambaſſadors and deputies. Thither the Arminian party was cited, to explain the principal points in which they diſſented from the eſtabliſhed church.

Barneveſt and the remonſtrants had long avoided this blow, under pretence that a general ſynod was a treſpaſs on the privileges of the provincial ſtates. They knew the intention was to render them little in the opinion of the people, if they appeared; and if they refuſed to obey the citations, to expoſe them as public incendiaries, the friends of Spain, popery, and ſlavery. The remonſtrants refuſed to attend the ſynod; at laſt they publiſhed a long writing, in which they explained the chief points of their doctrine, proteſted againſt the ſynod, and exhibited their reaſons for refuſing to appear in their own defence, before judges who were actually parties in the diſpute. Accordingly their opinions were ſolemnly condemned, and the remonſtrants were ſtigmatized as calumniators, who vilified the eſtabliſhed religion, and attributed to the Belgian church other ſentiments than thoſe it really profeſſed. Aerſens wrote ſeveral pieces againſt Barneveldt, in which he boldly charged him with theſe deſigns. He was a ſpirited, artful, and fluent writer; his works were bought with avidity; they made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the people, and ſo far influenced their paſſions, that Maurice reſolved, before

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the public ardour cooled, to ſeize upon Barneveldt, Grotius, Hoogenbeets, and other leaders of the Arminian party, whom he impriſoned in the caſtle of Louveſtein, whence that faction has ever ſince borrowed the appellation (A). The advanced age, the long ſervices, the moderation and patriotiſm of Barneveldt, now little availed him; even his writings, which clearly refuted all the allegations of his enemies, were either neglected, or read with a partiality and prejudice injurious to his reputation. Maurice procured an order of the ſtates general for his impriſonment. His practices and intrigues had obtained a majority in the ſtates; notwithſtanding which, this order was ſigned only by eight members, particularly attached to the prince's intereſt. Barneveldt was accuſed of being the author of the diſturbances at Utrecht, and of harbouring deſigns deſtructive of public liberty. He was tried by judges appointed by the ſtates general, condemned to death by the moſt iniquitous ſentence, and deprived of his life on a public ſcaffold, by the ſame blow which ruined the character of prince Maurice, blaſting thoſe laurels that were acquired by long and important ſervices (B). Maurice loſt his popularity and

The leaders of the Arminians impriſoned.

A.D. 1619.

Barneveldt condemned and executed.

(A) In this confinement the learned Grotius remained for ſeveral years, when at length he made his eſcape, through the courage, the affection, and addreſs of his wife Reigerſberg. This lady had obtained leave to ſend large boxes of books to her huſband, and to viſit him in priſon, which furniſhed her with a hint for his eſcape. She perſuaded him to lie in one of the boxes, to be returned to his houſe. He was carried out by the guards, without ſuſpicion, though they complained of the uncommon weight of their burthen; he eſcaped to the Spaniſh Netherlands, and paſſed from thence into France, where he was well received by the king. At laſt he was employed by Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, that liberal protectreſs of merit, and died at Roſbach, in the duchy of Mecklenburgh, in the year 1645 (1).

(B) This terrible tragedy was acted in the caſtle of the Hague, on the 13th day of May, A. D. 1619, when Barneveldt was ſeventy-two years of age, fifty of which he had ſpent with equal integrity and ability, in the different employments of ambaſſador to the courts of France and England, and penſionary of the ſtates of Holland. A medal was ſtruck in honour of his memory. All his virtues now, when too late, were approved in their full luſtre. He was called a martyr to his country, the protector of liberty, the father, the friend, and the advocate of the provinces; in a word, his memory is held in veneration to this day, and his death regarded as the deepeſt ſtain upon the houſe of Orange.

(1) See his Life.

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the affections of the people, when he hoped to obtain the sovereignty. Instead of being adored as a hero, he was detested as a tyrant. As he passed through the cities, nothing but murmurs and the name of Barneveldt could be heard, where formerly Maurice was received as the guardian and protector of his country. In a word, the death of Barneveldt laid the foundation of a conspiracy against the life of the prince, which was discovered only a few hours before the time appointed for the execution. The design was projected by Satnlemburgh, governor of Bergen op Zoom, who, with his accomplices, fell a sacrifice to patriotism and filial duty [c].

SECT. VIII.

Containing the commercial Affairs of the Republic during the Truce; the renewal of the War with Albert; the Death of Prince Maurice; the Proposals of Peace made by Isabella, frustrated by the French Ministry; the Treaty with France against Spain, &c.

The state of commerce at the expiration of the truce.

DURING the truce with the archduke, the United Provinces had paid the most assiduous attention to trade and navigation, which were astonishingly improved and extended, by voyages to Asia, Africa, and America, in all of which this indefatigable people had erected colonies, and founded settlements. The returns made by the East India company alone were sufficient to aggrandize the state, and raise this infant republic to a degree of naval power, scarcely to be paralleled in history. Vast fleets, equal in strength to hostile armaments, returned with the richest treasures and spices of the Indies; the Baltic swarmed with Dutch ships; the flag of the republic became even well known in the Levant; and her shipping traded to the Spanish West Indies with as much security as if the provinces were still under the protection of the Spanish monarchy. Venice, a republic the first in opulence and power in the world, gladly solicited the friendship of this new commonwealth, and was forced to make court to a people, whose industry was the ruin of her commerce, and the chief cause of her decline. The foundation was laid of an empire at Batavia, infinitely superior in wealth, power, and grandeur, to the republic of the United Provinces, where the providence of the Dutch seemed to secure a retreat, in

[c] Le Clerc, lib. ix. tom. i. Grot. Apol. cap. 59.

case

case by any fatal accident their liberties should be destroyed in Europe [a].

Such was the situation of this republic at the expiration of the truce with Albert, a prince who, from his pacific and moderate sentiments, justly merited the appellation of Pious. It was the archduke's sincere intention to pass his life in tranquillity, and end his days in perfect harmony with the United Provinces. He admired the spirit of liberty, the independency, and the industry of men, whom he otherways regarded as rebels and heretics; experience convinced him of the impossibility of subduing them, and he was taught by the dictates of sound policy, to put up with the loss of seven provinces rather than hazard the ruin of the remaining ten, which constituted his dominions. But the court of Spain entertained different sentiments. Losses, defeats, and mortifications, had not yet subdued the haughty spirit of the house of Austria; and Philip could not support the thoughts of seeing so precious a jewel torn from his diadem. Thus the long cessation of hostilities, which it was hoped would calm passion, compose resentment, and open the way to a durable solid pacification, had no other effect than that of enabling the parties to resume the war with redoubled vigour.

Negociations for a new treaty.

Previous, however, to the renewal of hostilities, Albert sent Peckins, chancellor of Brabant, to the Hague, either to conclude a new treaty, or procure an audience of the prince. The superb equipage in which he appeared, gave offence to the frugal Dutchmen; it prejudiced them against whatever he could offer: but the extravagance of his propositions, dictated by the court of Madrid, were not even deemed worthy of a reply by the states general. The populace insulted the ambassador, and he returned highly irritated to Brussels. Albert beheld with uneasiness the obstinacy of the Spanish ministry; he endeavoured to palliate their demands, and grant a truce upon the same footing as the preceding. For this purpose secret agents were employed in Holland; but as Philip publicly insisted, that the provinces should enter into their former subjection, all the negociations vanished. Spinola took the field with fifteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he penetrated into the country of Juliers, ordering the count de Berg, with a strong detachment, to invest the city of Juliers, which had been garrisoned by Dutch forces since the death of the duke of Cleves. He was well acquainted with the divisions in the provinces, and weak condition of the army under prince Maurice. Berg invested Juliers; but finding

A D. 1621.

Renewal of the war.

[a] Basnage, p. 6. Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 73.

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the garrison numerous and resolute, he converted the siege into a blockade, by which he reduced the place to the necessity of surrendering, in despite of the utmost efforts of the prince to throw in succours[d].

Notwithstanding this advantage, and the great superiority of his forces, the archduke was still desirous of an accommodation: he was on the point of renewing the negociations, when he was seized with a disorder which carried him off, and deprived the Netherlands of all hope of seeing an end to their calamities. It was expected that the death of Philip III. which fell out about this time, and the minority that ensued, would have accelerated a peace; but the Spanish ministry, as well as the counsellors about the archduchess, found their advantage in the continuance of the war. It is likewise said, that Spinola, animated with his success before Juliers, encouraged by the distraction of the provinces, and the strength of his army, promised to reduce the Dutch in a few campaigns to absolute subjection. In pursuance of this design he assembled his whole army, with intention to invest Bergen op Zoom, the strongest fortress in Dutch Brabant. Maurice penetrated his meaning, and took care to provide the garrison with liberal reinforcements of men, ammunition, and provisions. The prince had his head-quarters at Emmeric, whence he detached colonel Henderson, a Scotchman, with seven hundred men, who threw themselves into the town, in defiance of the vigilance of Spinola. Soon after the colonel sallied out with a numerous party, on the quarter of the besiegers commanded by Baglioni, general of the Italian forces. Here, after an obstinate conflict, he was wounded, just as he was on the point of obtaining the victory; his party, finding themselves unsupported, retired with some precipitation,
A. D. 1622. and the colonel died the day following, deeply regretted by prince Maurice. Now the siege was pushed with great vigour, and the resistance was such as might be expected from a brave garrison, animated in defence of liberty, and assisted by strong fortifications. However, the prince, who was too weak to offer battle to Spinola, formed an enterprize on Boisleduc, which he thought would necessarily draw off the attention of the enemy, and interrupt, if he could not wholly suspend, the operations against Bergen op Zoom. But he was soon obliged to abandon the design from a variety of untoward accidents. As yet he was not reinforced by the German protestants under count Mansfeldt and the duke of Brunswic. These auxiliaries were arrived at Sedan;

[d] Mem. de Fred. Hen. Pr. d'Orange, p. 12, 13.

but

but before they could proceed, it was neceſſary to fight Gonzales with a ſtrong detachment. Upon this the count determined, and accordingly attacked the Spaniard, who received his charge with great intrepidity. After an obſtinate and bloody action, in which the duke of Brunſwic was dangerouſly wounded, victory declared for Manſveldt; the enemy retreated, and he was left to purſue his march unmoleſted.

Spinola had proſecuted the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour, and performed every thing which could be expected from an officer of experience and ability. All thoſe expedients which he had practiſed with ſucceſs at Oſtend were now repeated, and every ſtratagem of the military art exhauſted; but the length of the ſiege occaſioned great deſertion in his camp; his army was exceedingly diminiſhed, and the beſieged were encouraged to a more ſpirited defence by the late advantage gained by Manſveldt, which they hoped would enable prince Maurice to give battle to the Spaniards. Manſveldt had brought a reinforcement of four thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot; and the prince had beſides ordered his brother prince Henry to join him with his whole army. He was now at Emmeric with a body of eight thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe, oppoſing the deſigns of the count de Berg. Upon the union of all the different corps, the main army exceeded twenty thouſand infantry and ſeven thouſand cavalry, a force more than ſufficient to compel the exhauſted, diſpirited Spaniards to relinquiſh the ſiege of Bergen op Zoom. Accordingly Spinola broke up his camp on the approach of the prince of Orange, and retired in ſuch good order, that Maurice, who well knew his capacity, apprehended this motion was a feint, only to lull him and the garriſon into ſecurity. It proved otherwiſe, and Spinola had the mortification to ſee himſelf baffled, for the firſt time, in a ſiege which had coſt him the lives of ten thouſand ſoldiers, of the flower of his army. On the 4th day of October prince Maurice entered Bergen op Zoom with thirty troops of horſe, and next day he was followed by prince Henry, count Erneſt de Naſſau, and other officers, with whom he concerted the plan of their future operations.

Spinola raiſes the ſiege of Bergen op Zoom.

Some time before Bergen op Zoom was inveſted, the governor of Antwerp had laid ſiege to Sluys with ten thouſand men, by expreſs order of the archdutcheſs; but the ſtrength of the place, the valour of the garriſon, and the dreadful inundation in which they overwhelmed the country, by breaking their dykes, and opening the ſluices, rendered the enterprize fruitleſs, and obliged Ignatio de Borgia to decamp with

with great loss and precipitation. Nor was this the only attempt in which the Spaniards failed, during the tedious siege of Bergen op Zoom. They laid siege to Hasselt, an inconsiderable town in Overyssel, and would have reduced the place but for the vigorous and gallant conduct of the burghers of Haerlem, led on by the captains Olican and Vander Camer, who penetrated through the enemies camp, entered the town, made a furious sally, and obliged the Spaniards to retreat with great slaughter, and the loss of their artillery.

Prince Maurice, having accomplished his purpose at Bergen op Zoom, retired to Rosendal, and sent a detachment to invest Steinberg, which capitulated before the batteries were erected. Spinola too had retreated towards Antwerp, where he was joined by six thousand men, just arrived from Spain, and the corps under the count de Berg. With this reinforcement he was superior to the Hollanders; accordingly he advanced within three leagues of the prince's camp, and offered battle, which the prince declined, saying, he had come to relieve Bergen op Zoom, and reduce Steinberg; he had accomplished both designs, and was satisfied. Upon receiving this answer, Spinola turned off towards Brussels, and Maurice marched to Breda. The enemy resumed their operations, and the count de Berg was detached to lay siege to Pfaffenmutz, while prince Maurice was contriving the means of getting rid of his troublesome ally, count Mansveldt, who with his undisciplined troops, accustomed to violence and rapine, was desolating the provinces with all the fury of a barbarous enemy. At last the Germans crossed the Rhine, and passed into Westphalia; when Maurice was in hopes that Mansveldt would have attempted the relief of Pfaffenmutz, the brave garrison of which, after a most gallant defence, and suffering extreme hardships, was forced to capitulate. The count de Berg repaired the fortifications, put a strong garrison into the place, and changed the name to that of Fort Isabella; but the works were soon after destroyed, in consequence of a petition presented to the emperor and diet at Ratisbon, by the magistrates of Cologne.

Maurice is disappointed in his designs on Antwerp.

At the time prince Maurice declined the challenge sent by Spinola, he was meditating an attempt upon the most considerable city in the Netherlands. Antwerp was the great object of his designs, and he took every precaution to draw off the enemy's attention from this city. The scheme was so well laid, that, on taking leave of the states at the Hague, he said, "That God only could prevent the success of the enterprize." However, it miscarried, through a train

a train of unavoidable accidents, which human sagacity could not foresee. The fleet, assembled at the Briel, was locked up by a sudden frost; some of the vessels which had put to sea were lost in a storm; two regiments were shipwrecked; and thus the finest project that had been concerted during the war proved abortive. Flanders and Brabant must have followed the fate of Antwerp, the loss of which would have been a mortal blow to the Spanish affairs. Disappointed in a scheme upon which he had set his heart, Maurice returned, greatly chagrined, to Ryswic, where a conspiracy against his life was discovered. The author was William Barneveldt, grandson of the pensioner, who determined to revenge the ignominious death of that celebrated patriot. He communicated his design of assassinating the prince to his elder brother, the sieur Barneveldt, of Groenveldt, exhorting him to assist in avenging the indignity done the family, and in ridding the provinces of a tyrant, whose sole aim was to acquire the sovereignty of the country, and subject the people to a more cruel slavery than they had suffered under the dominion of Spain. But Groenveldt received the proposal with horror, and used every argument in his power to prevail upon William to drop an attempt which must terminate in the ruin and disgrace of the conspirators. His remonstrance produced no effect; William was obstinate and implacable; his violent spirit knew no bounds, and he resolved to pursue his vengeance at the hazard of his own destruction. He engaged in the plot a number of Arminians, actuated, like himself, by an aversion to Maurice, and a desire of rescuing their country from bondage. It was determined to shoot the prince on his way from Ryswic to the Hague; and the conspirators had all their proper parts assigned them; the arms were purchased, and the day for execution was fixed. Two of his associates, struck with remorse, discovered the conspiracy; the prince returned to the Hague, doubled his guards, and Barneveldt escaped to Antwerp, where he died some years after. Four of the conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and executed. Groenveldt likewise was taken into custody, and condemned as a party, because he had not discovered his brother's intentions. It was not sufficient that he had endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt; he was beheaded, and considered by the people as a martyr to fraternal affection, an innocent victim offered to appease the resentment of prince Maurice [c].

A.D. 1623.

A conspiracy against his life discovered.

[c] Neuville Hist. de Hollande, tom. i. lib. v.

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The perſecution renewed againſt the Arminians.

This opportunity was favourable to the Gomariſts, and they did not fail to embrace it, in renewing their perſecutions againſt the Arminian party. They gave out that the whole ſect was engaged in the conſpiracy; notwithſtanding the edict of the ſtates, which had forbid the revival of all religious diſputes, they began publiſhing bitter invectives againſt the Arminians; and even accuſed a little ſociety, formed for the ſupport of poor ſectariſts, of a deſign againſt the government. It was affirmed, that the Arminian miniſters, baniſhed the provinces, had returned in diſguiſe, and were exerting their utmoſt influence to excite the people to rebellion. In a word, they carried their violences to ſo great a length, and were ſo powerfully ſupported by the prince of Orange, that, by an ordonnance publiſhed in the month of February, in the name of Maurice and the ſtates of Utrecht, the Arminians were declared rebels and enemies to their country; they were proſcribed afreſh, and a reward of ſix hundred livres offered to whoever ſhould accuſe any of them of crimes and miſdemeanors againſt the government, or deſigns upon the prince of Orange; nor was the reward limited to conviction: the accuſer had his pay upon lodging the heads of his accuſation in ſome public court; by which means a door was opened for corruption, perjury, and perſecution. Armed with legiſlative power, the Gomariſts kept no bounds; they not only abuſed the Arminians from the pulpit, reviling them with the opprobrious names of traitors and parricides, but they proceeded to perſecute individuals, and to eſtabliſh courts as iniquitous and oppreſſive as thoſe inquiſitions which had originally occaſioned the defection of the Seven Provinces. The Arminians preſented a petition, craving the protection of the ſtates general againſt ſuch unprecedented cruelty. They ſolemnly diſavowed all knowlege of the horrid conſpiracy with which they were charged; they remonſtrated on the injuſtice of perſecuting a whole body of people for the crimes of certain guilty members; they declared they had no relation, connection, or intereſt in the fate of the conſpirators, whom they deteſted and abhorred; they urged their ſervices to the ſtates, and preſſed that they might be tried by the laws of their country in the uſual form, and not dragged before courts determined upon finding them criminal. The famous Grotius ſupported this petition with an apology for the Arminians, founded on the common rights of humanity, and the laws of the provinces; but this maſterly piece, inſtead of convincing, ſerved only to irritate the minds of the Gomariſts. The ſtates did not care to interpoſe, as the prince of Orange

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and the province of Utrecht had given sanction to the persecution. And thus the unfortunate Arminians were left a prey to the most implacable of all enemies, as they were actuated by the spirit of political and theological rancour.

It must indeed be confessed, that the prince of Orange had some cause for that implacable hatred he bore the Arminian faction, which had long wished to see the influence of his family retrenched. All the accomplices in the late conspiracy were of this party. Slatius, an Arminian preacher of Bliswick, now in custody, and actually engaged in the plot, had confessed on the rack that all the principal persons of his persuasion were accessaries to the design of assassinating Maurice, and subverting the government. This evidence was extorted from him by the violence of the torture, and the hope given him of pardon; however, it left suspicions injurious to the Arminians in the minds of several men extremely moderate in their sentiments; though, when his declaration came to be read, it appeared a mere tissue of malevolence and calumny. He was, therefore, condemned to death; and a libel he had published the preceding year against the prince of Orange, ordered to be burned by the hands of the executioner [d]. Several other persons were beheaded at the Hague and Leyden, only because they were Arminians, and consequently supposed favourers of the violent measures upon which some turbulent, headstrong, and bigotted individuals of the same faction had entered.

In this manner was Holland torn with civil faction, and at the same time oppressed with an expensive, bloody war, against the whole power of the Spanish monarchy; while her commerce was disturbed by the piracies of the Barbary corsairs, especially those of Tunis and Algiers. The states complained, by their ambassadors, to the courts of Fez and Constantinople, under whose protection the Barbary states skreen themselves; but they could obtain no redress, because several of these claim a kind of independency under the dominion of their deys, and prove extremely useful auxiliaries to the grand signor and the emperor of Morocco. In order, therefore, to get rid of such troublesome foes, the states entered into a kind of composition with the maritime cities of Barbary, whereby it was declared, that the enemies of either should be regarded as the enemies of both. This agreement was purchased by a sum of money; and, to render it more valid, a treaty was concluded between the United Provinces and the joint em-

Treaty with the states of Barbary.

[d] Neuville, tom. i. lib. v.

pire of Fez and Morocco. In consequence of this agreement they committed hostilities against the Spaniards, in which they were assisted by the Dutch and Germans; although the latter were waging an actual land-war with the states; for the emperor, without declaring openly against the Hollanders, maintained two formidable armies to assist their enemies, and, if possible, to reduce the Netherlands once more under the dominion of the house of Austria. One was distinguished by the name of the German Catholics; it had been employed against the Protestants of Bohemia, commanded by count Tilly, and was now ordered to advance into Friseland. The other, conducted by Gonzales de Cordova, acted along the Lower Rhine in the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, and was composed chiefly of Spaniards, under the direction of the emperor. It was proposed to join these to Spinola's army, in order to form such a body of forces as should, at one blow, crush the rebellious Hollanders.

A. D. 1624. Sensible of what was transacting among the enemy, the states endeavoured to ward off the impending stroke by an artifice that succeeded. They again employed Mansveldt and the bishop of Halberstadt to make a diversion; furnishing them with money to begin new levies. With these auxiliaries it was resolved to carry the war into Liege, Cologne, and the Catholic part of Westphalia, in order to draw the attention of Tilly and Gonzales from the United Provinces. They likewise entered into an alliance with Bethleem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, who was in open rebellion against the emperor, with a view to employ the imperial army in Hungary; and by attacking the court of Vienna in so many parts, distract her counsels and divide her forces. Mansveldt began his expeditions, or rather his depredations, in East Friseland and Westphalia. He ravaged, pillaged, and desolated with the cruelty of a barbarian; respecting neither age nor sex, and robbing without distinction the indigent and wealthy. Encouraged by his success, the Dutch garrison in the little town of Lippe made irruptions into Westphalia, and levied prodigious contributions; inspiring the states with a high opinion of the scheme concerted to divert the enemy, and an inclination to augment the irregular auxiliaries. With respect to the bishop of Halberstadt, the Spaniards opposed his crossing the Weser, and placed strong garrisons in Hoxter, Hamelen, Rintelen, and Wecht; but count Stirum, a few days after, took this last place by assault, and put the whole garrison to the sword. These hostilities, and others committed in Lower Saxony, produced an assembly of the princes,

princes, where a league was concluded for the defence of the circle. The bishop of Halberstadt was chosen captain-general of the forces of the circle, by which the powers in alliance thought to detach him from the interest of Mansveldt and the United Provinces. His brother, the duke of Brunswic, engaged to the emperor for his honour; and, in consequence of this engagement, Tilly had instructions not to penetrate into Lower Saxony. To these promises made by the duke, the ambitious prelate paid little regard. He saw himself at the head of a fine army of nineteen thousand foot and five thousand six hundred horse; he despised the emperor's pardon, and drew upon himself the indignation of the court of Vienna, the allied powers of Lower Saxony, and the whole weight of count Tilly's forces. At length he was defeated at Statlo, and his army entirely destroyed, except six thousand of the scattered remains, which were picked up, and retained in their service, by the Hollanders [e].

Victory obtained by count Tilly.

Upon the bishop's defeat, Mansveldt retired to East Friseland, a province at that time disturbed by civil dissensions. In the city of Embden alone were no less than three parties; one declared for the natural sovereign, one for the emperor, and a third for the United Provinces. Tilly, who knew the ill treatment which the inhabitants had received from Mansveldt, thought to profit by their aversion to that general, and the friends of the bishop of Halberstadt, and for that purpose to enter the territory of Embden in conjunction with Gonzales. The United Provinces were apprised of his design soon enough to prevent it, by sending prince Henry and count Ernest Casimir of Nassau, with a body of forces, towards the city. A garrison of twelve complete companies was left in the town and citadel; the harbour was put into a state of defence, and the whole party for the emperor banished. This precaution destroyed all Tilly's schemes, and obliged him to retire to Westphalia, where he revenged the disappointment on the towns held in that country by the Hollanders. Sparemberg, and several places of less consideration, felt the effects of his resentment; he afterwards marched to invest Lippe, or Lippstat, the only remaining town the Hollanders possessed in Westphalia, and a place of the utmost consequence. The garrison, composed of French and Dutch soldiers, was numerous, and well provided. Tilly made regular approaches, battered the walls with great fury, gave the assault, and was vigorously repulsed; but finding

[e] Neuville, tom. i. lib. v.

that Mansveldt did not care to hazard a battle, the garrison at last surrendered the place upon honourable conditions. As the winter approached, the armies of both side retired into quarters; and fruitless negociations were renewed in this, as in every other preceding season. Before we resume the military operations by land, it will be necessary to give a short view of the naval transactions of the United Provinces.

Naval transactions.

Soon after the treaty with the states of Barbary, the provinces experienced how little confidence ought to be placed in the faith of pirates. Four Dutch ships were attacked on the coast of Genoa by the corsairs of Algiers, and three were taken, after a long and bloody engagement. The fourth, determined not to fall into the hands of so cruel and perfidious an enemy, fought desperately; and the crew, finding all endeavours vain, set fire to the powder-room, and blew themselves up, with seventy of the barbarians who had boarded the vessel. Nor was this the only loss sustained in the course of this year; another of more importance happened, in consequence of a well concerted plan of the court of Madrid, whereby upwards of a hundred sail of Dutch ships were seized in the harbours of Spain and Portugal (A).

But these losses, considerable as they appeared, were amply recompenced by the prodigious success of the East India company. The trade was extended, the settlements were established on the most secure footing, the enemies colonies miserably harrassed, and their shipping entirely destroyed. Above sixty rich vessels were taken or sunk, and the booty amounted to upwards of two millions sterling, a remittance now made to Europe, to enable the provinces to support the war with vigour, and extricate themselves with honour out of a quarrel of which Spain grew heartily tired.

The naval operations of Holland were not confined to Europe and Asia; a strong fleet was sent to America, under

(A) It must be remembered, that, through the whole course of this war, the Dutch traded to the Spanish ports, as if they had been in entire friendship with the crown; than which nothing can furnish a stronger idea of the attachment of the Hollanders to gain and commerce. It was no uncommon practice with them to supply towns with provisions that were besieged by their own armies; and to furnish the enemy with ammunition and other necessaries; without which they could not continue the war. Their motive and their apology was, that they, by these means, kept in their own hands the profits with which other nations would be enriched.

admiral

admiral Hermit, with instructions to penetrate to the source of those vast treasures which the Spaniards drew from Peru, and their settlements on the southern continent of America. Willekens had been detached with a squadron to Brasil about four months before. When the viceroy of Lima understood that a Dutch fleet was upon the coast, he immediately equipped a powerful armament, which he drew up in the port of Callao, on which he doubted not the Hollanders would make their first attack. Hermit was not discouraged by the superiority of the enemy; they were more than double his force, but he boldly crouded sail for the harbour, and greatly astonished the Spaniards at his boldness, who were then preparing to give him chace, not expecting he would presume to offer battle. The engagement was begun by the two admirals, whose example was followed by the vice-admirals, and the conflict maintained with great obstinacy, until the Spanish admiral's ship, with eight hundred men on board, was sunk, and the vice-admiral's burned. The loss of these two ships was succeeded by the destruction of nine more, six of which were sunk and three consumed by fire. The enemy retired under the cannon of the town; Hermit pursued, and the action was renewed with redoubled fury. In the space of an hour eleven Spanish men of war were sunk, taken, and destroyed. The consternation was so great in Lima, that, had the admiral pursued his blow, he must infallibly have taken the town, and gained possession of the immense treasures lodged in the citadel. But he wanted to refresh his men, in order to attack the place with more vigour next day; by which time the viceroy had assembled a numerous army that rendered the scheme impracticable.

Successes of the Dutch in South America.

Admiral Willekens arrived in All Saints bay on the 8th day of May, and next day cast anchor before the town of St. Salvador, the capital of the country, and the residence of the Portuguese viceroy. His squadron consisted of nine large ships, manned with fifteen hundred sailors and two thousand marines. All the soldiers were put on board the four ships that composed the van, in order to persuade the enemy that the other ships were equally crouded. Willekens landed with all his forces, drove the enemy from the shore, and obliged them to hide themselves behind the walls of the city; the vice-admiral, in the mean time, gaining possession of a strong battery, that formed a kind of outwork, on a projecting rock. Next day they found the town abandoned by the inhabitants, and the gates set open; however, the garrison still continued in the castle, until finding that all resistance would prove fruitless, they surrendered.

rendered. The town was pillaged, and vaſt quantities of rich merchandize were ſent on board for the uſe of the Weſt India company; nor did the ſoldiers even ſpare the churches, from whence they carried off great quantities of plate, and other valuable moveables. Colonel Van Dort was appointed governor of the town, and a ſtrong garriſon left to ſupport his government. His firſt act was to publiſh a manifeſto, in the name of the ſtates, allowing liberty of conſcience to all who would take an oath of fidelity to the republic of the United Provinces. He then hoiſted the Spaniſh flag, in order to deceive the Spaniſh and Portugueſe ſhipping, and had the good fortune to ſeize eight rich merchantmen by this ſtratagem. Willekens diſpatched three men of war to Europe, with an account of the ſucceſs of the expedition. On their voyage they took ſeveral valuable prizes, and their arrival in Holland gave the greateſt ſatisfaction, as it was not doubted but the entire conqueſt of the Braſils would enſue [s].

The Spaniards miſcarry in an expedition to the provinces.

While the United Provinces were thus victorious in America, the court of Spain were making great preparations to oppreſs them in Europe, and terminate a war which had hitherto ſerved only to draw the treaſures of Peru and Mexico into Holland. The deſigns of the Spaniards, however, created leſs uneaſineſs to the ſtates than did the conduct of their allies, whoſe rapacity became more troubleſome than their ſervices were uſeful. Manſveldt, deſtitute of money and proviſions, in Eaſt Friſeland, kept poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortreſſes, which he offered to ſell to the ſtates general for three hundred thouſand florins; a propoſal that was accepted, though extremely unjuſt, becauſe his troops were expreſsly hired for that ſervice. By this bargain the Dutch, who were already in poſſeſſion of Embden, formed a good barrier on that ſide againſt the incurſions of the Germans and Spaniards. Manſveldt now reſolved to penetrate into the biſhoprick of Munſter; but, being defeated in ſeveral enterprizes, he returned to Holland with a number of officers, who profeſſed themſelves entirely at his devotion. The ſeverity and duration of the froſt encouraged the Spaniards that were quartered in Cleves to undertake two expeditions upon the ice. They croſſed the Yſſel, entered Velau, and penetrated into the province of Holland, in which they had not before ſet foot for a number of years. By the other expedition it was propoſed to invade the territory of Drente and the province of Groningen. Prince Maurice, hearing of the pre-

[s] Le Clerc, Hiſt. Med. tom. xii.

parations

parations at Antwerp, frustrated the design: he put the fortresses in the best posture of defence, and employed several thousand men in breaking the ice at all the passages; yet could not all his vigilance prevent the count de Bergue from crossing the Yssel with forty troops of horse and ten thousand infantry, filling Dutch Guelderland with consternation, and advancing to Arnheim, which he invested. The garrison having been seasonably reinforced, made a vigorous resistance; but the excessive inclemency of the weather gave greater obstruction to the count's progress than the fire and sallies of the besieged. He therefore dropped the enterprize, and pushed forward to Eede, where he received advice that the prince of Orange was arrived at Utrecht, with all his forces, and forty pieces of cannon. This intelligence broke all his measures, and he began to think of an expeditious retreat, from an apprehension he should be shut up by the breaking of the frost, and exposed to famine, and the hazard of a defeat. He retired with precipitation, and repassed the Yssel, abandoning all the great designs he had formed with the loss of near half his army, which perished by cold, hunger, or the sword; the Dutch garrisons in Arnheim, Zutphen, and Deventer, sallying out upon his rear, and making prodigious slaughter. Nor was the other expedition very successful, though it bore the most promising aspect; it ended in burning some villages, and taking prisoners a number of peasants; the prince of Orange's diligence entirely confounded the Spaniards, who thought to find the provinces defenceless, and lulled in profound security.

Still the old quarrel continued between the elector of Brandenburgh, assisted by the Dutch and German Protestants; and the duke of Newburg, supported by the Spaniards and catholic powers, about the succession to the duchy of Juliers. The wretched inhabitants of Cleves, Juliers, La Marc, Ravensburg, and Ravestein, were equally oppressed by both parties; each of whom endeavoured to support their claims at the expence of the country. This contest gave birth to a negociation between the elector and duke, whereby it was proposed to compromise a difference that tended only to desolate the people, whom both called their subjects. A treaty was signed, and the parties sent the articles to the Hague and Brussels to receive the sanction of the states and the archduchess. But neither the Spaniards nor the Dutch chose to resign the towns they possessed in the countries disputed; and thus the negociation was rendered fruitless, and the inhabitants kept in a state of grievous oppression.

Naval tranſactions.

A ſtrict regard to their ſeveral intereſts was the only particular in which the archduchefs and the ſtates of the United Provinces agreed. While that princeſs joined iſſue with the Dutch, in rejecting a treaty which would have reſtored peace to the territories of Juliers and Cleves, ſhe was taking meaſures to repair the loſſes lately ſuſtained on the ocean, and recompence the miſcarriage of the late expeditions into the provinces. With this view ſhe had collected a conſiderable naval force at Dunkirk, conſiſting of nine large men of war, and a great number of ſmall privateers, with which incredible damage was done to the Dutch commerce. Beſides a variety of other veſſels, fifty fiſhing buſſes, and an Engliſh man of war of fifty guns, were taken by the enemy; in a word, ſo formidable was this ſquadron, that the ſtates offered a reward of ten thouſand florins, and the benefit of the prize, to whoever ſhould equip a force ſufficient to take one of the larger veſſels; the ſame reward was offered for each of the nine men of war, and a portionable gratuity for ſingle privateers. Excited by theſe promiſes a number of adventurers ſoon appeared. and, among the reſt, general Lambert, who, with a conſiderable force, gave chace to ſix men of war as they quitted Dunkirk, came up with them, and maintained a bloody engagement for ſeveral hours. He was killed by a muſket-ball in the heat of the action; a great number of his people periſhed, and the whole Dutch fleet was extremely ſhattered: but the enemy did not fare better; one of the ſhips, with the whole crew, went to the bottom; another was driven aſhore and deſtroyed, and the four remaining ſheered off in a wretched plight to the Engliſh coaſt. Though this engagement did not prove deciſive, it however checked the ardour of the Spaniards, who now ſlackened greatly in their cruizes, and appeared with more caution out of their harbours. The Dutch, however, fully balanced the loſſes ſuſtained here, by other more fortunate cruizes on the coaſts of Spain, Portugal, and Barbary. Among other valuable prizes they took a ſhip laden with the plate, rich furniture, and money, of the conde de Lemos, viceroy of Sicily, eſtimated at a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling [h].

Treaty with France.

Theſe, and other misfortunes, obliged the Spaniards to have recourſe to extraordinary methods to repair their marine; for which purpoſe ſeveral French ſhips were detained in their ports, and the crews and ſhipping employed in the king's ſervice. France remonſtrated upon this violence of-

[h] Neuville, Hiſt. tom. i. lib. v.

fered

fered to the rights of nations, but could obtain no redreſs; and this furniſhed a pretext for a cloſer alliance between the French king and the provinces. Ambaſſadors were ſent to Paris, and a treaty was concluded; whereby the ſtates agreed, on their part, not to enter upon any negociations of peace, nor even a truce, without the conſent of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; to aſſociate the king's ſubjects in the trade to the Eaſt Indies; to allow the free exerciſe of their religion to the French ambaſſador, his domeſtics, and the king's troops ſerving in the provinces, provided this was done in ſo private a manner as to give no umbrage to the profeſſors of the eſtabliſhed religion of the provinces; and to revoke their treaties with the corſairs of Barbary. At the ſame time the ſtates contracted an alliance with the crown of England, which never proved of any ſervice, unleſs we except the opportunity with which it furniſhed the Hollanders of gaining poſſeſſion of ſome Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, by the moſt inſidious and barbarous conduct, which James was too indolent and puſillanimous to reſent.

Preparations of the Spaniards.

What rendered the Dutch more eager to fortify themſelves by alliances, were the vaſt preparations making by the Spaniards and the archduchefs in the Netherlands, where it was reported an army of fifty thouſand men would open the campaign. One diviſion of this extraordinary force was deſtined to act in Brabant, and to lay ſiege to Breda, under the conduct of Spinola. It conſiſted of twenty-ſix thouſand infantry and five thouſand cavalry. A ſecond corps of nine thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, under the count de Berg, was to attack the places held by the Dutch and the elector of Brandenburgh, in the dutchies of Juliers and Cleves; while a third body was to form a flying camp, and make inroads into the provinces, by means of the Vaal and Meuſe. The command of this camp was aſſigned to Juan Bravo de Lagunas. All that the ſtates could oppoſe to ſo formidable an army, was a corps conſiſting of thirteen thouſand infantry and four thouſand horſe, under the immediate command of the prince of Orange, and another of ſix thouſand foot, and eighteen troops of dragoons, conducted by prince Henry, but ſubject to the orders of Maurice. The former was deſtined to oppoſe Spinola, and the latter to cover the countries which the count de Berg was directed to invade. On the 16th day of July, Spinola quitted Bruſſels, and advanced with his whole army towards Heuſden, a motion which alarmed Breda, though he had taken every meaſure to conceal his real deſign upon that city. Juſtin Naſſau,

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the natural son of William, prince of Orange, was governor of Breda; he supplied the garrison in the most plentiful manner with provision and ammunition; broke down the bridges and avenues to the city; ruined the surrounding mills; laid the adjacent country waste; and destroyed whatever could prove useful to the enemy, or any way assist their approaches. Prince Henry used the same precautions for the security of Rees and Emmeric, and armed the peasants to defend the passes. In the month of August, the count de Berg laid siege to Mundeburg, which was garrisoned by the Brandenburghers, and obliged it to surrender. Thence he marched to Cleves, a circumstance which so alarmed the garrison, that, retiring into the citadel, they left the city open to the Spaniards, upon which the magistrates presented the keys to the Spanish general, and put themselves under the protection of the archduchess. The citadel surrendered after a feeble resistance; and the victorious Spaniards, without regarding their promises to the magistrates, obliged the townsmen to purchase an exemption from being pillaged at an enormous price. After having exacted an oath of fidelity to the archduchess from the inhabitants, the count formed several unsuccessful enterprizes against Ravestein, leaving a strong garrison in Cleves. However, he found means to reduce Griet and Genep, before he marched to join Spinola, who had by this time invested Breda.

Siege of Breda.

This city was among the strongest and most considerable places in the Netherlands, being fortified with the utmost caution and ability, by the late and present princes of Orange. The citadel, which formed the residence of the princes of that family, was surrounded by a ditch of prodigious depth filled with water, and a strong wall, defended by three great bastions. The arsenal was celebrated for its extent, and the vast quantities of arms and military stores it contained. As to Spinola, he was perfectly acquainted with the strength of the place, and thought he should expose his whole army to imminent destruction, should he attempt an assault before he had regularly carried on his approaches. He even resolved upon reducing the city by famine, as the method attended with least danger to his army; and accordingly began with drawing trenches round, for the space of four miles, erecting forts and redoubts at certain distances.

A.D. 1625.

On the other hand, the garrison, consisting of seven thousand infantry, and several troops of horse, composed of English, French, and Dutch soldiers, took the most vigorous measures for their own defence. The English were under the command of colonel Morgan, who had frequently

quently diſtinguiſhed his valour in the ſervice of the ſtates; the French were directed by colonel de Hauterive; and the Dutch troops were ſubject to the immediate orders of colonel Lohre, though the whole received their inſtructions from Juſtin de Naſſau, the governor. The firſt advantage was gained by Baglioni, who ſeized a large convoy of proviſions and ſtores coming up the river, converting the boats into a bridge. This loſs diſpirited the beſieged, and reduced them to a ſtated allowance of bread; however, they were encouraged by the return of the prince of Orange to the Hague, after having retaken Cleves, and obliged the Spaniſh garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion. He now advanced to Werkam, and was contriving the means of diverting Spinola's attention from the ſiege of Breda, by a ſecond attempt on Antwerp, which likewiſe miſcarried, juſt as it was on the point of execution, though planned with the utmoſt caution and ability. Already the Dutch cavalry had gained poſſeſſion of all the avenues to the city, the ditch was filled with boats, and ſeveral ladders were applied to the walls in the night, when a Spaniſh centinel diſcovered the deſign. Immediately the alarm ſpread, the garriſon was under arms, and the governor had the addreſs to order a number of trumpets and warlike inſtruments to be ſounded in different parts of the city, to apprize the Hollanders that he ſtood in his defence. By this expedient, the prince's troops were ſeized with a panic; they conceived a whole army encloſed within; they abandoned their poſts with great precipitation; and were deaf to all Maurice's intreaties and menaces, until they got beyond the reach of danger. About ten days after this miſcarriage, the prince prevailed upon his troops to reſume the enterprize; but it was then too late, and he perceived before he could approach the city, that the garriſon was prepared. This conſideration obliged him to withdraw his army; and he retired to the Hague, where care, chagrin, and diſappointment, brought on a diſorder that ended with his life, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, forty of which had been conſtantly employed in the ſervice of his country. He was buried at Delft, in the tomb erected for his father, regretted as the preſerver of his country, and admired as the greateſt ſtateſman and warrior of his age. Vigilant, indefatigable, penetrating, cautious, enterprizing, and ſagacious, he united all the virtues of a general and hero, with the knowlege of a ſcholar. Particularly learned in the arts belonging to the cabinet and the field, he had alſo made great proficiency in thoſe more properly within the ſphere of the gentleman and the philoſopher.

Prince Maurice's death and character.

ſopher. He had a taſte for the fine arts, eſpecially drawing and architecture; but his principal ſtudy was engineering, fortification, and thoſe branches of the mathematics which relate to the military art. In theſe he was a maſter, having proved the ſpeculative knowlege by long and aſſiduous practice. His camp was the ſchool of great officers, where perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, and the beſt ſoldiers in France, received the firſt principles of education. Ambition was his prevailing foible. This had led him into ſome violences inconſiſtent with the general tenor of his conduct, unpleaſing to his countrymen, and almoſt deſtructive of liberty. His ambition, however, was the weakneſs of a great mind; it ſometimes ſhaded, but never totally eclipſed his extraordinary merit, his generoſity, and patriotiſm (A).

Operations of the ſiege of Breda.

Mean while, Spinola proſecuted the ſiege of Breda with the utmoſt diligence and vigour. On his puſhing his trenches near the baſtions, the beſieged began a terrible fire to retard his approaches, and ſuſtained it with ſuch vehemence and obſtinacy, that Spinola was in hopes they muſt ſoon ſurrender for want of ammunition. But here he formed a falſe judgment of the prudence of Juſtin de Naſſau, who finding he could not accompliſh his purpoſe, by the moſt terrible firing that ever was kept up, reſolved to try the effect of water. With this view, he ſtopped up the courſe of the river Marck, and having formed a large baſon of water, opened the ſluices, ſwept away men, horſes, and houſes in an inundation, and over-

(A) When prince Maurice returned to the Hague, he left his army at Roſendal, with orders that prince Henry ſhould join it with his corps, and the auxiliaries expected from France. The inſtructions to Henry were to attempt raiſing the ſiege of Breda, on the junction of all his forces; but this he did not live to ſee accompliſhed, and the apprehenſions he was under for this city, which compoſed a part of the family eſtate, encreaſed his malady, and accelerated his death. There were only three particulars reſpecting his military conduct, which he wiſhed on his death-bed had been otherwiſe. He repented of having fought the battle of Newport, which, though it added to his glory, produced no advantage to the republic. He blamed himſelf for not following the counſel offered him when he reduced Sluys, of laying under water the towns poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, on the Rhine and Meuſe; and he taxed himſelf ſeverely, for not taking poſſeſſion of Spinola's quarters before Breda, at the time the ſiege was forming. Hiſtory cannot inſtance ſo few errors in the conduct of any man, who acted at the head of an army for the ſpace of forty years.

flowed

flowed the whole country. The chief force of the torrent fell upon Spinola's quarters, and he exerted his utmoſt ability to remove the conſequences. He dug large pits, and cut out ditches and canals to receive the water; but theſe being filled, and the whole ground covered over, ſo as to appear one uniform maſs of water, ſerved only to entrap his cavalry. The inundation was augmented by the rains which happened to fall; a mortality among the ſoldiers and horſes enſued; and of his whole army, Spinola had ſcarce twelve thouſand men fit for ſervice by the month of December. With theſe inconſiderable remains, lines of vaſt extent were to be defended, the works were to be advanced, the ſallies from the garriſon repulſed, and proviſions to be conveyed into the camp, while Spinola, the ſoul of action, was confined to a ſick bed.

In the garriſon, an epidemical diſeaſe and ſcarcity likewiſe prevailed; but the excellent regulations made, and ſtrictly obſerved, enabled the town to hold out three or four months beyond the time expected. The magiſtrates bought the corn for the bakers, obliging them to ſell the bread to the inhabitants and garriſon at a price affixed, and returning the overplus of their pay to the ſoldiers. A variety of other prudent regulations were eſtabliſhed by the magiſtrates and governor, ſuch as we do not find equalled by any inſtances recorded in hiſtory, upon a ſimilar occaſion, and all evincing the ſteadineſs, ſagacity, courage and ability of Juſtin de Naſſau. A kind of rivalſhip appeared between him and Spinola, which ſhould beſt fulfil their ſeveral duties. The Spaniſh general cauſed himſelf to be carried about the works in a litter; he inſpected and directed every thing; and diſplayed the activity of full health, at the time his life was in imminent danger from an acute malady. He ordered ſeveral breaches in the lines to be repaired. Theſe the Hollanders had made by ſap, with a view of introducing ſuccours to the beſieged. He drove piles into all the ditches and canals through which their boats could paſs. He made drains, to clear off the waters of the river Marck; and ſucceeded in a great meaſure, by dint of perſeverance, vigilance, and conduct. He was now reinforced with a body of eight thouſand foot, and one thouſand five hundred horſe; many of the ſick were perfectly recovered by his extreme care; and his army was again become formidable, amounting to twenty-five thouſand infantry, and eight thouſand cavalry. Nor was prince Henry idle, who now ſucceeded to the titles and dominions of his brother, and was elected governor of Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overyſſel.

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He preſſed France for aſſiſtance, and was joined by a body of cavalry under the conduct of the count de Rouſſi, and the marquis de Rambures. With this reinforcement, and a body of German infantry, he attacked the enemy's lines, and, after an obſtinate conflict, was repulſed. He advanced a ſecond time; but Spinola, who entertained a high opinion of his valour and conduct, did not chuſe to wait for him in his lines; he marched out with the greater part of his army, ſeized upon a convenient poſt, and obliged the prince a ſecond time to retire towards Boiſleduc. Henry, finding no proſpect of being able to relieve the garriſon, ſent a permiſſion to the governor to ſurrender on the beſt conditions he could obtain. This plan, which was ſigned with no name, fell into the hands of the beſiegers, and Spinola ſent it open, by a trumpet, to Juſtin de Naſſau, offering him an honourable capitulation; but that intrepid governor, ſuſpecting the letter was forged, becauſe it was anonymous, replied civilly, that a permiſſion was not an order to ſurrender; and that he ſhould better follow the prince of Orange's intention, and ſhew his reſpect for Spinola, by continuing to defend the city to the laſt extremety.

By this time the garriſon was diminiſhed, by diſeaſe, fatigue, want, and hardſhip, to half the original number; but Juſtin put on ſuch a countenance, as concealed his ſituation from Spinola. He frequently ſallied out upon Baglioni's quarters, where the Italians were periſhing with cold and hunger, the whole ſubſiſtence of the beſiegers depending on the contributions raiſed in the neighbouring territories. This inconvenience produced a mutiny in the camp, that could not be appeaſed without applying violent remedies, and executing within ſight of the whole army the chief ringleaders. One of the mutineers blew up Spinola's chief magazine, valued at two hundred thouſand livres. Urged more by neceſſity than compaſſion for the beſieged, Spinola ſent a meſſage to the governor, exhorting him not to force him to extremities, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to a brave garriſon; but Juſtin, with equal art and diſſimulation, anſwered, that Spinola was certainly ill ſerved by his ſpies, as he appeared wholly unacquainted with the ſtate of affairs in Breda, which was fully provided for a ſiege of ſeveral months, and defended by ſoldiers who preferred death to the neceſſity of ſurrendering. At that time the beſieged were not informed of the death of the prince of Orange. They flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſpeedy ſuccour, and were entirely ignorant of prince Henry's late diſappointment. When they wrote to the army an account of their miſerable

miserable condition, Henry returned an answer, written with his own hand, and signed with his name, apprising them of the death of Maurice, the unsuccessful attempts made to raise the siege and throw in succours, the great inferiority of his troops in point of numbers, and the death of king James, whereby he was disappointed of a strong reinforcement; concluding, that he left the city entirely to the discretion of the governor, and other principal officers. Justin was thunderstruck with the contents of this letter. He had hitherto concealed the total want of provision and ammunition from the enemy, and his own garrison, except a few officers, and other persons in whom he reposed confidence. The colonels Hauterive and Morgan would listen to no propositions, saying, that the honour of their several countries were concerned, and that they were responsible for the conduct of the English and French forces. They therefore required an express order from the prince of Orange to surrender, notwithstanding they pined under the united pressure of fatigue, scarcity, and disease. Justin acquainted the prince with their resolution, and he sent back an order to surrender, threatening with capital punishment whoever should disobey; but he requested that the garrison would first acquaint him by a certain number of fires, lighted up in different parts of the city, how many days they should be able to hold out. Upon receipt of this order, eleven fires were kindled; but as the prince had sent a duplicate of the order by the other messenger, and this fell into the hands of the enemy, Spinola was now acquainted with the desperate circumstances of the besieged. By this acquisition he likewise discovered the mystery of the eleven fires: a council of war was assembled to deliberate whether they should stay the eleven days, and then oblige the garrison to surrender at discretion, or immediately offer conditions worthy of so brave a garrison. The Spanish officers we of the former opinion; the count de Berg and Spinola, supported the latter. At last the marquis, determined to pursue the dictates of his noble generosity, sent such terms as could not be refused. The count de Berg conducted the negociation. Two separate capitulations were drawn up, one for the garrison, and the other for the city, and both the most honourable and advantageous that could de devised. They were accepted, and the garrison marched out on the 6th of June, after having sustained a siege for ten months, whereby they were diminished two-thirds; nor was the loss inferior on the part of the inhabitants. Spinola drew up his army to salute them, and surrounded by his field officers, paid particular compliments

compliments to the governor, the colonels Morgan, Hauterive, and Lohre. He distributed money among the soldiers, ordered the sick and wounded to be treated with the utmost tenderness, conveyed the rest in the manner most commodious for them to Gertruydenburgh, and displayed all the sentiments of a hero in the regard paid to the valour and merit of his enemies. In honour to the memory of prince Maurice, he resigned the command after this memorable siege, sufficiently contented with having set bounds to the conquests of that great general, upon whom fortune seemed to frown for the two last years of his life [k].

Breda surrenders and Spinola resigns.

The surrender of Breda was matter of the highest satisfaction to the courts of Madrid and Brussels, rejoicings were made all over the Spanish Netherlands, and the archduchess, with her whole court, set out for the new conquest, into which she made her public entrance. She confirmed the privileges granted by Spinola to the inhabitants; and appointing Balançon, surnamed Wooden Leg, because he had lost that limb at the siege of Ostend, governor, she returned to Brussels. Such a profusion of civilities were poured out on the inhabitants of Breda by Spinola, that the states general began to be alarmed at his conduct, suspecting he meant by his kindness to seduce other towns from their allegiance; but Spinola was actuated merely by motives of generosity. He admired and rewarded their constancy and fidelity, and simply followed the impulse of humanity. However, the states prohibited their subjects from all intercourse and commerce with Breda; a step which obliged the archduchess to renew former edicts, whereby all the Spanish Netherlands were strictly enjoined to maintain no correspondence, commerce, or connection with the United Provinces. The present edict differed only in one circumstance: in all former ordonnances, the Dutch were termed rebels and traitors; here they were simply called enemies.

Naval transactions.

With this siege ended the campaign in the Netherlands. The year was no less fruitful in naval transactions than in military operations by land. Here the Dutch were more successful. After the affair of Lima, admiral Hermit pursued his course to the coast of Chili, with intention to amuse the enemy, to persuade them that he had dropt all farther designs on Peru, and likewise to cruize for the plate-fleet, which he expected would set sail by the month

[k] Le Clerc, tom. i. Neuville, tom. i. passim. La Vie de Prince Maurice, p. 56. Vie de Prince Henry, 4to. p. 22.

of

of December. Being disappointed in this last project by the false information of a Spanish pilot, he returned to Callao, manned eighteen boats, entered the harbour, burned nineteen Caracca ships, a great number of frigates, and was on the point of taking a galleon, valued at two millions of pieces of eight, when he was discovered by the light of the fire from the ships. Above a hundred pieces of cannon were pointed against him, and plied with such fury that he was forced to retreat. A second attempt was made next day; but the strong reinforcement sent by the governor of Lima rendered it fruitless; and Hermit directed his course to Guayaquil, the most commodious harbour in Peru; where an immense treasure is always lodged, ready to be shipped on board the galleons. Here he disembarked his troops, defeated the Spanish army, took the town, and seized the treasure; but, on his departure, he unfortunately set fire to the place, a circumstance, which so incensed the inhabitants, that, in despair, they took arms, pursued the admiral, killed five hundred of his men, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, the loss of his nephew, and great part of his booty. Determined, if possible, to revenge this disgrace, Hermit returned a third time to Callao, and planned such a scheme as must have inevitably destroyed the great galleon, which lay, like a floating castle, in the harbour; but his project was betrayed to the vice-roy by two Greeks, who deserted to the enemy. Thus disappointed of the main object of his pursuit, though upon the whole extremely successful, the brave admiral fell into a fit of melancholy, and died of chagrin; upon which the command devolved on his vice-admiral, John Hugues, who contented himself with cruising for the plate-ships, between Lima and Panama, in which he proved extremely fortunate.

Matters went more untowardly in Brasil, where the Dutch fleet had been lately so successful. The reduction of St. Salvador was esteemed in Holland the most important acquisition made during the war, as it paved the way to the conquest of all Brasil; but as the Spaniards placed an equal value upon this town, they omitted nothing that could re-establish them in the possession. At the very time when admiral Willekens returned to Europe, imagining he had fully provided for the security of St. Salvador, by leaving a strong garrison of two thousand men, six men of war, several frigates, and great store of provision and ammunition, the Spaniards were equipping a squadron of fifty-six sail, under Frederic de Toledo, to drive the Hollanders out of Brasil. This fleet, manned with twelve thousand sol-

diers and mariners, arrived before the town about the close of the year, and laid siege in form, Toledo debarking with the land-forces, while Juan Faxardo was left with the fleet to block up the harbour. The garrison made several vigorous sallies to obstruct his approaches, but Toledo sustained them with resolution, watched every motion and opportunity diligently, plied his cannon with great spirit and ability, and at last effected a breach, just as Faxardo had destroyed several ships, and reduced the marine to such distress, that the sailors mutinied. In these circumstances Van Dort died of a fever, contracted from the excessive fatigue of the siege, and the heat of the climate. This incident increased the disorder in the fleet and the army. The Dutch sailors marched in a body to lay siege to the new governor, because he refused to surrender; so that he was obliged to capitulate, and march out of the town, without being allowed the honours of war, for Toledo had no idea of displaying the gallantry of Spinola. The garrison were transported to Holland, loaded with infamy, and the execrations of their countrymen, for having, by their own misconduct, occasioned the miscarriage of the most considerable enterprize formed by the West India company. All the soldiers and mariners were dismissed the service, and scourged out of the army; several of the officers were cashiered, rendered incapable of service, suffered to live in disgrace and obscurity; and the new governor alone was promoted, for the perseverance and steadiness with which he had adhered to his duty, under such embarrassing circumstances; but his name is not recorded [1].

The states assist in oppressing the French protestants.

Mean while, the states concluded a treaty with the French king, whereby they agreed to assist him with a fleet to oppress his protestant subjects, and block up the sea-ports held by the Hugonots. The prince de Soubize, and his brother the duke of Rohan, remonstrated to them on the iniquity of assisting a tyrant to oppress subjects of the same religion which was professed in the United Provinces, whose sole crime was, that they would not sign articles against their conscience, and profess a mode of faith which they deemed little better than idolatrous. The cities of Rohan, the towns of Montauban, Castres, and a variety of other places, sent deputies to Holland, beseeching the states not to enter upon a measure so inconsistent with conscience, honour, charity, and every principle of humanity; they protested they would use their utmost endeavours to

[1] Le Clerc, ibid.

accommodate

accommodate matters, and only requeſted that the ſtates would refrain from hoſtilities until the iſſue of the negociations now on foot ſhould be decided. The catholic writers accuſe the proteſtants of inſincerity: they allege, that the prince de Soubize, while the treaty was depending, and after the ſtates general had conſented to defer hoſtilities, ſet ſail to attack the combined fleet of France and Holland. According to them, he puſhed through the French line, and attacked the Dutch admiral in the rear; who, after a gallant defence, had the misfortune to be blown up[m]. The truth is, the ſtates general were determined to gain the French king to their intereſt, even though at the expence of the moſt diſhonourable conceſſions. He had conſented to augment his army in the Netherlands; and they, in return, ſtipulated to employ their fleet againſt the Hugonots. They promiſed the proteſtant deputies every thing they required, and had, at the ſame time, diſpatched ſecret orders to their admiral to join the ſieur de Monty, the king's admiral[n]. It was this junction, and certain motions made by the combined fleet, that alarmed the prince de Soubize, and occaſioned the breach of armiſtice of which he is accuſed. The ſtates laboured to vindicate themſelves, by throwing the blame on the Rochellers; but time has not been able to waſh out this ſtain from the reputation of a proteſtant republic, then waging a bloody war on account of religion. A.D. 1626.

The loſs of Breda, and the powerful army maintained by the Spaniards in the Netherlands, rendered it neceſſary to divide their forces, and ſupport Manſveldt, notwithſtanding he proved ſo troubleſome and expenſive an ally. Perceiving that his forces were daily decreaſing by numerous deſertion, the ſtates ſent commiſſioners to Emmeric to review the remaining troops. They were found to amount to five thouſand foot and twelve hundred irregular horſe, which were to be augmented to a corps of eight thouſand ſtrong, to act, in conjunction with the troops of Denmark, againſt the imperial army in Lower Saxony. While Manſveldt was employed in making levies, the biſhop of Halberſtadt, with a detachment of four troops of horſe and ſix hundred muſketeers, made a feint motion towards Brabant, and, wheeling ſuddenly round, ſurpriſed the town of Ordinguen, which he ſacked and pillaged. Manſveldt having completed his corps, and received a reinforcement of two thouſand Hollanders, traverſed Weſtphalia, ravaged *Manſveldt's incurſions.*

[m] Neuville, tom. ii. p. 18.

[n] Vide Remonſt. de Duc du Rohan.

the bishoprick of Osnaburg, and desolated the territories of the duke of Lunenburgh, because that prince had declined acceding to the league formed by the princes of Lower Saxony. Afterwards, in conjunction with Halberstadt, he cut in pieces a detachment of five hundred Croats. From this time, to the eve of the succeeding year, Mansveldt acted separate from the Dutch forces. He found means, however, by the remittances of the states, to augment his army to twelve thousand men, with a train of thirty pieces of cannon; with which force he penetrated into Upper Saxony, took Zerbst by escalade, and put the garrison to the sword. He then spread terror to the very heart of Silesia; but his infantry being cut in pieces by Walleſtein, in an action near the bridge of Dessau, he marched with his cavalry to the march of Brandenburgh, were he began to recruit his army. All this while the bishop of Halberstadt was making a powerful diversion on the Weser, and harrassing count Tilly, the Bavarian general's army, that great general being himself confined by sickness. The bishop profited by the opportunity; he hovered continually on the skirts of the imperial army, destoyed their forage, cut off their convoys, skirmished with their detachments, and proved a very troublesome enemy; when he was seized with an ardent fever, of which he died at Wolfembuttle, to the excessive joy of all the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, who regarded the prelate as the scourge of the catholic religion, and a very Anti-Christ.

Revival of religious disputes in Holland.

The states were forced to act defensively during this whole year, which produced nothing memorable. The civil divisions which again appeared in the provinces, obliged them to rely chiefly on the vigour of their partizan allies. Notwithstanding the people already tasted the sweets of prince Henry's gentle, moderate, and prudent government, the Arminian party, animated by the death of Maurice, formed a design of revenging their late sufferings; and by the exhortations of their banished brethren, began to revive, and shew their implacable hatred to the house of Orange. The more moderate among them, however, endeavoured to prevail on the party to try the effects of more gentle measures, by soothing the prince, and requesting that they might experience that favour which they had reason to expect from his repeated intimations. Henry, out of respect to his brother's memory, and from an apprehension of disobliging the states, paid little regard to their remonstrances. He contented himself with general testimonies of esteem for Hugo Grotius, who was then at Paris, and with releasing from confinement Hoogerbert, pensiona-

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ry of Leyden. It is even ſuppoſed that he connived at the freſh perſecution commenced in Amſterdam and Leyden againſt this unhappy party. Here ſome perſons of conſideration in the government propoſed, wholly to ſuppreſs Arminianiſm, and by prohibiting even the private exerciſe of the worſhip profeſſed by the ſect, and obliging them to ſubſcribe to certain articles drawn up by the national church, at one blow to cruſh a faction which had cauſed ſo much trouble to the republic *. Theſe meaſures were puſhed with violence; they were oppoſed by all men of underſtanding, as equally unjuſt and impolitic; yet poſſibly the debate might have given birth to a civil war, had not the general attention been ſeaſonably diverted by a more important object.

The great preparations of the Spaniards rendered it neceſſary, that the ſtates ſhould act with the utmoſt vigour and unanimity. The departure of Spinola from the Netherlands gave the prince of Orange great hopes he ſhould be able to retrieve the loſſes of the laſt campaign. He laboured diligently to put the army on the beſt footing, and had actually formed a corps of ſixteen thouſand foot and four thouſand cavalry, which he commanded in perſon; together with another body of forces under the conduct of count Erneſt Caſimir, of twelve thouſand ſoldiers. With this force the count inveſted Oldenzeel, which he reduced in the ſpace of eight days, though defended by the famous Monelé, a native of Franche Compté, in whom the archduchefs had the utmoſt confidence, as he was the particular favourite of Spinola. On his ſide, the prince of Orange encamped near Cronenburgh, made a motion as if he propoſed laying ſiege to Weſſel, and erected a fort near Iſſelburgh, to obſtruct the works carried on by the Spaniards, in forming a canal from Rhimberg to Venlo. His great deſign was to reduce fort Rieldrecht, on the frontiers of Flanders; for which purpoſe, leaving the main army under the direction of count Stirum, he embarked a conſiderable detachment in four hundred boats, collected on the Vaal, and ſet out on the enterprize, which was fruſtrated by the ſhallowneſs of the river, in conſequence of a great drought. This expedition was ſucceeded by another againſt Linghen, in Weſtphalia, which likewiſe proved unfortunate. He now prepared to oppoſe with his whole army, the attempt to open a paſſage between the Meuſe and the Rhine. During his abſence, however, Stirum was attacked, defeated, and taken priſoner, by the count de Berg,

* Vie du Prince Henry.

who with an army covered the works. The conflict was bloody, and the chief advantage the enemy could boast was, that they made the Dutch general prisoner; and retired from the Dutch camp without being pursued, with about four pieces of cannon. So unexpected a blow could not fail of disconcerting the prince's measures; it likewise encouraged the Spaniards to form another project, little less important than the surprising count Stirum's camp. Spinola, who had not yet quitted the Netherlands, advised an attempt upon Sluys. Count Horn, with a choice body of troops, was detached upon this business, with orders to seize upon the harbour, the fate of which would determine that of the town: as cutting off all communication would effectually reduce the garrison to the necessity of surrendering; but the vigilance of a centinel disconcerted the whole scheme, when it was just on the point of execution. The soldier, firing his piece on the approach of the Spaniards, alarmed the garrison; all flew to the ramparts; the count perceived he was discovered; but determining to push his way, he approached quite to the draw-bridge, and was there saluted with such a volley of grape-shot as put his party in disorder, and obliged him to retreat with precipitation, his loss amounting to four hundred men killed on the spot.

The Spaniards defeated in an attempt on Sluys.

At this time Spinola was at Dunkirk, waiting the issue of the attempt on Sluys. He was greatly mortified to find it had miscarried, and spoke with resentment of the rashness of the count in exposing his men to certain death, after he was discovered [p]. The court of Spain had erected an admiralty, of which Spinola was president. The new college, eager to distinguish its zeal, equipped a squadron, on occasion of the rupture with England, attacked the combined fleets of England and Holland, destroyed four ships of war, and carried a great number of prizes into Dunkirk; but the Dutch soon repaired the loss and disgrace, by the defeat and capture of the large galleons, fitted out as men of war; and several advantages that were obtained over count Philip de Mansveldt.

The more effectually to stop the courses of the Dunkirkers, the states provided a fleet of fifty cruisers in Holland and Zealand, to which Lewis XIII. joined seven large men of war, the finest ever built in France. Spinola endeavoured to provide for the security of all the ports which he feared might be insulted; and carefully concealing from the prince of Orange the scarcity of money, made such ef-

[p] Neuville, tom. ii. p. 30.

forts,

forts as greatly exceeded expectation, and increaſed the reputation he had already acquired for activity and addreſs in the moſt difficulty conjunctures. The troops which he ordered to file off to the frontiers of the provinces, alarmed the ſtates general for Bergen op Zoom, Grave, and Fluſhing, into which they put ſtrong garriſons, ſupplying them with abundance of proviſion and military ſtores.

As ſoon as the rigour of the ſeaſon would permit, the prince of Orange advanced with his army between Nimeguen and Arnheim. This motion obliged the Spaniards to recall the prince of Iſſemburgh, after he had been detached with two thouſand men to join count Tilly, in Lower Saxony, againſt the forces of Denmark and the circle. It was ſuppoſed the prince would undertake the ſiege of Weſſel; to prevent which the count de Berg approached Gueldres. Henry, however, either had no deſign upon Weſſel, or he dropped it, in order in inveſt Groll, a town the moſt conveniently ſituated for obtaining a clear, indiſputable frontier. Succeſs in the enterprize would likewiſe deprive the Spaniards of a place conveniently ſituated for laying the adjacent territories of Overyſſel, Drent, Twente, Groningen, and Friſeland, under contribution. Thirty years before Groll had been reduced by prince Maurice; was retaken by Spinola ten years after; and now was beſieged by prince Henry, with an army compoſed of one hundred and ſixty-eight companies of infantry, fifty-five troops of cavalry, and a fine train of artillery. All the paſſes were immediately blocked up, and the trenches were formed with the utmoſt vigour. The garriſon conſiſted only of twelve hundred men; but it was augmented by a number of the inhabitants, who formed themſelves into companies, and performed excellent ſervice. Old Dulken, a ſoldier of great valour and experience, was governor; but age and infirmity confining him to his chamber, he devolved the chief care upon Verreiken, an officer who had already diſtinguiſhed his capacity. The count de Berg hovered round with his army, greatly incommoded the beſiegers, and cloſely watched every opportunity of ſuccouring the garriſon. The trenches were opened on the 20th of July; the ſiege continued to the 18th of Auguſt, when the garriſon, perceiving that their repeated ſallies anſwered no purpoſe but to weaken themſelves, and that they could expect no aſſiſtance from the count de Berg, began to relax in their vigour. A wound which the governor received in the ſhoulder, the demolition of the principal works, the diſmounting of almoſt all the artillery, and the great ſtrength of prince Henry's lines greatly diſheartened the

A.D. 1627.

Prince Henry reduces Groll.

garrison. They saw the English and French auxiliaries pushing their operations to the foot of the wall, and colonel Hauterive ready to spring a mine, which would open a vast breach; this consideration determined them to send a trumpet to the prince, requesting leave to give the count de Berg notice of their situation: this request being refused, the brave garrison renewed hostilities, made a vigorous sally, and filled the trenches with carnage. Their attack was exceeding fierce, and nothing but the great superiority of the besiegers, and the prodigious strength of prince Henry's works, could have prevented this little garrison from cutting their way through to the army. At last they capitulated upon the same honourable conditions that Spinola had granted to the city of Breda. Henry indeed rivalled the humanity of that great commander, and poured out civilities on the soldiers and inhabitants. Count Stirum was appointed governor; the old fortifications were repaired, and a variety of new works added [q].

Several enterprizes which the Spaniards formed against Zealand, miscarried; Groll was reduced, and Berg now appeared as unfortunate as Maurice and Henry had been during the three preceding years. The prince of Orange pursued his advantages, and by several spirited attacks, and judicious operations, dislodged the enemy from all the posts they had to secure the navigation of the Scheld. He likewise harrassed them in Westphalia, in Brabant, and on the Wessel; but in the midst of these successes, a rupture with England was apprehended. The English, on account of the depredations of the Dutch in the East Indies, had detained three Dutch Indiamen, which had put in by stress of weather into Portsmouth. To demand restitution, the states sent an ambassador to the court of London; and, to give weight to their negociations, ordered a strong fleet to be speedily equipped, under the conduct of admiral Orbel. This measure produced the effect; a promise was given of making immediate restitution; and a plan projected for uniting the two nations by a more close and intimate connection. The intention was to secure themselves against the depredations of the Dunkirkers, who incredibly annoyed the commerce of the Channel. The allies agreed to fit out a joint fleet of a hundred cruisers; but the terrible storms that came on in the month of October, and continued for several weeks, prevented the fleet from putting to sea, damaged them in the harbours, and frustrated the whole scheme, from which so much was expected. The French king

Treaties with France and England.

[q] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 157.

laboured

laboured to dissolve this union between the crown of England and the United Provinces, for he was then busied in reducing his protestant subjects, who were powerfully assisted by Great Britain. The most expeditious method of effecting his purpose was to renew the treaty whereby the states engaged not to unite themselves with the enemies of France; nor was it difficult to gain this point, as the Dutch had now effectually answered the intention of uniting with England, having had restitution made of the East Indiamen, and relinquished the project against the Dunkirkers. The king readily allowed that the states should not commit hostilites against the English, notwithstanding they were his enemies; and they, in return, engaged not to afford them any assistance, and even to refrain from supplying the protestants of France with military stores.

While Spinola remained at Dunkirk, he continued to direct the operations in the Netherlands. Already the Dutch had found the happy effects of his not executing his schemes in person: and now they entertained the most sanguine hope of a fortunate issue to the war, as that celebrated officer was recalled to Spain, and his authority distributed among a variety of persons, all unequal to him in point of genius and application. The government, and civil affairs, were entrusted to the cardinal de Cueva and Don Carlos Colonna; the count de Berg had the command of the army. But while the states were felicitating themselves on the prospect this change presented, they were alarmed by disturbances from another quarter, and the approach of count Tilly to East Friseland, Oldenburgh, and the bishoprick of Munster. Sensible of the inconveniences that would result from the vicinity of so troublesome an enemy, the states directed that the chief posts on the frontiers should be well secured. To ward off the impending blow with greater certainty, a new army of twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse was raised, with which count Ernest was sent to oppose the count of Anhalt, lieutenant-general of the imperial army, and commander in chief of the troops of Cologne; but all this diligence and vigour could not prevent the enemy from gaining some considerable advantages. The young count of East Friseland, in order to pay his court to the emperor, found means to introduce an imperial garrison into Shikusen, and some other places, where the states had formed considerable magazines. This success elated Anhalt to such a pitch, that he summoned all the towns of West Friseland to submit; he levied contributions in Groningen, and exhorted the people to receive the imperial army; he made an attempt to surprise

Count Tilly advances towards the frontiers of the provinces.

surprise Embden, in which the states kept a strong garrison, but was disappointed. Tilly marched another body of troops towards Westphalia, and the duchies of Berg and Juliers. The count de Berg availed himself of this favourable conjuncture, and threw in a strong reinforcement into Linghen, which was threatened with a siege by prince Henry [r].

The states imagining that the imperial army had some other object than that of renewing the dispute about the duchies of Juliers and Cleves, ordered a part of the army to file off towards the Rhine, for the security of Rees and Emmeric. While the count de Berg was employed in Westphalia they likewise made an attempt to surprise Strasburg fort, which had been built for the defence of the new canal at Venlo; but they met with so warm a reception from the Spaniards, that they retreated with precipitation. This enterprize, though unsuccessful, hurried the return of the count de Berg to Guelderland, where he applied with diligence to put the canal in such a posture of defence, by redoubts and forts, as would deter the enemy from any future attempts. He also began two other canals towards the extremities of Brabant and Flanders, in order to prevent the incursions of the Hollanders, and particularly the garrison of Bergen op Zoom, whose perpetual attacks greatly retarded the fortifications which the archduchess was erecting at Saint Vliet. But what chiefly incommoded the Spaniards was the presence of the prince of Orange, who continually passed from Lillo to Bergen op Zoom, to cut off the communication betwixt Saint Vliet and Antwerp. With this view Henry constructed three considerable forts beyond Lillo, whence he often set fire to the new fortifications, and destroyed several valuable convoys of provision coming by water from Antwerp.

In all these expeditions and operations the Hollanders were successful; but fortune seemed to abandon them in Marsland, where their forces were defeated by the count de Berg; nor did they succeed better by sea, the Dunkirk cruisers having taken above forty rich prizes since the commencement of the season. At the Hague these losses were attributed to the wretched situation of the finances, which prevented the states from keeping on foot a sufficient land-force, and equipping the necessary number of cruisers. This deficiency obliged them to make certain exactions in Juliers and Cleves, under pretence of procuring payment of a sum of money due to them from the elector of Bran-

[r] Vie de Prince Henry, p. 29.

denburgh,

denburgh. On the other hand the Spaniards, who supported the claim of the duke of Newburgh, oppreſſed the miſerable inhabitants with heavy contributions, under the name of taxes and the uſual revenue, which they ſaid they had a right to receive, while the war was ſupported at their expence. The people, equally oppreſſed by their friends and enemies, had recourſe to the emperor's protection; and the court of Vienna was delighted with this fair opportunity of keeping the whole ſucceſſion in ſequeſtration, and of uſing Cleves and Juliers as their own property, until one of the claimants ſhould be reduced to cede his pretenſions. Mandates were immediately publiſhed, declaring his imperial majeſty's intention, forbidding all hoſtilities in the duchies, and requiring all foreign troops to quit the duchies of Cleves, Juliers, and Berg, with all their dependencies. This declaration was followed by inſtructions to count Tilly to advance with his army to ſupport the emperor's intention. The firſt act of imperial authority exerted, was the baniſhing the Dutch Proteſtant miniſters out of Dortmonde, and reſtoring the Catholic religion. The ſame ſtep was taken in all the other places poſſeſſed by the ſtates, in truſt for the elector of Brandenburgh, where the imperialiſts found themſelves ſuperior in power. Ravenſburg alone held out againſt the imperial commiſſaries, and proteſted againſt their authority, the magiſtrates declaring they would ſtand the conſequences of a ſiege rather than ſubmit. Tilly, perceiving their reſolution, retired without attempting any thing againſt a little place which had ſhewn ſo obſtinate an attachment to liberty. Emmeric and Rees were ſummoned. Tilly threatening them with all the horrors of war unleſs the catholic religion ſhould be immediately reſtored; but the garriſon ſet him at defiance, and laughed at his menaces, perceiving that the prince of Orange and Stirum were both ready to ſuccour them on the firſt motion of the imperialiſts. To ſhew the equity of their proceedings, the commiſſaries did not exempt the places in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards from their viſitations. Wherever there were proteſtant magiſtrates they were depoſed, without regard to the capitulation with Spinola; the catholic ſchools and preachers were reſtored; and the utmoſt violences committed in Weſſel before the people could be brought to ſubmiſſion. The duke of Newburg lent his authority to thoſe meaſures; but he perceived they were puſhed too far, and that the people were more oppreſſed by the imperialiſts than they before were by the Hollanders and Brandenburghers. He complained to the court of Vienna, but obtained no ſatisfaction; and

Freſh differences about Cleves and Juliers.

Proteſtants

Protestants and Papists were left to bleed under the scourge of the most cruel tyranny.

A.D. 1628. The elector of Brandenburgh equally suspected the designs of the court of Vienna, and resented her proceedings. To prevent, therefore, the troublesome and dangerous consequences of a sequestration in the hands of an ambitious grasping power, the competitors entered into a provisional agreement for twenty-one years; whereby they stipulated jointly to oppose all who, under the mask of friendship, violated their rights, and to stand by the partition that was made at the last negociation. But, sensible that they could not force the Dutch and Spanish garrisons out of the towns they possessed, ambassadors were sent by both princes to Brussels and the Hague, requesting that the archduchess and the states would withdraw their troops; a measure which would cut off all shadow of excuse from the emperor for continuing his oppressions. The states and the archduchess had too long tasted the sweets of those possessions, to renounce them merely from a principle of equity; they therefore returned equivocal answers, and thus, a second time, frustrated the effects of a treaty between the candidates, and deprived the inhabitants of the felicity they had reason to expect from so reasonable a partition [r].

Several advantages obtained by the Dutch garrisons.

While this affair was in agitation, the governors of Groll, Breford, Rees, Emmeric, and Soest, entered La Marc with a body of troops to oppose the joint forces of the emperor and king of Spain. Having thrown succours into Ravensperg, they attempted to surprise Ham, relying upon a correspondence which they maintained with some of the inhabitants; but a reinforcement expected from Stirum not arriving at the place of rendezvous, the scheme miscarried, and their friends in the town fell a prey to the enemy, who put them to the torture, and, on their confession, caused them to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, as traitors. The garrison of Groll had better fortune; they surprised Rattingen, pillaged the town, and carried off some prisoners of distinction, and a considerable booty. The garrison of Grave likewise seized upon a large convoy going from Brussels to Maestricht, in which were rich presents from the archduchess to the duke of Modena. Several other garrisons, encouraged by the example and success of Groll and Grave, made inroads into the Spanish territories, where they levied heavy contributions. A detachment from Emmeric fell into an ambuscade laid by the count de Berg, but, determined to perish rather than sur-

[r] Neuville, lib. vi. cap. 12.

render,

render, the soldiers fought with the utmost fury, and, after an obstinate conflict, totally defeated and dispersed the Spaniards. The states had licensed these depredations; the scarcity of money obliging them to declare all the plunder the legal property of the captors; yet they could not avoid giving ear to the duke of Modena's complaints for the loss of his valuable presents. It was ordered that all which belonged to the duke should be restored; and, to gratify the garrison, the sum of twenty-seven thousand florins was given them as an equivalent.

Mean while the new admiralty at Dunkirk, strictly observing the directions given by Spinola, became every day more formidable to Holland. The harbour was filled with rich prizes, and every day produced bankruptcies in Amsterdam. Their losses drove the Dutch merchants and seamen to despair; which made them enter into a league never to strike, but, if they found themselves overpowered, to blow up their vessels. To oppose the descents of the Dunkirkers, the states ordered all the coasts of Zealand and Holland to be carefully defended, for which purpose the boors were armed. Four thousand seamen were taken into the service, and all the natives of the provinces prohibited, under severe penalties, to enter into foreign fleets. A squadron of thirty ships was equipped, with orders to cruize along the French coast, and block up the harbour, while general Van Dort laid siege to the town of Dunkirk. A division of eight ships from this fleet having fallen in with a squadron of six Dunkirkers, a bloody engagement began, and, after an obstinate conflict, the Hollanders obtained a complete victory. One ship of the enemy was taken, and the rest were so miserably shattered, that with the utmost difficulty they escaped. This success cleared the way for a fleet of rich homeward-bound Indiamen, which otherwise would probably have been taken. The siege of Dunkirk, however, went on but slowly; and it was at last proposed to block up the harbour by a chain of vessels faced with stone; but, on trial, the project failed, and the projector was rewarded with ridicule. The East India company, however, lent their assistance to the government to check the presumption of the Dunkirkers; and joined to the fleet already stationed before that harbour, a squadron of twelve ships of war, which did not diminish the number of ships sent the following year to Asia; from whence we may judge of the great opulence of the company at this period.

Dunkirk blocked up.

The measures of the West India company were not less vigorous, and they proved more fortunate. They had taken

Naval affairs.

taken a great number of rich Spaniſh and Portugueſe merchant ſhips; they had deſtroyed whole fleets in the ports of Liſbon, Corunna, and Cadiz; and now their admiral, Peter Adrien, with a ſquadron of twelve ſhips, fell in with a Spaniſh fleet in the gulph of Honduras. He attacked the enemy with irreſiſtible impetuoſity, drove their ſhips upon the ſand-banks, obliged them to ſtrike, took out their valuable cargoes and the priſoners, ſet fire to the prizes, and arrived ſafe with his booty in Holland, to the great joy and emolument of the company. But the inſtrument deſtined by Providence to remove the great diſorders in the finances, to enable the ſtates to proſecute the war with redoubled vigour, and to raiſe the weſt India company to a rival-ſhip with the company trading to the Eaſt Indies, was admiral Peter Heine. This bold and active officer defeated and deſtroyed a fleet of Spaniſh merchantmen and men of war in the bay of All Saints, bringing home ſo prodigious a cargo of ſugar as leſſened the price of that commodity at every market in Europe. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the company equipped a ſquadron of thirty-one ſhips, with deſign to intercept the plate-fleet. Heine was appointed the commander in chief; nor did his good fortune once deſert him through the whole courſe of the expedition. In the month of May he ſet ſail for Mexico, deſolating as he went along the coaſts of Spain and Portugal. He arrived at the Havannah, in the iſland of Cuba, where he expected to fall in with the flota; part of which was driven off by a ſtorm to the coaſt of Florida juſt as the ſhips were ready to put into the Havannah. As to the flota from New Spain, it fell entirely into the hands of the Dutch admiral, after a faint reſiſtance, and was valued worth fifteen millions of livres, in cheſts of ſilver and rich merchandize. This was the richeſt prize ever made by the Hollanders; the admiral, therefore, thought he could not be too cautious in an affair which ſo nearly concerned the republic; for this reaſon he ſet ſail directly for Europe, and arrived in Holland with the loſs only of one prize and two of his own ſhips, that foundered in a ſtorm which roſe juſt as he had entered the chops of the channel. Heine was received with as much honour as the princes of Orange had been after the moſt ſignal victories. Bonfires were kindled in every town throughout the Seven Provinces, and the people flocked from all quarters to behold him as a prodigy. Nothing was to be heard but the ringing of bells, the roaring of cannon, and the ſhouts of the multitude. Peter Heine was publicly entertained by the prince of Orange, in company with the king of Bohemia, the elector Palatine,

The Spaniſh flota taken.

Palatine, and the ambaſſadors of crowned heads. He had the honour of knighthood conferred on him; a civic crown of gold was conferred upon him by the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, and he was raiſed to the dignity of admiral of Holland, in the room of William of Naſſau, killed at the ſiege of Groll, and with fuller powers than any of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed.

When the whole wealth of the flota was landed, an infinity of perſons of faſhion crouded to ſee the curioſity; which proved fatal to the prince Palatine, and had almoſt been ſo to the elector, the barge in which they were being overſet, and the young prince drowned. After a minute calculation of the value of the cargo, the directors of the company divided fifty per cent. among the proprietors; a meaſure that was moſt bitterly cenſured by all judicious perſons, who wiſhed well to the eſtabliſhment. The money would have been better employed, as they thought, in eſtabliſhing ſuch a head colony in America, as the Eaſt India company poſſeſſed at Batavia; and this was the more neceſſary, as the ſociety was now engaged in a bloody war with the Spaniards and Portugueſe, without enjoying a foot of land in the Braſils ſince the loſs of St. Salvador[s].

The public rejoicings, which continued at Amſterdam during the whole month of January, were at laſt interrupted by a tumult that aroſe, becauſe certain burghers refuſed to obey the magiſtrates, who happened to be Arminians. The prince of Orange, who perceived the conſequences to the ſtate of keeping up the old factions, reſolved to aboliſh all party diſtinction, by ſupporting merit indiſcriminately in the purſuit of public offices; and it was ſuppoſed that by his intereſt the preſent magiſtrates had gained their election. This moderation gave great umbrage to the Gomariſts, who reſented to ſee a proſcribed ſet of men, the old and implacable enemies of the prince's family, now taken into his favour, and placed upon an equality with thoſe who had always ſupported his intereſt. The whole mob of Amſterdam aſſembled to eſpouſe the cauſe of the citizens who had refuſed to obey the Arminian magiſtrates; and Henry detached a party of twelve hundred ſoldiers to quell the tumult, and take the chief mutineers into cuſtody. At the next aſſembly of the ſtates an ordonnance paſſed, whereby the people were required to obey the magiſtrates, of whatever ſect or religion they happened to profeſs themſelves. The moſt riotous in the late tumult were confined, or mulcted in proportion to the degree of their guilt; and

A.D. 1629.

Civil commotions at Amſterdam.

[s] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 162. 167.

this

this severity so irritated the Gomarists, that great numbers retired to Zealand. William Bogwert, one of the most eminent, a person who had been the tool of the Gomarist clergy, when he went into exile, was met by six thousand people, weeping and tearing their hair, all pouring out their benedictions, and regarding him as a martyr to religion.

This sedition was scarcely appeased, when another, of a more dangerous nature, arose among the seamen who had served under admiral Heine in the West Indies. They complained that the company had not only refused to augment their wages, but to admit them to any share of the immense wealth brought to the state by their courage. Filled with resentment at this usage, they began forcing and pillaging the company's warehouses in which all the rich merchandize was lodged. A party of soldiers was immediately sent against them, but this would have proved insufficient, had they not been gratified with a considerable sum of money; after the division of which they retired quietly, and again offered their services to the company, to assist in manning the new squadron which was equipping for a fresh expedition. This fleet was composed of sixty stout vessels, and destined to reduce Peru, Mexico, and the Brasils; in a word, all that was valuable of the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in South America. However, the great expences of this armament did not prevent the company from advancing a large sum to the states, to enable them to pursue the war with vigour, and raise an army with which the prince of Orange should be able to make head against the enemy [t].

State of the Spanish affairs.

There could not be a more terrible stroke to the Spaniards than the loss of the flota. Already their military operations were at a stand for want of money, and the troops in every quarter were ready to mutiny. It was an additional grievance to see the money, with which they hoped to be masters of all the Netherlands, now employed to their destruction. The vast preparations making in Holland, since the month of February, threw the court of Brussels into despair. Many lords, and other persons of distinction and influence, took this opportunity of expressing their dislike of the measures of the administration, and the methods in which the war had been conducted. They threw the whole blame of the present misfortunes upon the Spaniards. To their jealousy they attributed Spinola's resignation, though he was the chief bulwark of

[t] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 162. 167.

the

the ſtate; they accuſed them of rapacity, profuſion, ignorance, and cowardice. The country, they ſaid, was oppreſſed, depopulated, and enſlaved; their bad policy excited the reſentment of the natives, and the contempt of the enemy, and would ſoon produce the loſs of the Netherlands. They complained that all preferments were beſtowed on foreigners; to them was committed the defence of the frontiers, and to them ought to be imputed the loſs of Groll, and all the inſults received during the laſt campaign, by which the inhabitants were reduced to beggary, the country deſolated, and the court diſgraced. The Spaniards, they affirmed, refuſed to obey the prince of Berg, the only perſon of high condition among them who was capable of conducting an army. It was the buſineſs of the prince of Orange to profit by theſe diviſions at the court of Bruſſels, and the difficulty of putting the troops in motion; nor did he let ſlip the opportunity. Marching his army towards the frontiers of Brabant, he reviewed his whole force at Nimeguen, including the troops of France and England; he ſent his artillery and baggage to the Meuſe, and publicly avowed his deſign of laying ſiege to Bois le Duc. His army amounted to thirty-two thouſand men, divided into forty-three battalions, and three large brigades, beſides a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, ſent afterwards by the ſtates, with a train of ſixty pieces of cannon. The town was inveſted in the night of the 30th of April; though the governor, Anthony Schets, could not be perſuaded till the next morning, that the enemy would be ſo raſh as to attack a place of ſuch ſtrength and importance. Boiſleduc, called the Maid of Brabant, becauſe it had never ſurrendered, though often beſieged, was ſo regularly fortified as to be deemed impregnable. It was ſcarce acceſſible on account of the dykes and marſhes with which it was ſurrounded, and required a large army completely to inveſt the vaſt extent of walls, fortified with ſeven ſtrong baſtions, defended by an immenſe wet ditch with canals and ſluices, by means of which the whole country, if neceſſary, might be laid under water. A variety of ſtrong outworks obſtructed the approach of an enemy; and nothing was wanting that art or nature could give to render this the moſt impregnable town in the Netherlands [u].

Prince Henry inveſts Boiſleduc.

All Brabant was overwhelmed with conſternation, and the court of Bruſſels in the utmoſt perturbation, upon advice that prince Henry had begun his approaches. The

[u] Neuville, tom. ii. lib. vi. cap. 14.

moſt preſſing meſſages were diſpatched to Spain for money, ammunition, and the requiſites for putting the troops in motion. Schets, though labouring under a thouſand diſcouraging circumſtances, deſtitute of officers, and a ſufficient garriſon, determined to make a vigorous defence; well knowing the importance of his truſt. With the prince of Orange's permiſſion he ſent away all the women, children, and others, who ſerved only to conſume proviſions; and placed his whole confidence in a garriſon not exceeding two thouſand three hundred infantry, and ſix troops of cavalry; notwithſtanding ſeveral companies of burghers had formed themſelves under his banners. He omitted practiſing nothing which long experience had taught him was neceſſary for his defence, reſolving to maintain the great reputation he had acquired by a ſeries of faithful important ſervices. A ſeaſonable reinforcement of eight hundred men from Breda, inſinuated themſelves with much addreſs, on the fifth night of the ſiege, and greatly animated the garriſon and governor. The prince laboured to deprive them of all future ſuccours, and puſhed his works with the utmoſt vigour, aſſiſted by the peaſants in the neighbourhood. In ten days his camp was ſurrounded by a deep ditch, which received the waters of three rivers, whereby the troops were ſupplied with all manner of proviſions with eaſe and ſecurity. He began to build a great number of forts and batteries, in order to cut off the enemy from any communication with the river, in which work he ſucceeded beyond expectation; turning the waters intended for the defence of the town to the great inconvenience of the garriſon. For fifteen days had the beſieged regarded the progreſs of theſe works without giving any conſiderable annoyance, from an apprehenſion of exhauſting their ammunition. Great quantities of powder had been damaged by the influx of the waters into the town; ſo that the firſt ſallies were made ſword in hand, without the uſe of firelocks. The governor, to prevent the ſoldiers from being diſpirited, pretended that this was matter of choice, carefully concealing his great want of ammunition; and the troops, glad of an opportunity of ſhewing their valour, always behaved with the utmoſt gallantry. The batteries and trenches being finiſhed, prince Henry played with fury againſt the forts Iſabella and St. Antonio. The mareſchal Chatillon, at the head of the French, drove the garriſon from their outworks on the 1ſt day of June, and purſued them quite to the gates of the town. Another body of French, commanded by Hauterive, lodged themſelves in the counterſcarp of fort Iſabella. The viſcount Turenne, who

who was nephew to the prince of Orange, ſerved at this ſiege, commanded a company of foot, and ſignalized himſelf in ſo extraordinary a manner as attracted the attention of the whole army. The French and Engliſh were rivals on this occaſion; the officers, and even the private men, being animated with a deſire of particularly diſtinguiſhing themſelves; yet, as no breach could be effected, no other opportunity offered than when the enemy ſallied.

At laſt fatigue, and repeated ſallies, had greatly diminiſhed the number of the garriſon, when their ſpirits were ſuddenly revived by the approach of count Henry de Berg, with an army of twenty-five thouſand men. The count attacked the entrenchments of the beſiegers, and met with a warm reception. In three ſucceſſive attempts upon the camp he was foiled, and driven back with great ſlaughter; upon which he retired to join Montecuculi, who had entered Cleves with an army of fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. Henry found, by intercepted letters, that the deſign was to make a conſiderable diverſion; for this reaſon he ordered Grave to be put in a ſtate of defence, and directed the ſtates to ſecure all the paſſes and avenues to the provinces. He then puſhed his operations with ſo much ſpirit, that fort Iſabella ſurrendered on the 18th of July, and fort Antonio ſubmitted next day, after the beſieged had made two deſperate ſallies, in which the trenches were filled with carnage. By the ſurrender of theſe two forts, which were reduced to heaps of rubbiſh, the beſiegers were at liberty to approach the town, and to point their cannon directly againſt the walls [w].

In the mean time count Stirum was detached with four thouſand foot and twelve thouſand horſe, to oppoſe count Berg, who was meditating an invaſion of the provinces. Berg croſſed the Yſſel without reſiſtance, but was vigorouſly attacked in the rear by Stirum. Not long after Stirum was reinforced by three thouſand men, from the camp before Boiſleduc, with which he ventured to give battle, on the banks of the Yſſel, to a corps of ten thouſand Spaniards, under the conduct of Dulkens, late governor of Groll. The action was bloody and obſtinate for the ſpace of ten hours, when, moſt of the Dutch officers being wounded, the count was obliged to retire with great loſs. He had, however, the precaution to break down the dykes behind him, by which means he obſtructed the enemy's march into the provinces, that were overwhelmed with the terror of an invaſion. On advice of Stirum's defeat, the

[w] Vie de Prince Henry, p. 142.

prince of Orange quitted the camp with more than half his army, and was ſoon joined by ſeveral corps of troops drawn from the garriſons and new-levied forces; ſo that his army amounted to twenty-two thouſand men, beſides the troops left to carry on the ſiege. The enemy made excurſions almoſt to the gates of Amſterdam; but they were ſoon thrown into deſpondency by the reduction of Weſel, which was ſurpriſed by the governor of Emmeric, and the garriſon put to the ſword, all except the governor, Lozanne, who was ſet at liberty, and ſoon after beheaded at Bruſſels, by order of the archdutcheſs, for having, by his remiſſneſs, occaſioned the loſs of ſo valuable a city. The reduction of Weſel, in which the enemy had all their magazines, obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of Hattem, to abandon Amersford, evacuate the territory of Velaw, and repaſs the Yſſel with precipitation; and it enabled prince Henry to puſh the ſiege of Boiſleduc without interruption.

The Dutch every where victorious.

Still the garriſon of this place, though cut off from all hope of relief, continued to make a vigorous defence; but the burghers and clergy, terrified with the effects of bombs and mines, beſought the magiſtrates, with tears in their eyes, to avoid being pillaged, by requiring a capitulation. Moved with their diſtreſs, the magiſtrates reſolved to grant their requeſt, ſhould the governor remain obſtinate in refuſing honourable conditions. Schets paid little regard to the ſafety of the town; his whole aim was to gain reputation, and make ſuch a defence as ſhould deſerve to be recorded to future ages. Though he had powder but for a few rounds, notwithſtanding his garriſon was quite ſpent, emaciated, and diminiſhed to a third of their original number, he would have ſtood the conſequences of an aſſault, after ſeveral practicable breaches had been made, but the magiſtrates were reſolute to ſurrender the city. This obſtinacy obliged him to accept the advantageous propoſals, and the military honours offered by the prince. Accordingly the garriſon marched out, and was conducted to Dieſt; and as to the inhabitants, they were confirmed in all their privileges, and liberty of conſcience was permitted. Thus ended the ſiege of Boiſleduc; by which the reputation of prince Henry was raiſed to an equality with that of prince Maurice, and of the firſt generals of the age. His camp was filled with volunteers of the higheſt diſtinction; by whom his perſeverance, ſteadineſs, prudence, valour, and conduct, were publiſhed in every quarter of Europe. The conqueſt coſt the ſtates an immenſe ſum of money; but the advantages flowing from it were ſo great, as to abſorb every other conſideration.

Boiſleduc ſurrenders.

Prince

Prince Henry was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of Boiſleduc, than he detached count Erneſt Caſimir, with one hundred and fifty companies of foot and thirty troops of horſe, to oppoſe count John de Naſſau and Dulkens; who, in conſequence of a reinforcement from Tilly, were preparing to make a freſh irruption into the provinces. Erneſt acquitted himſelf with ſuch diligence, that, having thrown a bridge over the Yſſel, he was encamped on the oppoſite ſide before the enemy had an idea they ſhould meet with any obſtruction. Reinforcing the garriſons of Doeſburg and Keppel, he cut off the enemy's convoys, and their communication with count Tilly's army; inſomuch, that, to avoid periſhing by famine, they were forced to retire precipitately to the biſhoprick of Munſter, and petition Erneſt for a ſafe conduct. Colonel Hauterive likewiſe paſſed the Rhine with forty companies of infantry and fourteen troops of dragoons; and, laying ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of Ringelburgh, took it by aſſault in the ſpace of ten hours, putting the garriſon to the ſword. Thence he marched to Yſſelburgh, which he reduced in four days. With the ſame rapidity he ſubdued all the towns and forts which, from their ſituation, had proved extremely troubleſome to the Dutch garriſon in Weſel, and filled the whole country with terror and deſolation. The new garriſon of Weſel were no leſs eager to diſtinguiſh their zeal and valour. Dividing themſelves into three corps, one of which remained for the defence of the town, they ſallied out in queſt of plunder and glory. One diviſion attacked Rhimberg, and was roughly handled by the Spaniſh garriſon. The other was more fortunate: having attacked Duiſburgh in the night, it ſurrendered before the morning to the Hollanders. All the other places poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, on the hither ſide the Rhine and in the duchy of Cleves, ſoon yielded to the good fortune of this little party. In a word, the Spaniards were every where defeated and diſpirited; ſince the ſieges of Boiſleduc and Weſel they ſcarce ventured to face the enemy in the field, or refuſed complying with a ſummons, though ſecured behind walls. It was matter of ſurprize to ſee the ſtrong fortreſs of Roeborte, defended by a garriſon more numerous than the beſiegers, ſurrendering at diſcretion, after having exchanged a few ſhot. This ſucceſs could only be accounted for from the univerſal panic that prevailed [x].

William of Naſſau's expeditions.

Count William of Naſſau was the ſoul of theſe ſpirited expeditions. On advice that the elector of Cologne, and

[x] Neuville, tom. ii. p. 64.

the bishops of Munster and Paderborn were taking measures to assist the enemy, he sent them a peremptory order to desist, otherwise they would oblige him to lay their territories desolate. This menace produced the desired effect; they dropped their project, and suffered the count to go on with his expeditions without interruption. He reduced Berg, attacked Solingen, and carried the place sword-in-hand, giving the town up to be pillaged by his soldiers. A variety of other places submitted to him; he was weakened with leaving garrisons in his conquests; but this circumstance did not prevent his reducing the town of Ongermunde, the magistrates of which capitulated. William's soldiers, insolent with success, and excited by their late plunder to desire more, fell to pillaging the town without regard to the capitulation; an outrage which so incensed the burghers, that they took arms, attacked the Hollanders, and were on the point of driving the conquerors out of the town, when count William arrived with the troops encamped without the walls, and put an end to the combat, by obliging both parties to submit to the capitulation. In consequence of those conquests, the whole duchy of Juliers was, in a manner, depopulated; the people deserting their habitations in the country, and flocking in crouds to all the fortified cities. Cologne, Munster, Cleves, and Berg, were much in the same situation: but the Hollanders published an edict, whereby they declared their sole intention was to oblige the Spaniards to evacuate the succession of Juliers, and promised the natives all the protection in their power. This declaration restored, in some measure, the peace of the country; the people returned to their usual occupations, and were not alarmed at the progress of the Dutch conquests, considering they could not suffer by a mere change of masters, the Spaniards having treated them with great insolence and tyranny.

Naval affairs.

To this rapid course of good fortune in the Netherlands, the Dutch added a variety of successes in Asia and America. Notwithstanding the East India company were engaged in a bloody war with the emperor of Java, during which Batavia was twice besieged, their returns were immense. The West India company, determining to pursue their late good fortune, and to establish a head-settlement in South America, which might vie with Batavia, sent a powerful squadron to those seas, under the conduct of admiral Loncke, the companion and the friend of Heine in all his expeditions. In the month of February he arrived on the coast of Fernambuco, the largest division of Brasil, and detached Vardenburch with sixteen men of war, and three

A. D. 1630.

three thousand land-forces, to invest Olinda, the capital; but the resistance made by the out-forts obliged the fleet to re-unite, and determined the admiral to attack the city with his whole strength. Vardenburch retained the command of the army, which was immediately debarked in three divisions, under the conduct of the generals Elts, Honcks, and Steincallefeld, who repulsed the Portuguese in three successive attacks they made to obstruct their landing. The Hollanders began their approaches towards the Jesuits quarter of the city, and soon took their college by assault, though strongly fortified. In consequence of this success Olinda surrendered; and the reduction of the capital was followed by the submission of the whole district of Fernambuco, quite to cape St. Augustine. Leaving a strong garrison in Olinda, the admiral repassed the line, fell upon the town of St. Martha, and pillaged the inhabitants. Soon after he engaged Frederic de Toledo, sent with a strong squadron and five thousand troops to the succour of the Spanish settlements, whom he defeated, after an obstinate and exceeding bloody conflict, in which the Spanish admiral was, for several months, supposed to have perished. His ship being separated from the rest of the squadron in the engagement, foundered at sea; and Toledo, with a few of his crew, were saved by accident. Such a flow of success encouraged the company to fit out another fleet, which set sail, towards the close of the year, to complete their conquests.

Farther operations in Juliers and Cleves.

As soon as the season permitted, William of Nassau renewed his expeditions against the Spaniards, who still possessed some considerable places on the frontiers of the succession of Juliers. He defeated divers parties of the enemy, took their convoys, and was attended with all the good fortune of the preceding campaign. The first project that failed was one he formed against Dusseldorp. A party of soldiers was sent in the habits of women to seize upon that town, but they were discovered and disappointed. Next he failed in an attempt to surprize Mulheim, which was garrisoned by a body of imperialists. The detachment of five thousand men, which he had sent upon that business, was surprised and repulsed. William was successful on the opposite side of the Rhine, though all his projects against Dusseldorp and Mulheim had been baffled. The town of Sichtelen, and a variety of other places held by Spanish or Austrian garrisons, submitted to the Hollanders. These rapid victories, and so long a series of prosperity, however, raised a powerful confederacy against the count of Nassau.

All the Catholic princes on the frontiers of the provinces were alarmed. They gave out that the Dutch wanted to penetrate as far as Francfort, and to throw themselves into the palatinate, there to revive all the horrors of a war which had for ages desolated that country. It was affirmed their intention was to restore Frederic V. who had been despoiled of his electorate and dignities; a project which the emperor thought himself particularly interested to obstruct. The elector of Cologne, and the bishops of Munster and Paderborn privately solicited the emperor to oppose the states of the United Provinces, and protect the Catholic religion and the dignity of the empire, which suffered extremely by permitting a handful of rebellious heretics to pursue, unmolested, a course of the most cruel tyranny and oppression. His imperial majesty lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Catholic princes; and fearing that the count de Hanau would declare for the Dutch, because he refused admitting an imperial garrison into his city, he ordered all the avenues to be blocked up, and Hanau to be in a manner besieged by the imperial army. These measures obliged the count to admit the emperor's troops, who were a few months after driven out by the Swedes.

All this time the Dutch were employed in the entire reduction of the succession of Juliers. On advice that the Spaniards were building a new fort on the canal between the Rhine and the Meuse, the governor of Wessel, making draughts out of his own and the nearest garrisons, detached colonel Ifelstein to disturb the works, and if possible ruin the fort. His detachment amounted to nine hundred men, with which he ventured to attack count John of Nassau with a body of fifteen hundred foot and horse, whom he defeated and took prisoner after an obstinate engagement. This and other advantages gained by the Hollanders, determined the duke of Newburg to repair in person to the Hague, to solicit the consent of the states to the partition-treaty lately concluded between him and the elector of Brandenburgh. The states, perceiving that the Spaniards refused to evacuate Orsoy and Sittert, could not be prevailed upon to surrender Emmeric, Rees, and Wessel, with their dependent towns and territories. At last the archduchess consented to withdraw her troops entirely from the duchies of Cleves and Juliers; upon which the states began to relax a little from their former rigour, condescending to cede all their conquests, except the three towns just mentioned [z].

[z] Neuville, tom. ii. p. 64.

With

With this conceſſion the duke of Newburg was forced to reſt ſatisfied; accordingly he took his leave, and returned to Germany.

It was immediately after this negociation that the court of Bruſſels made propoſals for a truce between the archducheſs and the ſtates, for the ſpace of thirty-four years, upon the ſame conditions that had been offered twenty-one years before. The remittances neceſſary for the ſupport of the war were entirely ſtopped at Madrid, and the catholic king ſeemed to take little concern in the event of the war carried on in the Netherlands. A treaty of commerce between the catholic and proteſtant provinces, about this time, had ſomewhat diminiſhed that implacable animoſity which had for ſo long time ſubſiſted between them. This, with a variety of other circumſtances, the archducheſs hoped would diſpoſe both parties to liſten to the means of eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the ſeventeen provinces, after a bloody war of ſixty years duration. It was well known at the Hague that neceſſity dictated the propoſals to the archducheſs; however, they did not chuſe abſolutely to reject propoſitions, which might turn out more to the advantage of the provinces than even a ſucceſsful war. After the conferences held at Roſendal, for the exchange of priſoners, the archducheſs's deputies proceeded to the Hague, becauſe the Dutch deputies had no inſtructions to enter upon the buſineſs of a truce. Opinions were divided in the aſſembly of the ſtates general. Some perſuaded themſelves that an accommodation with Spain would expoſe them to the reſentment of France; they urged, that while the republic had nothing to fear, it was abſurd to conſent to a truce, which was only giving the enemy time to recover their exhauſted ſtrength and ſpirits; and that Holland being now opulent by the wealth of the Indies, and powerful by the reduction of Boiſleduc and Weſſel, the two ramparts of the United Provinces, ought in her turn to treat the Spaniards with that haughtineſs and inſolence, of which they were ſo profuſe in their proſperity. Thoſe of a contrary opinion ſupported their ſentiments by a variety of arguments, tending to evince, that a ſuppliant, humbled enemy, ought not to be deſpiſed; that the chance of war was uncertain; and that thoſe who were this year at the very pinnacle of fortune, might next ſeaſon be reduced to the loweſt abyſs of diſtreſs. Theſe general reflections they corroborated by the ſentiments of the late excellent patriot Barneveldt, who, with the conſent of the French king, had urged pacific meaſures in 1609. They might poſſibly have carried their point, had not cardinal Richelieu, who was bent upon retrenching

Propoſals for a truce.

retrenching the power of the houſe of Auſtria, traverſed the negociation, by means of the ſieur de Bouguy, ſent in quality of ambaſſador to the Hague [a]. This artful miniſter practiſed ſo artfully on the temper of the ſtates, that, inſtead of concluding a truce with Spain, they renewed the alliance with France, which was then at war with the catholic monarch. In this treaty the ſtates declared they would enter upon no truce, peace, engagement, or alliance, without the conſent of his moſt chriſtian majeſty. They likewiſe promiſed to aſſiſt him with troops, ammunition, and artillery, as ſoon as his army ſhould commence hoſtilities in Artois, Hainault, and the other countries belonging to the Spaniards: the king, on his part, ſtipulating to pay a conſiderable ſubſidy to the ſtates, and to employ the ſame number of forces in the Netherlands, which he had hitherto maintained. All the meaſures taken by Spain and the court of Bruſſels, to promote a truce, were diſconcerted. No regard was paid to the Flemiſh deputies at the Hague; they were treated with the utmoſt contempt, and in danger of being openly inſulted. An anſwer to their propoſals was publiſhed, under the title of the Anti-truce; in which the courts of Spain and Bruſſels were laſhed with great ſeverity, and indeed very little decency. Yet did not this repulſe diſcourage the archduchefs from proceeding in her pacific deſigns. She had recourſe to the mediation of England, and hoped to gain an influence with the mediator, by procuring the reſtoration of the elector Palatine, brother-in-law to Charles, and nephew to the prince of Orange. The ſtates themſelves were likewiſe intereſted in ſeeing this unhappy prince re-eſtabliſhed in the electoral dignity and his dominions; however, regard for the prince did not operate ſo powerfully as was expected. They ſuffered themſelves to be ſolicited for the ſpace of four months by the Britiſh ambaſſador, and at laſt returned for anſwer, that when they had any thoughts of concluding a truce, they would acquaint their ally the king of Great Britain with their intentions. This declaration put an end to the negociation, and obliged the Spaniards to make the beſt preparations in their power for the renewal of hoſtilities.

Treaty with France.

Conferences for a truce broken off.

Early this ſeaſon a powerful ſquadron put to ſea, under the conduct of the new admiral of Holland, Peter Heine, and next day fell in with three Spaniſh men of war on the coaſt of Flanders. An action enſued, and Heine was killed by a cannon-bullet at the firſt broadſide; but his lieutenant concealing his death, the mariners continued to fight with

[a] Id. ibid. Le Clerc, tom. ii. ibid.

ſpirit,

spirit, and the three Spanish ships were taken, and carried into Rotterdam, where the admiral's death was first divulged. This last defeat gave a considerable check to the Dunkirkers, and diffused a spirit of discontent and mutiny through the Spanish army and garrisons, who could not but attribute to misconduct, that the wealth intended for their maintenance should be the means of their destruction; that those very sums destined for their pay, should enrich their enemies, and purchase them all the conveniencies of life, while they were pining under all the miseries of hunger and nakedness. Crouds of deserters came over every day from Breda, and the other Spanish garrisons. Even the officers in the count de Berg's army quitted the service, and enlisted with the states. The peasants were oppressed with contributions, and the nobility incensed at the insolence of the Spaniards, and the preference given to foreigners. Even the clergy declaimed against the remissness of the government, and lamented the danger that threatened religion. All these disorders were charged by the natives on the proud foreigners, who enjoyed every emolument arising from places, pensions, and preferments, without contributing at all to the relief, and security of the people. The states of the clergy and nobility assembled, to deliberate on the present situation of affairs, and the means of applying remedies to oppressions altogether unsupportable. Many persons were for submitting to the Hollanders, without regard to the protestant religion, which they had established, and their declared opposition to the catholic faith; but others, strongly attached to the religion of their ancestors, proposed deputing the archbishop of Mechlin and the duke d'Arschot to the archduchess, to represent to her the grievances of which the people complained. They gave her to understand, that, on condition they were not saddled with the ministers and officers of the Spanish court, they would willingly give up all the assistance in troops, and remittances in money, expected from that kingdom; not doubting but they should be able to defend their religion and liberty, under the general authority of his catholic majesty and the archduchess. The good princess heard their complaints, felt for their misfortunes, and promised to do all in her power to redress them. With this view she sent the count de Solre into Spain; but the duke de Olivarez destroyed the effects of her remonstrances. Disappointed in this hope, the archduchess endeavoured to ease her subjects, by opening a free intercourse of trade between them and the states of the United Provinces [b]; and as the Hollanders and the prince

The miserable situation of the Spanish Netherlands.

[b] Neuville, tom. ii. cap. viii.

of

of Orange shewed no dislike to this project, she mistook their attachment to commerce for an inclination to renew the conferences for a truce; but soon perceived that they were resolved to pursue their good fortune, until a proper barrier, and firmer security, should be procured for the republic.

Richelieu makes an attempt to seize upon the city of Orange.

Since the late treaty with France, cardinal Richelieu directed the counsels of the states general, and soon demonstrated that all his good offices towards the republic, had their source in self-interest. While he was caressing the states, and cajoling the people with the hope of powerful succours from the French king, he was secretly contriving the means of seizing on the town of Orange, and the patrimony of prince Henry. For some time he had maintained a clandestine correspondence with the sieur de Walkemburg, governor of the city, who, notwithstanding he was the great favourite of the prince his master, could not avoid lending an ear to the bewitching solicitations of Richelieu, who of all men best understood the human heart, and most successfully employed the talent of seduction. Walkemburgh consented to surrender the place to the cardinal for the sum of four hundred thousand livres in money, and an estate in Provence of twenty thousand livres in value; but insisting upon being put in possession of the whole, before he admitted a French garrison, the negociation was protracted, and the prince had some intimation of his infidelity. The government of the town and citadel was triennial; but the prince, out of regard for Walkemburgh, had broke through the rule, and continued him in the government beyond the usual time. Immediately, on advice of his treachery, the office was bestowed on Knuyth, a Zealander, who pursued his instructions with great address, assembled a body of troops with the utmost expedition and privacy, got possession of the city, blocked up Walkemburgh in the house of a burgher where he had dined, killed him in a scuffle that ensued on his refusing to surrender, and then laid siege to the citadel, which the lieutenant-governor gave up, on being informed of Walkemburgh's death, and Knuyth's commission. This transaction laid the foundation of that rivetted aversion which the prince ever afterwards entertained for the cardinal; and of that opposition to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, constantly shewn upon all occasions by the succeeding princes of the family of Orange [c].

[c] Le Clerc, Hist. p. 170.

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The prudence, the valour, and the great moderation of prince Henry had raised him to a higher degree of credit with the states and the people than even his brother or father had acquired. Perceiving that he had no intention to abuse his authority, or encroach on the liberties of his country, they resolved to testify their gratitude, by rendering the stadtholdership hereditary in his family, and raising his son to the office of general of the cavalry, though then only in the fifth year of his age. These acts of acknowlegement were accompanied by particular demonstrations of the joy of the people; and a solemn deputation from the states general waited upon the prince with the strongest assurances of their esteem and gratitude. The young prince's commission was presented in a gold casket, and compliments were poured in daily from the states of all the provinces. But the attention required to these ceremonials did not divert Henry from the business of the state; he resolved to shew himself worthy of his new honours by a double portion of diligence. Assembling his army near Emmeric, where he had formed vast magazines of corn imported from Dantzic, his great preparations alarmed the courts of Brussels and Madrid, as they still entertained remote hopes that the truce might yet take place. The archduchess, sensible that it was vain to flatter herself longer with this prospect, exerted herself to put the army in a condition to take the field, and for that purpose laid additional taxes on the clergy and people. A step which, though necessary, excited the clamours of the Flemings; and the ill-judged policy of the court of Madrid increased their discontent, by appointing the marquis de Santa Cruz to succeed Spinola in the command of the forces, an employment which the people hoped would be conferred upon a native of the Netherlands. To sweeten the draught, which it was well known would prove unpalatable to the Flemings, a report was spread, that the marquis was to serve under the cardinal Ferdinand of Austria, brother to the catholic king, and nephew to the archduchess, who was to succeed her in the government. Count Henry de Berg was made marshal-general of all the troops in Flanders, and Carlo Colonna was raised to the rank of camp-master-general. A corps of six thousand men were destined to cover Antwerp and Mechlin, under the conduct of Zapeta; the care of all the convoys was committed to Lucas Cayro, who had four thousand foot, and thirty troops of horse under his command. As to the count de Berg, he took post near Rhimberg, for the defence of the new canal, and of Spanish Guelderland, of which he was governor.

The stadtholdership made hereditary.

Such

A.D.1631. Such were the measures taken by the enemy, while the prince of Orange, dividing his army into three corps, took post upon the Rhine, at Boisleduc and Sluys. Leaving count Stirum with a flying camp of ten thousand men at Rees, he embarked his troops at Emmeric, and, attended by the duke of Vendosme, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Bruges, passed the rivers and canals on rope-bridges, constructed upon a new plan, surprised three Spanish forts, and advanced to Ghent; but finding that a body of the enemy's cavalry was formed at the skirts of the wood in his way, he dropped his design, and returned, from an apprehension of falling into an ambuscade. The Spanish army multiplied daily, troops were pouring in from Germany and Italy, and already a body of twenty-nine thousand foot, with twenty-seven companies of horse, had advanced to the canal between Ghent and Bruges, on a supposition that the prince harboured designs upon one of those cities. The archduchess perceived that the vigilance of the prince of Orange would baffle all her endeavours, in the usual method of carrying on the campaign; she therefore resumed a scheme which had been proposed two years before, of cutting off the communication between the provinces of Holland and Zealand. For this purpose a great number of barges and flat-bottomed boats had been constructed, but laid aside chiefly for the want of troops or money to carry the project into execution. At the persuasion of a Capuchin, and the son of the advocate-general Barneveldt, who lived in banishment at Brussels, the boats were again taken into commission, a body of forces was appointed to serve in the expedition, and the direction of the whole committed to John, count de Nassau. The count set sail from Antwerp with a fleet of ninety boats, having on board five thousand land-forces, and one thousand three hundred marines; but part of the priest's intelligence proving false, he was forced to alter the course prescribed, re-enter the Scheld, pass by Remerswall, and coast along the isle of Tolen, into which the prince of Orange had thrown a reinforcement of nine thousand men. The barks, loaded with his ammunition, provision, and cannon, having run on the sand-banks, a whole tide was lost before they were got afloat, which delay afforded the Hollanders time to collect a small fleet of boats at Bergen op Zoom; with these they attacked the enemy, and took several boats, and three hundred prisoners. At the same instant the fleet of Zealand, commanded by admiral Hollart, fell upon the Spaniards in the night. Count John sustained the attack with great intrepidity, and the Capuchin performed wonders; but, after an action of six

A grand expedition prepared by the Spaniards.

six hours, the Spaniards were totally defeated; and of the whole armament, only eleven officers escaped, in which number were count John, the baron Balançon, governor of Breda, and the Capuchin. Seventy-six boats and barks were taken; the rest had been either sunk or burned, and the number of prisoners exceeded five thousand men, most of whom enlisted in the prince's army, and were incorporated in different regiments. The victory was deemed in Holland among the most glorious with which it had pleased the Almighty to bless the arms of the republic; and indeed the consequences were very important, as it entirely broke the scheme planned at the court of Brussels, of seizing all the Dutch islands quite to the Briel, and Dordrecht, while the marquis de Santa Cruz should subdue the whole country along the Meuse, as far as Gertruydenberg [a]. *The Spaniards defeated.*

The defeat of this expedition threw the court of Brussels into consternation. Equipping the armament had cost the government large sums, which were now entirely lost, together with great part of the army. The archduchess supported the misfortune with infinite spirit and moderation, exerting her utmost influence to appease the clamours raised against the marquis de Santa Cruz, upon whom the blame of so ideal a project was thrown by the multitude, and even by the Flemish nobility. It being thought absolutely necessary to do something to satisfy the people, the count offered the admiral Jacob Janse a victim to their discontent, and sent him prisoner to Breda; but Janse was an Italian, and this measure served only to increase the puplic murmurs. Happily, however, a large fleet of Dutchmen, loaded with corn, seized by the Dunkirkers, brought the Flemings into better temper. Advice coming to the court of Madrid of the fate of the late expedition, the ministry had recourse to their usual artifices. They greatly diminished the loss, and magnified some petty advantages gained in the East and West Indies. They had little indeed to boast with respect to the latter, for the great armament destined for the recovery of Olinda was dispersed in a storm, and the greatest part of the troops died of a malignant fever. D'Oquendo at last set sail, with a numerous fleet, for Brasil, and in his voyage encountered the Dutch admiral Pater, with seventeen ships, ten of which sheered off before the engagement begun. Peter was too far advanced to retire with safety or honour; he deter-

[a] Le Clerc, tom. ii. ubi supra.

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mined therefore to supply the want of numbers by courage, fell upon the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, sunk four and burned six of their ships, before he could be surrounded. After having long kept victory in suspense by dint of skill and intrepidity, he saw one of his finest vessels blown up, with the crew, consisting of three hundred men. This loss was succeeded by another accident, which all his prudence and valour could not remedy; the powder-room of his own ship took fire, the flames spread in despite of his utmost endeavours, and Pater, with above four hundred brave seamen, perished in the flames. Five ships now only remained, and they fought with redoubled vigour, determining to revenge the death of their valiant admiral. Nothing could exceed their fury; they cleared their decks, crouded with Spaniards who had boarded them, dyed the sea with blood, and covered it with floating carcases. At last, they made one desperate push, broke through the enemy's line, and, after having destroyed four ships, got clear, and steered their course unpursued to Olinda. The honour of victory remained with the Spaniards; but they had purchased it so dear, that d'Oquendo was disabled for that year from acting offensively. Returning to Europe some time after, he was attacked by four Dutch men of war, and defeated with the loss of seven hundred men, twenty-two officers, three ships, and his vice-admiral. Such were the exploits of which the court of Madrid boasted; but a false relation of facts served for a time to blind the public, and appease the clamours of the people [b].

While Spain was busied in preparing for the defence of the Netherlands, and the recovery of her losses in Brasil, the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the king of Sweden, whose irruption into Germany threw the whole
A.D. 1632. empire into consternation. In the space of one year he had conquered whole provinces, restored the dukes of Mecklenburg, to the dominions of which they were despoiled by the victorious imperial general Walstein, defeated the emperor's troops in divers rencounters, obtained the glorious victory of Leipsic over Tilly, the most celebrated commander of his age, crossed the Rhine and the Danube; reduced above sixty towns, fortresses, and cities, and was on the brink of overthrowing the whole power, and subjecting the grandeur of the ancient house of Austria, which had long given law to Christendom. Covered with

[b] Neuville, tom. ii. cap. 10.

laurels

laurels, this glorious monarch did not think the states of the United Provinces unworthy of his alliance. They had long laboured in the same cause, and with equal perseverance and courage fought in defence of liberty and the protestant religion. With this view he sent his chancellor Oxenstiern to the Hague, where he was received with all the honours due to his own merit, and the minister of so great a prince and hero. A treaty was concluded between the king and the republic, whereby they stipulated to attack the Spaniards on the Rhine, with all their forces, and thus divide the Austrian army. The pensionary Pauw was sent to the king, to adjust farther particulars [c].

Treaty with Sweden.

To fulfil the treaty with Sweden, the prince of Orange took the field at the head of two hundred and fifty-three companies of infantry, and fifty-eight troops of cavalry. Several detachments were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy; and the prince entering Spanish Guelderland, directed his march towards Venlo, seizing upon Arsen, a little fortress upon the Meuse. Next day he summoned the garrison of Venlo. The magistrates desired him to consult the count de Berg; but Henry marched his troops by two avenues, amidst the furious discharge of the artillery on the ramparts, and a sharp sally made by the garrison. Before morning, the trenches were advanced three hundred yards, notwithstanding the besieged gave all possible obstruction. A battery of six pieces of cannon was erected, which played so furiously with ignited balls, that one side of the town was set on fire. By the 3d of June, the inhabitants, seeing the enemy approach the ditch, desired to capitulate, on condition that their privileges should be preserved, liberty of conscience permitted, and a church allowed for the public exercise of the catholic religion. The garrison, scrupling to submit on the same terms with the burghers, defended themselves for a day, and then capitulated, retiring to the city of Juliers. This siege, though the firing was extremely fierce, cost the besiegers only two lives, a circumstance attributed to the prudent conduct of of prince Henry, imitating the example of his brother Maurice, in exposing his troops to danger only in cases of extreme necessity.

Henry was no sooner in possession of Venlo than he detached count Ernest, with six thousand men, towards Stralen and Ruremonde, the former of which surrendered without resistance. Ruremonde, an episcopal town in Guelderland, was besieged by Ernest in person. Batteries were immediately erected, but before they began to play, the prince

The Prince of Orange gains several advantages.

[c] Puffendorf. Hist. Generale, tom. vi. lib. vi.

of Orange arrived in the camp. His presence wrought such an effect on the inhabitants, that they surrendered next day, on the same conditions that were granted to the magistrates of Venlo. The prince's moderation contributed no less to the sudden reduction of towns than his valour. He generally granted all their privileges, and liberty of conscience to the conquered, who experienced no other hardship than what is consequent on a mere change of masters and of government. The siege of Ruremonde proved however extremely unfortunate to the provinces of Groningen and Friesland, who, by a musket-ball, the last shot fired by the garrison, lost their excellent governor, count Ernest Casimir of Nassau. He was succeeded in his dignities by his son Henry Ernest, and the states general acknowleged their esteem for the deceased by making the stadtholdership of the two provinces hereditary in his family.

In the mean time William of Nassau gained very considerable advantages over the enemy. He was detached with a corps of three thousand men by the prince of Orange, to harrass the enemy on the banks of the Scheld. Embarking his troops in a number of small boats at Ramekins, he pushed up the river to Lillo, made himself master of the important post and dyke at Cowestein, and of two forts at the extremities of the dykes, from the Scheld to the territory of Ryen. Afterwards he took Peckgat, fort St. Martin, and all the works which covered St. Vliet. To oppose his progress, the Spaniards detached a body of five thousand men, composed of the garrison of Antwerp, and the militia of the country, under the generals Colonna and Feria. A battle was fought near Callo, in which both sides behaved with great valour; but the Scotch and Irish auxiliaries at last broke the enemy, defeated them, and took a great number of prisoners, killed four hundred men, among whom was the brave Spinelli, and obtained a complete victory. So many advantages gained by the Hollanders determined the count de Berg to resign his commission, after he had faithfully served the court of Spain for a great number of years, notwithstanding he was nearly related to the prince of Orange, connected by strong ties with count Stirum, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage, attached to liberty, but so zealous a catholic that his conscience would not suffer him to submit to the protestant government established in the Seven Provinces. He retired to Liege, under pretence that it was a neutral city, and that he was deserted, and denied a body of forces sufficient for the defence of Guelderland; but it was generally supposed, he had concerted matters with the prince of Orange, being disgusted with the preference

The count de Berg resigns.

shewn

shewn to foreigners. The sudden retreat of so important a personage alarmed the court of Brussels. The archduchess feared that so dangerous an example would be imitated by others of the nobility, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Spanish ministry, and ready to enter into a league for the expulsion of all foreigners out of the Netherlands. Filled with these apprehensions, she dispatched a letter to the count, written with her own hand, inviting him back to Brussels, and promising to redress all his grievances; but the count excused himself in an answer couched in the most respectful terms, for the princess. He was sensible of her goodness, but he knew her power was limited by Olivarez, and that her favour to himself would be matter of discontent to all the Spaniards. He hoped, he said, that his faithful personal services of forty years, and the death of six brothers slain in the war, would give sufficient testimony of his zeal for the house of Austria, and the catholic religion. He touched upon the sufferings of the country, and the ruin of the catholic cause, from the pride and avarice of the Spaniards, and that contempt which they affected to entertain for the natives. He wrote, at the same time, a circular letter, in form of a manifesto, to the clergy, nobility, and towns of the ten provinces, to justify his conduct with respect to the marquis de Leganez, and other Spaniards, with whom he was at variance. Finally, he entirely threw off the mask, and declared his intention of levying an army for the defence of the country, against the opposition and tyranny of the Spaniards.

On the 18th of June, the prince of Orange wrote a letter to the count de Berg, applauding his resolution, and declaring that he should not have seized upon the towns in Spanish Guelderland, of which he was governor, but that they were left defenceless, the magistrates refusing to furnish the Spanish garrisons with money, a refusal which he feared might produce tumults and the ruin of the places. He offered him all manner of assistance and consolation, in his own name, and that of the states general, and requested he would rely upon their friendship and protection, against all his enemies. With respect to the catholic religion, in which he was so zealous, he might rest satisfied, as the states were determined to permit liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the Romish religion in all their conquests, as was obvious from their conduct at Venlo, Stralen, and Ruremonde. The states of Liege, apprehensive that the declaration published by the count de Berg might be regarded as a breach of their neutrality, published a protest of their having no share in the count's designs; while he, on his part, confirmed their asseveration by a solemn

He declares against the Spaniards.

act, acquitting the chapter and ſtates of all communication, intereſt, or connection, with his affairs. Meaſures ſo deliberate and well laid, convinced the court of Bruſſels, that the count's reſolution had not been formed in a ſudden fit of diſguſt; the Spaniards inſinuated to the archduchefs, that the invaſion of Spaniſh Guelderland was in conſequence of ſecret intelligence between him and the prince of Orange. This hint firſt determined her to prevent the conſequences of his deſertion by letters written to the three eſtates of the provinces, and then, by a perſonal declaration againſt the count, with an order to ſeize his perſon. So vigorous a reſolution terrified the count's party, and obliged him to return to Aix, in Holland, upon which he was declared a traitor by the court of Bruſſels, and condemned to loſs his head upon a ſcaffold.

The revolt, however, of the count de Berg did not produce all the expected conſequences. It was ſuppoſed that the Flemiſh troops would deſert, by which means the archduchefs would be deprived of her greateſt ſtrength, and diſabled from oppoſing the conqueſts of the prince of Orange; but that princeſs had taken her meaſures ſo prudently, and was ſo univerſally beloved, that ſcarce any more than the uſual deſertion happened. It was, notwithſtanding, a terrible blow to the court of Spain, as ſhe was now deprived of a general whoſe popularity in Guelderland might greatly aſſiſt the operations of the army. Four towns and three forts, ſituated on the Meuſe, were reduced in the ſpace of eight days. By the 10th of June the Dutch had puſhed their conqueſts quite to Maeſtricht, and penetrated to the fartheſt extremity of the duchy of Limburgh. Maeſtricht itſelf, the moſt commodious paſſage of the Meuſe, was now inveſted, after it had quietly remained in the hands of the Spaniards ſince the year 1579, when it was taken by the duke of Parma. The city was defended only by a garriſon of twenty-five hundred men, under the command of the baron de Leda, nephew to the count de Motery, an officer of great experience, who chanced to be abſent when the prince of Orange formed the ſiege. That prince carried on his approaches with his uſual caution, while the baron performed all that youth, fire, and an eager thirſt of glory could inſpire. With his only troop of cavalry he reconnoitred the diſpoſition of the Dutch trenches, maintained a ſharp conflict, and returned with a number of priſoners ſuperior to his whole party; an advantage which ſo elated the inhabitants, that the whole, without diſtinction, even the clergy and women, determined to ſecond the vigorous efforts of their intrepid governor, and labour in repairing the fortifications. A ſally was made to burn

all

all the ſurrounding houſes, which could any way aſſiſt the approach of the beſieged; but the garriſon was repulſed with great ſlaughter. All the batteries being finiſhed by the 14th of June, the reſt of the month was employed in battering the walls, and advancing the works, which the beſieged endeavoured to obſtruct by a great number of vigorous ſallies. Sometimes they proved ſucceſsful; and in one ſally they deſtroyed two batteries, filled up part of the trenches, and made prodigious carnage [d].

Maeſtricht beſieged.

Mean time the Spaniards, ſenſible that Maeſtricht was a town of the laſt importance, were collecting all their ſtrength for its relief, and, not ſatisfied with their own forces, had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of their allies. Gonzales de Cordova, with a body of forces drawn from the Palatinate, preſented himſelf before the trenches, upon which he played with twenty-four pieces of heavy cannon; but endeavouring to force his way into the town, was vigorouſly repulſed by the French and Engliſh auxiliaries. The ſieur d'Eſtiaux particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this affair, purſuing the enemy acroſs the river with ſuch impetuoſity that he penetrated the Spaniſh camp, threw it in great confuſion, and retired with a conſiderable number of priſoners. Gonzales, collecting his diſperſed troops, attempted to ſeize all the avenues leading to the Dutch camp, and thereby cut off their proviſions; but the prince of Orange took ſuch meaſures as effectually baffled the project of the Spaniard. Six weeks had now been conſumed in this ſiege, during which a variety of ſallies and aſſaults were made, which gave it ſo much reputation, that volunteers flocked from all quarters of Europe, to learn the art of war under prince Henry. On the 22d of July the marquis de Santa Cruz arrived with his whole army before the trenches, and attempted to force a paſſage over the Meuſe at Stocken; but his troops were ſo roughly handled, that he was forced to wait patiently for the arrival of his artillery, and the German auxiliaries under Pappenheim, one of the beſt officers in the emperor's ſervice. When the prince of Orange underſtood that this reinforcement had joined the Spaniſh general, he redoubled his vigilance, placed ſtronger guards at all the poſts, and ordered William of Naſſau to join the camp with the troops he had levied in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. Nor had Pappenheim reaſon to be ſatisfied with the reception given him by the marquis de Santa Cruz and the Spaniſh officers, who were jealous of his reputation, and afraid he would arrogate to himſelf the whole honour of relieving Maeſ-

[d] Neuville, tom. ii. cap. 14.

tricht. To prevent this diſgrace, he ſent the duke of Newburg with propoſals to the prince of Orange, for changing hoſtilities into a negociation. Pappenheim, incenſed at the uſage, declared by a trumpet that he was come with the imperial army to oppoſe the Dutch, and immediately advanced to force the prince's entrenchments. The Hollanders ſuſtained the attack with great firmneſs, and at laſt drove back the imperialiſts with prodigious ſlaughter. Pappenheim then entrenched himſelf oppoſite to count Stirum's quarters, with intention to ſeize the firſt opportunity of throwing ſuccours into the town. To ſecond his deſign, the beſieged made a ſally, furiouſly attacked the Engliſh quarters, and filled the trenches with blood. Above four thouſand Britiſh ſoldiers periſhed in this action, including the lord Oxford and colonel Williams [e].

After Pappenheim had fully examined the poſts, the ſtrength and ſituation of the beſiegers, he diſpoſed every thing for a ſecond attack, on the 18th of Auguſt planted his cannon, and drew up his army in order of battle. Two regiments of carbineers compoſed the van, followed by all the infantry, with faſcines to fill up the trenches; the cavalry ſupported both wings. The attack was ſo impetuous, that, notwithſtanding the trenches were choaked up with their dead, the Germans ſtill preſſed on, and obliged the Dutch to abandon their advanced works. The fight was obſtinately maintained for three hours, when the prince of Orange arrived with freſh troops, conducted by the dukes de Candale and Bouillon, and a body of volunteers formed out of the flower of the French nobility. They attacked the Germans in flank with irreſiſtible fury: the ſcale of fortune was now changed, and the imperialiſts in their turn put in diſorder, defeated, and driven from the entrenchments. The brave imperialiſt was ſhocked to ſee the Spaniards cool ſpectators of the ſlaughter of his troops; he complained to the marquis de Santa Cruz; but his application meeting only with ridicule, he determined once more to exert his valour, and demonſtrate that he could finiſh his buſineſs without their aſſiſtance. A ſecond time he returned to the charge; both ſides of the Dutch camp were attacked, and he actually forced the trenches with his cavalry. He ſuſtained the attack from one till ſeven in the evening, the Spaniards all the while remaining quiet ſpectators of his extraordinary efforts of gallantry and conduct. The artillery, muſketry, granades, bombs, and carbines, continued an unremitting diſcharge, and the clouds of ſmoke obſcured the light, and made it impoſſible for the

[e] Vie de Prince Henry, p. 102.

combatants

combatants to distinguish each other. Prince Henry, the dukes de Condale and Bouillon, count John Maurice of Nassau, and the French volunteers, opposed their utmost vigour to the fury of Pappenheim, who performed every duty of a soldier and great general. Perceiving his troops gave way, he erected gibbets behind, and forced them in despair to return to the attack, to avoid a more ignominious death. The garrison finding such astonishingly brave efforts made for their relief, resolved to contribute their endeavours, and sallying out vigorously upon the English quarters, made a considerable diversion, but were at last repulsed with loss, after an obstinate engagement. The Germans were discouraged by the defeat of the besieged. They had repeatedly come back to the charge, and were as often repulsed. Now they were fatigued, exhausted, and broken, while the Dutch poured in fresh to the attack, and relieved the troops that had suffered. After one furious unsuccessful attempt, Pappenheim retired in tolerable order, leaving two thousand killed on the field, and nine hundred wounded prisoners.

Prince Henry finding himself disengaged from so formidable an opponent as the imperial general, and having nothing to apprehend from the Spaniards, who seemed to lie encamped at a little distance, only to give testimony to his valiant exploits, pushed the siege with redoubled vigour. The British troops sprung a mine on the 20th of August, which destroyed great part of the ravelin; the garrison and burghers flew in crouds to the breach, where the baron de Leda fought in person with amazing intrepidity, and after a bloody action drove the besiegers back to their camp. Several women, mixed with the men, distinguished themselves, and extremely galled the assailants with their hand-grenades. Above three hundred British soldiers, and about eighty of the besieged, perished; several women likewise were slain and wounded. But this success served only to protract the siege; it could not determine the fate of the garrison. The breach was stormed a second time, and carried sword-in-hand; an incident which so alarmed the burghers, that in a body they besought the baron to save their lives and effects by a capitulation. After having used some fruitless arguments to persuade them to continue their defence a few days longer, he signed a capitulation, and obtained the most honourable conditions; those respecting the town differing but little from the terms granted to the magistrates of Venlo and Ruremonde. Thus was the important city of Maestricht, in despite of the utmost efforts of three armies, that of Spain, under the marquis de Santa Cruz; of the Palatinate, commanded by Cordova; and

Maestricht surrendered.

the imperial army, led on by the brave and experienced Pappenheim, obliged to ſurrender. The ſtates loſt ſix thouſand men in the ſiege; but the importance and glory of the conqueſt obliterated every other conſideration, and the reduction of Maeſtricht was regarded as one of the moſt memorable events of a war abounding in battles and ſieges.

Henry having beſtowed the government of Maeſtricht on the duke de Bouillon, left a ſtrong garriſon in the town; and being ſecured from all attempts from the imperialiſts on the ſide of the Rhine, ſent ſeventy large barks filled with troops to the mouth of the Scheld, to ſpread terror along the coaſts of Flanders. William of Naſſau advanced likewiſe with eight thouſand men to Lillo and Safflingen, by which means the Catholic provinces were beſet by ſea and land. Count Stirum was likewiſe detached to reduce the few remaining towns of Spaniſh Guelderland, moſt of which ſubmitted rather to the influence of the count de Berg than to the arms of the Hollanders. The archduchefs apprehended that the prince would next point his vengeance againſt the few towns held by the Spaniards in the duchy of Cleves. Unable to protect them with her own forces, ſhe wrote to Pappenheim, requeſting he would claim them as imperial towns, or rather as places ſequeſtered in the hands of the emperor. Glad of an opportunity of extending the influence of the court of Vienna, Pappenheim wrote to the prince of Orange, exhorting him to diſtinguiſh between the places in the duchy of Cleves, under the protection of the emperor, and thoſe held by Spain; but Henry, perceiving the artifice, returned for anſwer, that, provided his imperial majeſty would obſerve an exact neutrality, and prevail on the Spaniards to withdraw their garriſons, he was ready to comply.

While this affair was negotiating, prince Henry detached lieutenant-general Stakembroek and colonel Pinſen to inveſt Limburgh, the capital of the duchy of that name. As the town was but indifferently fortified, it ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. Stakembroek then penetrated to Namur, and laid the whole ſurrounding country under contribution. In the month of October, Orſoy, a town in the duchy of Cleves, was ſurpriſed by a Dutch party; but the avarice of the ſoldiers, and their eagerneſs after plunder, occaſioned the loſs of their conqueſt. They were attacked, and driven out of the town, by a detachment of the garriſon of Rhimberg. William of Naſſau, however, ſoon after recovered the place; which conqueſt concluded the campaign, ſo glorious to the prince of Orange, and advantageous to the republic.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Containing Proposals for a Truce between Spain and Holland; Propositions concerning the Re-union of the Seventeen Provinces; the Siege of Breda; and a Variety of other military Operations, to the Death of the Prince of Orange; and the Treaty of Munster.

CONFOUNDED with the rapid conquests of prince Henry, and the progress of the Dutch conquests, the court of Brussels had no other resource than the renewal of their negociations for a truce with the states general. Necessity, rather than the love of peace, dictated this measure. The Spaniards were not yet sufficiently humbled to grant what the United Provinces required; but they were forced to temporise, and gain a little respite, by establishing conferences, the sole object of which was to procrastinate. It had been the policy of Philip II. to set negociations on foot whenever he found his treasury exhausted, and his arms unfortunate, with no other view than to break them off as soon as the flota arrived from the Indies, and he had recovered himself; this policy was imitated by his successors. The archduchess now dispatched a deputation to Maestricht, with proposals to the prince of Orange, which he transmitted and referred to the states general. The states declared they could enter upon no conferences with the Spanish ministry; but that they were willing to begin a negociation with the catholic provinces, on condition they would detach themselves from the Spaniards. This proposal was accepted by the archduchess, who accordingly sent the archbishop of Mechlin, and the duke d' Arschot, to the Hague, to open the conferences. Seven other deputies from Brabant, Hainault, and Flanders, assisted. They were acknowleged as the ambassadors of the court of Brussels by the states, and they declared they were come entirely in the name of the states of the catholic provinces. As the states general were bound, by the treaties with France and Sweden, to enter upon no negociations without the consent and participation of their allies, they drew up a scheme of preliminaries so unreasonable, that the deputies declared it exceeded their instructions to give any answer. It is, however, supposed, that had the proposals been more favourable, they must have made the same declaration[a]. The deputies returned with more

A.D. 1633.

Proposals made by the court of Brussels for a truce.

[a] Le Clerc, tom. iii p. 174.

ample

ample powers; but the prince of Orange, unwilling to be diverted from his military operations by conferences, the fruitless issue of which he foresaw, marched at the head of his army, and laid siege to Rhimberg. This town, standing upon the Rhine, between Wessel and Orsoy, was regarded as a place of great importance to the Hollanders. It commanded the whole navigation and commerce of the Rhine; was a key to the Spaniards into Friesland, and enabled them to levy contributions in the Dutch territories on the hither side the Rhine. This important town the prince of Orange invested on the 11th of May. Diesdorff, an officer of reputation, commanded in the town, having under him a garrison of two thousand men. He defended himself with so much judgment, that, notwithstanding the prince carried on his approaches with the utmost vigour, only nine soldiers of the garrison were killed at the end of the month, but the fortifications were considerably damaged. His spirits were kept up by the prospect of relief from Moncada, who was marching to his assistance with an army of twenty thousand men; hopes that were soon cut off by the judicious measures of prince Henry, who detached a body of horse and foot to oppose the enemy, to cut off their convoys, and harrass them in their march. The duke de Bouillon and colonel Pinsen commanded this detachment, and effectually executed their commission; Moncada was unable to advance, and Diesdorff, destitute of all resource, his garrison being fatigued, and his provision and ammunition consumed, surrendered the town upon obtaining the honours of war, and certain favourable conditions for the inhabitants.

Rhimberg taken by the prince of Orange.

The reduction of Rhimberg was the most important service that could have been performed, relative to the provinces of Friesland and Groningen; because they were obliged, while this place remained in the hands of the Spaniards, to maintain large garrisons at a vast expence. It procured, likewise, another advantage to the United Provinces, by diminishing the duties upon all merchandize going up or down the river. In a word, the place was deemed of such consequence by the court of Brussels, that Diesdorff was sent prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp, and afterwards cashiered, for not having defended himself to the last extremity. Henry's expedition to Cleves diminished greatly the public expectation from the conferences, which still were pursued. Though the Flemish deputies continued at the Hague, the archduchess thought herself authorised, by the example of the states general, to continue her hostile preparations. Levies were accordingly made

made in all the territories subject to the government; a considerable army took the field in three divisions; and every thing promised that the campaign would be conducted with the utmost vigour. The count de Mottery, with one division, marched into the district of Liege, to revenge the breach of the neutrality, and that partiality of the chapter and states, shewn for the Hollanders during the siege of Maestricht; but he was twice defeated by the duke de Bouillon, and forced to abandon the enterprize. Prince Henry marched to Brabant, and encamping at Botel, was joined by twelve thousand Swedes, under general Melander. Now was the most formidable army in the field, which the states general had beheld since the origin of the republic; it was composed of fifty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. Spanish Brabant looked upon itself as already conquered; and the terror of the allied army had spread to the remotest extremities of the catholic Netherlands. The prince of Orange began his march, at the head of all his forces, towards Endyhove, in the month of September. A deluge of rain, which poured incessantly during the whole month, and the excellent disposition made by the Spanish general Moncada, frustrated, however, all his designs. The country was destitute of forage; the lands were overflowed; sickness appeared in the army; the peasants deserted their habitations, to avoid bringing provision to the Dutch troops; and every thing contributed to disappoint the great projects of the prince of Orange, and the vast expectations of the states general from so formidable an army[b]. Unable to penetrate farther, he retired, and distributed his troops in winter-quarters.

Twelve thousand Swedes join the prince of Orange.

The naval armament, under count William of Nassau, was somewhat more fortunate, though greatly short of expectation in point of success. After having alarmed the Spaniards in different quarters, by keeping them in suspence where the stroke would fall, he at last made a descent on the coast of Flanders, near Cadsant, and took a little fort in the neighbourhood of Sluys, which he garrisoned. Perceiving that his progress was vigorously opposed by Fontaine, governor of Bruges, he reimbarked his troops, and fell suddenly upon fort Philippine, near Sas Van Ghent, where he found abundance of ammunition, provision, and several pieces of beautiful cannon. To the fortifications of this place he made vast additions, strengthening the counterscarp, in particular, with seven great bastions, and a variety of out-works, that rendered it almost impregnable,

[b] Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 179.

and

and formed a convenient inlet to the Hollanders into Flanders. While he was thus employed, his other conquest was lost, by the misconduct and cowardice of the garrison. They surrendered, after a faint resistance, and upon their return to Holland were broke, and rendered incapable of farther service. Some of the officers were banished, and the name of Cut Head was given to the fort, because it proved fatal to a variety of governors, Spanish and Dutch, who lost their heads for not defending it with more vigour and obstinacy. The Spaniards perceiving the effects of losing fort Philippine, that, instead of laying waste the territories of the states, as usual, their own dominions were now subjected to contributions to the very gates of Ghent, exerted their utmost endeavours once more to gain possession of a place so important. The governor of Antwerp made draughts from his own and the neighbouring garrisons; Colonna joined him with a body of cavalry, and Gonzales with several companies of infantry. In a short time such a force was assembled, as extremely pressed William de Nassau, and obliged him to apply for a considerable reinforcement. However, by a stratagem, he forced the enemy to drop their design of attacking him, of retaking fort Philippine, and of returning the insults they had lately sustained. Ordering several boats, with a trumpeter in each, to land in the night, sounding their warlike instruments, he persuaded the enemy that a strong reinforcement was arrived, and obliged them to decamp with great precipitation, leaving behind their baggage, provisions, the utensils brought for carrying on the siege, and several pieces of artillery.

With this transaction the campaign ended, upon which the negociations for a truce were again resumed. The conferences at the Hague had been interrupted by hostilities committed in the field, and by a variety of difficulties started by the Hollanders, but not wholly broke off; for some of the deputies constantly resided in Holland, while others went to Brussels for farther instructions. It was the intention both of the court of Spain and the states general to amuse; the archduchess alone was serious in her endeavours to restore tranquillity and the blessings of repose to the Netherlands. Possibly she might have effected this aim sooner, had she not been curbed, traversed, and disappointed by the intrigues of Olivarez and the Spanish ministry, who were too weak to execute their designs upon the United Provinces, and too proud to grant them peace on the only conditions they were resolved to accept. Her wise conduct broke all the measures concerted by the Hollanders for procuring

curing the reunion of the Seventeen Provinces, upon ſuch a footing as would entirely exclude the Spaniards. The count de Berg's deſertion firſt ſuggeſted the idea of this reunion, to which great numbers of the Flemiſh nobility ſeemed well-diſpoſed. Indeed the people in general were not averſe to the ſcheme of a new republic, under the ſame laws and government, except in matters of religion, where perfect liberty of conſcience ſhould be tolerated. The deſign was noble, but it was too vaſt for practice; ſo many perſons were intereſted to oppoſe it, that it was impoſſible it ſhould ever be carried into execution. The archduchefs was to be maintained in all her dignity and authority during her life, out of reſpect to her wiſdom, and that general eſteem which ſhe had acquired by her ſweet and amiable diſpoſition; but unfortunately ſhe could not accept the offer, without betraying the confidence repoſed in her by the court of Madrid. Some writers aſcribe the ruin of the project to the duke d'Arſchot, who betrayed the negociation between the Flemiſh nobility and the count de Berg. The ſtates general perceived, that it was not with the court of Bruſſels they had to treat, but with that of Madrid; they altered their tone, ſpoke a different language, ſeemed more indifferent about the truce, but, however, did not poſitively refuſe to liſten to the propoſals, with which the deputies returned to the Hague. Cardinal Richelieu now interpoſed, and omitted nothing to keep open the breach between Spain and the United Provinces, ſo neceſſary to the deſigns he had formed. With this view he ſent the baron de Charneſſe to the Hague, who acquitted himſelf with ſo much addreſs, promiſed ſo largely, and flattered the ſtates with ſuch agreeable proſpects, that they precipitately broke off the conferences, and intimated to the deputies the neceſſity of their immediate departure [c].

Negociations for a truce broke off.

It muſt be confeſſed that this meaſure was by no means agreeable to the majority of the people, who ardently wiſhed for a ſolid pacification, whereby they might be at full liberty to give their whole attention to commerce; but the ſtates of Zealand, and the prince of Orange in particular, entered ſo warmly into the intereſts of the French ambaſſador, and repreſented ſo ſtrongly the utility of continuing the war, that the ſtates general declared in their favour, in deſpite of all the remonſtrances made by Holland and Weſt Frieſeland, which of all the provinces were the moſt burthened by the expences of the war. Charneſſe ſurmounted all difficulties by the gold which he promiſed to

[c] Neuville, tom. ii. p. 17.

ſhower

A. D. 1633. shower down from France, and the powerful diversion which, he said, the king's troops would make, by an irruption into Lorraine and Alsace. The states relied on the effects of these promises, the people were brought into good humour, and all coincided in the resolution to prosecute the war with such vigour as should compel Spain to sue for peace, upon such terms as France and the republic should think fit to prescribe. This determination was scarce formed when the Netherlands were deprived of the princess Isabella Clara Eugenia, archduchess of Austria, daughter to Philip II. of Spain, grand-daughter of Henry II. of France, more illustrious by her extraordinary merit than by her elevated birth and connections. She died at Brussels, on the 1st day of September, lamented by all degrees of men, and equally esteemed by the Spaniards, Flemings, and Dutch, for her prudence, moderation, humanity, piety, and every other quality which could adorn her sex, and reflect lustre upon her high dignity. In her religion, even the Hollanders, the enemies of her faith and person, believed she was sincere; though the Catholics blamed that moderation, which she recommended, and always observed, in regard to the reformed religion [d].

Death of the archduchess.

The death of Isabella was an irrecoverable loss to Spain; it furnished an opportunity of displaying those ideal strokes of policy which seldom succeed, on account of their excessive refinement. We have seen Philip the Second's views in marrying the princess to the cardinal archduke, brother to the emperor Rodolph. The Netherlands and Franche Compté were her dowry; and the contract of marriage stipulated, that the elder male issue should succeed, and in case of failure of such issue, the oldest of the female line; but that the provinces on no account should be divided or alienated. Now the whole scheme of Philip was frustrated, and the Netherlands again reverted to the Spanish monarchy, without producing any of the effects proposed. Among the papers in the cabinet of the archduchess was found a commission, signed in 1630, appointing the archbishop of Mechlin, and the duke d'Arschot, Don Carlo Colonna, and the marquis d'Ayetone, regents, during the absence of Ferdinand of Austria, brother to the catholic king, destined to succeed the archduchess, not in the property, but the government of the Netherlands. The death of some, the absence of others, and the contempt into which the duke d'Arschot was fallen, so changed the regency, that the whole management devolved on the mar-

[d] Neuville, tom. ii. p. 17.

quis

quis d'Ayetone. As the cardinal infant was deeply engaged in Germany, a new commission was granted to the marquis, constituting him governor of the provinces, and captain-general of all the Spanish forces acting in the Netherlands. He began his government with seizing upon the persons of the nobility suspected of holding any correspondence with count Henry de Berg and the states general of the United Provinces. The prince de Barbançon was committed prisoner to the citadel of Antwerp; the duke de Bournonville, called likewise count Hennin, and the prince d'Espinoi, saved themselves in France: an attempt was made to seize upon divers other noblemen; but they had notice of the intention of the governor, and made their escape. Some, however, were carried prisoners to Antwerp, while others took refuge in the United Provinces and Brabant, with the counts de Berg and Warfuse. As to the duke d'Arschot, he fell under suspicion, and was detained prisoner at the court of Madrid. Sentence of death was pronounced against the count de Berg, which greatly alarmed all the Flemish nobility, who had any way connived at his desertion. The consternation became so general, that, dreading a revolt and an immediate insurrection, the marquis d'Ayetone found himself obliged to quiet the fears of the people, by publishing an amnesty of all that had passed before the 16th of April.

Conduct of the marquis d'Ayetone, the new governor of the Netherlands.

Next he visited the coasts of Flanders, reinforced the garrisons of the frontier towns, built several forts, to restrain the incursions of the Hollanders, and concluded a treaty, on the 12th of May, with Gaston de France, duke of Orleans, and brother to Lewis XIII. in the name of his catholic majesty; whereby the duke engaged to declare war against the French monarch. This treaty was opposed to the new alliance formed between the king and the republic, by which the king stipulated to augment his forces in the service of the states, to pay two millions yearly, and to declare war against the king of Spain, should he attack the United Provinces. After his negociation with the duke of Orleans, the marquis d'Ayetone ordered his army to file off towards the Meuse, leaving the counts de Fontaine and Feria, governors of Bruges and Antwerp, to oppose William de Nassau's designs upon Flanders; to effect which aim, they had a corps of six thousand foot, besides a considerable body of cavalry. Immediately the duke de Lerma and the marquis de Leda were detached to lay siege to Argentau, a place of strength and importance, situated between Maestricht and Liege, and founded upon a rock washed by the waters of the Meuse. Notwithstanding its great

great strength, Argentau surrendered after the exchange of a few shot; the garrison, consisting of twenty-five soldiers, not chusing to wait for the expected succours from the prince of Orange. The governor, who was son to Junius, the prince's secretary, was committed prisoner to Maestricht, by order of the states; but the chief blame fell on the prince of Orange, who was justly censured for leaving a fortress so important in a condition so defenceless.

Maestricht in vain besieged by the Spaniards.

From Argentau the Spaniards marched to Limburgh, a city of which they made sure, in consequence of a secret treaty with the governor. He had agreed to admit the enemy upon receiving thirty thousand pistoles; but his treacherous design was discovered, and frustrated by the lieutenant-governor, who obliged him to take refuge among the Spaniards. The disappointment did not hinder the marquis from investing Maestricht in the month of July. This step alarmed the prince of Orange, who had hitherto been seduced into a state of inactivity, by the negociations carried on by the states with the French king, the Swedish queen, the German Protestants, the duke of Newburg, and the malcontents in Flanders. Now he advanced to the frontiers of Brabant and Guelderland, in such a manner as to be able to penetrate into either, as circumstances might require. The duke de Bouillon, governor of Maestricht, had thrown himself with four thousand men into the place, and made so furious a sally upon the besiegers, that they were constrained to convert the siege into a blockade. Upon receiving a strong reinforcement, the marquis again began to make his approaches. He battered the town with the utmost fury; but all his efforts gave no inquietude to the prince of Orange, who relied upon the courage of the garrison, and the intrepidity and skill of the duke de Bouillon. Perfectly secure in this well reposed confidence, Henry did not quit the Hague before the month of August, contenting himself with sufficiently reinforcing the garrisons of Ruremonde and Venlo. Now, indeed, he resolved to invest Breda, rather to make a diversion in favour of Maestricht, than with hopes of succeeding in the reduction of so well-garrisoned and strong a city[c]. It answered his expectation: he had scarce begun to work upon the trenches, when d'Ayetone raised the siege of Maestricht, and marched with all his forces to Breda, upon which the prince retired on the 8th of September, leading his army in good order along the Meuse, and closing the campaign with this transaction.

[c] Neuville, tom. ii. ibid.

Though

Though the marquis d'Ayetone had been fairly overreached by Henry's feint upon Breda, yet he assumed the airs of a conqueror, and entered the place in triumph, as if he had defeated the enemy, and delivered the city from the pressure of a close siege. This policy was necessary to quiet the minds of the people, who murmured at the expence which had been unnecessarily incurred by the siege of Maestricht. Henry's prudence had cut off all possibility of gaining any real advantage, the garrisons being all put in a state of defence, and the troops so judiciously cantoned, as effectually to cover the whole frontier. This security of the provinces was matter of great chagrin to Ayetone, who hoped to signalize his government by some very important blow; and his uneasiness was augmented by the motions of the French army, under the marshal de la Force, on the side of Luxemburgh. The duke of Orleans likewise broke his engagements with the court of Spain, and was reconciled to the king his brother. All these circumstances involved the court of Brussels in the utmost confusion, when the cardinal infant Albert arrived, to take upon him the government. At Brussels he was received as a conqueror, with all the pomp, magnificence, and honours, formerly shewn to Charles V. and Philip II. It was immediately published, that he meditated nothing less than the reunion of the seventeen provinces under his government, and the greatest hopes were entertained from a prince known to be of a warlike disposition, and confessed by all to possess the talents of a sound politician.

The cardinal infant arrives in the Netherlands.

The cardinal's arrival announced to the states general the necessity of keeping strict watch, and putting their troops and garrisons into the best posture. They beheld with disquiet and jealousy the compliments that were paid to the cardinal by the neighbouring states and princes; especially the king of England, and the elector of Cologne, who were the earliest in their congratulations. This extraordinary change at the court of Brussels determined the states to send an embassy to the court of France, pressing the execution of the late treaty, and exhorting the king to declare war against the Spaniards. The consequence of this application was the renewal of the same treaty, with this addition, that an offensive alliance was now contracted between the king and the republic, from which the states expected nothing less than the entire conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. A scheme of partition was actually drawn up, whereby the towns were to preserve their privileges, and the people their religion. The duchy of Luxemburgh, the counties of Namur, Hainault, Courtray, Artois,

A.D. 1635.

An offensive alliance between France and Holland.

tois, and Flanders, as far as Blakemberg, Damme, and Rupplemonde, were assigned to France; while Brabant, Guelderland, the territory of Waes, the lordship of Mechlin, and all the rest of Flanders, should be annexed to the republic. The vast projects and sanguine hopes of the allies were disappointed chiefly by their own blunders, and by the jealousy which the Hollanders entertained of the growing power of France. The prince of Orange likewise was greatly instrumental in defeating the intention of the league: he could never forgive cardinal Richelieu the attempt made on the principality of Orange; and he sought his revenge by embracing every occasion to mortify that haughty prelate and crafty minister.

Lewis XIII. now wanted a specious pretence for coming to a rupture with the court of Spain, and declaring war against the cardinal governor of the Netherlands, as the first step towards the execution of the treaty with Holland. The seizure of Triers, and the unjust detention of the elector, who had been sent prisoner to Brussels, and thence to Vienna, afforded the opportunity he wished [f]. The elector was under his protection; he demanded his release; and not obtaining it, he solemnly denounced war, by the mouth of a herald sent to Brussels. It was concerted, that the prince of Orange should enter Brabant with his forces, while a French army, of twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, advanced to the frontiers of that province, to effect a junction; the combined army to be commanded in chief by the prince of Orange. It was the business of the cardinal infant to prevent this union: he accordingly detached prince Thomas, with the counts Burgoi and Feria, to give battle to the French. On the 20th of May the two armies met near the village of Avein, in Luxemburgh. An engagement ensued, and the Spaniards were totally defeated, after an obstinate engagement that continued for five hours, and was sustained with astonishing intrepidity. They left four thousand dead upon the field, eight hundred prisoners were taken, and several pieces of cannon, with standards, colours, and other military trophies. The conquerors advanced to Maestricht, to join the prince of Orange, who lamented that he was deprived of a share in this glorious victory, and complained to the sieur de Pontis, that the mareschals de Brezè and Chatillon should have presumed to give battle without the orders of the generalissimo [g]. This is the insinuation of French writers; we

The Spaniards defeated.

[f] Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 199. Neuville, tom. ii. lib. viii. cap. 3. [g] Idem ibid.

find

find not the least blame thrown upon the mareschals in the prince's own relation of his campaigns; and it is certain he received them with great civility, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their valour, when they met at Maestricht. It must, however, be confessed that no great harmony subsisted, though this want of concord arose from motives more worthy of the prince of Orange: they related chiefly to his country; he seemed to penetrate into futurity, and clearly to predict all the consequences of suffering the French king to establish a footing in the Netherlands.

When the armies of France and Holland were united before Maestricht, they exceeded fifty thousand men, commanded by the best officers in Europe. Such an armament was sufficient to swallow up the Spanish Netherlands, already under the utmost consternation, from the defeat at Avein. Henry passed the Meuse above and below Maestricht, on the 1st of June, and penetrated into Brabant, accompanied by a train composed of a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The cardinal infant was encamped at Demer, having secured all the passes, by throwing up entrenchments, building redoubts, and cutting down great trees; but on the approach of the allies he was forced to retire with precipitation, to desert all his works, and leave a free passage. In consequence of his retreat, St. Tron, Landen, Hallem, and several inconsiderable places fell into their hands; Tillemont was summoned on the 8th of June, and Francisco de Bargos, with a garrison of eleven hundred men, replied, that he would endeavour to merit the prince's esteem by his conduct. He made the most vigorous defence, but the town was at last forced by escalade, the houses were pillaged, the churches destroyed, and the priests murdered with great brutality [h].

Tillemont taken by the Dutch.

On the 10th of June the two armies separated, the prince of Orange taking the route of Brussels, where the cardinal infant expected the succours which Piccolomini was bringing from Germany, and the French directing their march towards Diest, which surrendered at the first summons. They afterwards joined between Louvain and Brussels, and now that jealousy betwixt the prince and the French mareschals, which, say the French writers, had its origin in the victory at Avein, became more open and declared. Disputes took place of action. Instead of profiting by the enemy's consternation, and besieging Louvain at the time proposed, several days were consumed in fruitless altercation, and the provision necessary for the execu-

[h] Neuville, tom. ii. p. viii. cap. 6.

tion of the design was exhausted. The garrison had time to repair the fortifications, and the cardinal to throw in a reinforcement of five thousand foot and two hundred horse. He entered the town in person, resolving to defend it to the last extremity; and to draw him to Brussels, the prince of Orange moved towards that capital, as if he intended to besiege it, a motion which effectually answered his purpose. The cardinal flew to Brussels, leaving two thousand men in Louvain, under the conduct of the baron Groobendenck; while the allies, having made a sudden turn, sat down before Louvain, and broke ground on the 25th of June. Next day their batteries played vigorously on different quarters of the town, and all the generals seemed unanimous that the governor would make but a short defence. He had, however, since the reduction of Tillemont, been preparing for a siege, and amassed great store of ammunition and provision. The fate of that place determined him upon making the most obstinate resistance; and his views were seconded by a brave veteran garrison, accustomed to all the hardships and fatigues of a siege. The skill and courage of this garrison, joined to a certain languor and inactivity in the allies, protracted the siege. Henry is accused of an intention to ruin the French army. Provisions grew scarce in the camp; several parties of foragers returned without being able to find grass or corn for their horses; whole convoys came back empty, or were interrupted by the enemy; dissensions arose; the French murmured, and soon complained openly that they were betrayed; disease swept off great numbers of the troops; Piccolomini was advancing to give battle with a fine army, and the result of all was the breaking up of a siege, which gave the first turn to the fortune of the allies, and laid the foundation of numberless disappointments. The armies now separated, and the Dutch went to Brabant, where they found abundance of refreshment; while the French unhappily quartered in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, in which nothing but hunger, disease, and accumulated misfortunes offered. Above six thousand men died in the space of a few weeks, and the camp was in so wretched a situation that it rather resembled an hospital than the army of a powerful monarch sent to extend his conquests[1].

The allies besiege Louvain.

Already the enemy's affairs began to assume a more benign aspect. Hitherto nothing but ruin and disgrace had succeeded the death of the archduchess; but the want of harmony in the confederate army, afforded the cardinal the

[1] Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 201.

fairest

faireſt opportunity and the happieſt proſpects. One army was now wholly deſtroyed by ſickneſs, and the other was too weak to face the powerful forces drawn from Germany, joined to the army already formed in the Netherlands, compoſed of Spaniards, and the beſt troops of the provinces. The reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Schenck was the firſt fruits of this favourable change in the cardinal's ſituation. Adolphus d'Emholt, a lieutenant-colonel of the Walloon guards, formed a ſcheme to ſurpriſe the garriſon, and ſucceeded by dint of vigilance, addreſs, and intrepidity. The ſtates general regarded fort Schenck as the key of the United Provinces; they were alarmed at the loſs of a place ſo important, and immediately ſent inſtructions to the prince of Orange to uſe his utmoſt art in recovering it. He obeyed the mandate, and thereby left all his conqueſts a prey to the enemy, who were at liberty now to purſue every method to obſtruct the return of the allies. To ſucceed in the recovery of fort Schenck, it was thought neceſſary to reunite the French and Dutch armies. Accordingly the prince of Orange pitched his quarters on the ſide of Betau, while the mareſchals Brezè and Chatillon encamped towards Emmerick and Cleves; however the neceſſary preliminaries for conducting the ſiege could not be got ready before the month of Auguſt. To ſhorten matters, and abridge the expedition, prince Henry formed a plan to ſurpriſe the garriſon; but the vigilance of the governor baffled the attempt, and obliged him to recur to the firſt ſcheme of operations. It was ſettled that the Dutch ſhould carry on the approaches, while the French ſhould cover the ſiege, and oppoſe the enemy's ſuccouring the garriſon. This ſervice they performed with great intrepidity, obliging the cardinal, after a ſharp action, to retire, notwithſtanding their numbers were greatly diminiſhed, and the army in general in a wretched condition, owing chiefly to the exceſſive heat and drought of the ſummer ſeaſon, and the deluges of rain that poured down for the whole autumn. So miſerable indeed was their ſituation, that the mareſchals were forced to lead back the poor remains of the army to France, while the prince of Orange continued the ſiege with invincible perſeverance, and in deſpite of all the rigours of a ſevere winter. The Spaniards were no leſs obſtinate in the defence of Schenck. They exerted their utmoſt diligence to throw in ſuccours, and the prince was equally vigilant to prevent them, and force the brave garriſon to ſubmiſſion. At laſt the Hollanders took the caſtle of Billand by aſſault; they ruined all the outworks of the beſieged, except the halfmoon, which was defended with incredible

The Spaniards ſurpriſe fort Schenck, which is retaken by the Dutch after a tedious ſiege.

A.D.1636.

credible intrepidity; the brave Emholt was slain by a musket-bullet; all communication between the fort and the Spanish territories was cut off, the garrison was greatly reduced and dispirited by the death of their leader, and every thing drawing to a crisis favourable to the besieged, when the cardinal determined to send baron Groobendenck, who had so successfully defended Louvain, to succeed Emholt in the government. The prince of Orange attended the business of the states at the Hague, leaving the conduct of the siege to William of Nassau, who performed all that could be expected from courage combined with conduct, and ardour tempered by prudence and judgment. He took his measures so well, that he greatly augmented his army, and obliged prince Thomas, who was detached with a strong body of forces to raise the siege at the hazard of a battle, to remain a tame spectator of his successful operations, giving a general assault, and becoming master of a place which cost so much blood and treasure, without granting a capitulation to the garrison[k]. He concluded the campaign with some other advantages obtained in the territory of Cleves, all of which, however, were insufficient to ballance the consequences of the retreat of the French army, and the number of soldiers lost by keeping the field for almost a whole rigorous winter.

The remainder of this year passed in mutual expeditions into each other's territories, which produced nothing decisive. The Spanish arms were chiefly employed in Picardy, under the conduct of prince Thomas and Piccolomini. As to the Hollanders, they struck their most important blows on their own proper element, the ocean, where they defeated a fleet of Dunkirkers in sight of Dieppe. In this engagement the Dutch were commanded by Evertzen, who began already to distinguish himself; the Spaniards had two ships sunk, one burnt, and two taken, with their admiral Antonio Collardo on board. In consequence of this victory, the commerce of the provinces was secured, and trade flourished extremely. The chief advantages, however, were obtained by the East India company, who extended their trade far beyond what it ever before attained, and made such returns as astonished Europe, and enriched the provinces. As to the West India company, it was less fortunate: all its attempts had lately miscarried in Brasil and on the coast of Africa, where the Portuguese were greatly superior in numbers. Chagrined with disappointment, they resolved to commit their affairs to some

[k] Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 201.

general,

general, whose established reputation, valour, prudence, and experience, might retrieve their losses, and extend their settlements in Brasil and the West Indies. No person appeared more likely to answer all their purposes than count John Maurice de Nassau, who had for many years faithfully and eminently served his country. The offer was made of appointing him governor-general and commander in chief of Brasil and South America; an employment which the count accepted with the consent of the states general and the prince of Orange. His authority was directly the same vested in the governor-general of Batavia, a fleet of thirty-two sail, twelve of which were men of war, with two thousand seven hundred land forces on board, was equipped; and he quitted the Texel on the 25th day of October.

Maurice de Nassau made governor of Brasil.

Of the fourteen provinces into which Brasil was divided, four were subject to the Hollanders, Fernambuco, Temeraca, Paraiba, and Rio Grande. Since the year 1630 the court of Spain had sustained incredible damage by the efforts which the Dutch made to establish settlements in South America. Of eight hundred ships fitted out by the king of Spain for that service, five hundred and forty-three fell into the hands of the enemy, were burnt, or destroyed, the loss amounting to forty-five millions of florins. The Dutch had seized upon the island of Curacao on the northern coast of America; they had pillaged the opulent town of Truxillo, in the gulph of Honduras, with a variety of small settlements on the coast of Mexico; they had defeated in divers engagements, the Spanish generals Albuquerque, Bagniola, and Lewis de Rocca de Bergia; they had by force and fraud gained over to their interest several nations, who ardently wished for the expulsion of the Portuguese; but at the time Maurice was appointed governor, their efforts had been faint and fruitless, and Christopher Artichoffi, a Polish Socinian, was the only officer who had met with any degree of success. When the count arrived at Brasil, his first step was to relieve all the garrisons, and form his army of troops acquainted with the country, and seasoned to the climate. His little corps, amounting in all to three thousand seven hundred men, he led against Porto de Calco, the garrison of which had almost entirely cut off the communication betwixt the Dutch settlements. Bagniola, the Portuguese general, marched with a superior army to oppose him; a battle was fought, and the Portuguese were totally defeated, Bagniola saving himself and a few troops with great difficulty in a city built on the river Porto Calco. Maurice pursued, and immediately invested the fortress.

The Portugueſe general defended himſelf bravely, but was in a few days forced, for want of proviſion, to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Flushed with conqueſt, the count marched againſt Openada, a town ſituated upon the ſame river, within ſix miles of its opening into the ocean. This place ſurrendered with little trouble; Maurice ſtrengthened it by a citadel which he erected, and called after his own name. At the mouth of the river he built another fort, which obliged the Spaniards on both ſides to take ſhelter in Seregippa del Rei, and abandon their habitations. Leaving the greater part of the army with Artichoffi, for the defence of the frontiers, he returned to Reciff, to eſtabliſh the government and religion of the United Provinces in all the country ſubject to the republic, treating, however, with great moderation the natives and foreigners who had been bred in a different faith, and under a different policy. He alſo equipped two ſquadrons, one of which he ſent ſouthwards under admiral Lichthart, beyond the bay of All Saints; the other ſailed north-eaſt to the coaſt of Africa, under colonel Coine, who reduced St. George de la Mina.

A D. 1637. During theſe operations in Africa and America, the plan of a general pacification was laid in Europe. The pope, as the common father of all Chriſtians, offered his mediation between France, Spain, and the empire, The ſtates general rejected an umpire whom they juſtly ſuſpected of partiality to the court of Spain; however he ſtill continued to preſs the other powers to accommodate matters, ſenſible that the public would not long chuſe to ſupport a war ſingly againſt the power of the houſe of Auſtria. Cardinal Richelieu did not fail to make his advantage of the diſpoſition of the ſtates general, notwithſtanding the grudge he bore the prince of Orange. He urged them to continue the alliance with France, and his remonſtrances were followed by a renewal of the treaty between the two powers. By this treaty Lewis engaged to ſupply the ſtates with a yearly ſum of five hundred thouſand livres, over and above the uſual ſubſidy of two hundred thouſand, on account of the great expences of the former year. Two days after the ſtates general renewed their ancient alliance with the the elector of Brandenburgh.

The prince of Orange and cardinal Richelieu reconciled.

The ſtrong connections between France and Holland convinced cardinal Richelieu of the neceſſity of ſuppreſſing his own perſonal diſlike to the prince of Orange, the better to promote the intereſts of his ſovereign; he therefore laboured to gain the friendſhip of prince Henry. He knew his influence in the republic, and was ſenſible that the operations

rations of the field could never prove successful, unless he concurred heartily with the views of the French court. For this reason he directed Charnasse, the ambassador, always to bestow the title of Highness upon the prince, instead of that of Excellence, with which he had been formerly complimented. He perfectly understood the character of Henry, and that though he was superior to corruption, inviolable in his attachment to his country, and invariably fixed in the paths of virtue and honour, yet he was not insensible to the irresistible charms of ambition. He gained his point, and established a perfect harmony, to all appearance, between the king and the states general, as well as between himself and the prince of Orange. Both sides now prepared to execute their engagements with punctuality, and repair the losses consequent on the former discord that subsisted. Henry never lost sight of Breda, in the reduction of which he was especially concerned; and he planned a scheme which he hoped would greatly facilitate the siege. Near four thousand boats of different burthens were collected in the port of Flushing; an armament which gave great disquiet to the Spaniards, who believed it was destined against Bruges, Dunkirk, or some of the maritime towns in Flanders. In this state of uncertainty, and not knowing where the storm would break, the cardinal infant assembled all his troops, and distributed them round the frontiers of Flanders, in all the places which he thought most exposed. This was precisely what Henry desired, who immediately advanced to Breda, when the Spanish army was removed to a convenient distance. By the 23d of July the siege was formed. Omer Fourbin, an officer who had signalized himself at the defence of Schenck, was governor. He had a garrison of three thousand men, whom he so animated by his precepts and example, that they became rivals for glory, and every soldier chearfully offered to lay down his life in the service of his country. Fourbin possessed the hearts of all his inferiors by his complacency and liberal disposition. He punctually advanced the pay of the troops, carefully inspected their provision, saw them properly clothed, and whenever remittances happened to fail, generously distributed his own money, coined his plate, and even sold his horses and apparel, to supply the wants of his garrison.

The prince lays siege to Breda.

The prince of Orange, accompanied by his son, prince William, then but thirteen years of age, and the prince Palatine, afterwards elector, pushed the siege with all imaginable vigour, that they might finish their work before the cardinal should have time to assemble a sufficient army to give battle. That prince, however, had detached count

John

John of Naſſau, with a body of five thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to throw himſelf into Breda. He had orders to attack that quarter of the camp commanded by his couſin count William de Naſſau; but he found the works ſo exceedingly ſtrong, that he dropped the attempt, and wrote to the cardinal that the prince's camp was impregnable; at leaſt to force it would require the whole Spaniſh army. While he lay at ſome diſtance waiting the cardinal's orders, he met with an opportunity of throwing three hundred men, with as many ſacks of corn, into the city. The garriſon had made a vigorous ſally, and the count ſo well managed the occaſion, that, in deſpite of the diligence and courage of the beſieged, he introduced ſuch ſuccours as helped to protract the fate of Breda. The whole Spaniſh army advanced to Rhimberg; but every paſs and poſt was ſo ſtoutly guarded, that after fruitleſs attempts to draw the beſiegers out of their lines, the cardinal was forced to retire, and confide ſolely in the valour of the beſieged. However he found means to reduce Venlo and Ruremonde, publiſhing at the ſame time a report that Nimeguen was taken by ſurpriſe, Knotſemburgh by aſſault, and that he had forced the prince of Orange to raiſe the ſiege of Breda. Rejoicings were made in every town in the Spaniſh Netherlands, which ſo aſtoniſhed Maurice, that he ſent a meſſage to Fourbin, governor of Breda, deſiring to know the foundation of theſe reports. Fourbin's anſwer became the ſincerity and honour of a ſoldier. "He had rather, he ſaid, the reports had been true and not publiſhed, than falſe and reported with ſo much oſtentation."

Fourbin's courage did not abandon him on the retreat of the Spaniards; he ſuſtained the redoubled efforts of the enemy with his uſual vigour. A variety of bold ſallies were made, in one of which fell, among other conſiderable perſonages on the ſide of the beſiegers, the baron Charneſſe, ambaſſador from the French king. The inceſſant fire and perpetual attacks from the town, obliged the prince to alter his manner, and carry on his approaches under cover; which method, though more ſlow and expenſive, ſaved the lives of great numbers, and enabled him at laſt to arrive at the foot of the walls. This progreſs at length ſhook the conſtancy of the brave Fourbin, who ſaw himſelf deſtitute of powder and proviſion, without hope of ſuccour, his garriſon diminiſhed to a third of their original number, and the remains broken, fatigued, and exhauſted. He was beſides teazed with the clamours of the townſmen, who were oppreſſed with a malignant fever, that ſwept the people off by hundreds. All theſe circumſtances determined

mined him to propose a capitulation; he sent it to the prince of Orange, and it was immediately accepted, without alteration, though the prince's generosity and regard for the brave garrison occasioned loud clamours against his conduct. The governor and soldiers were allowed all the honours of war; and the officers of the city placed on the same footing as in the year 1625, before it was reduced by Spinola. Fourbin paid his compliments sealed in a letter to the prince; he was received graciously, loaded with praises and honours, and dismissed with valuable presents, which reflected equal credit on the generosity of the prince and the valour of the governor [m]. *Breda surrenders.*

The conquest of Breda was attended by consequences the most important to the states general. It secured the commerce on the coasts of Zealand, and frontiers of Holland; it delivered the provinces from the incursions of the enemy, quite to the gates of Bergen op Zoom and Boisleduc; it gained a valuable addition to the dominions of the republic; it depressed the spirits of the Spaniards, disconcerted their projects, gave fresh courage to the Dutch, and greatly augmented prince Henry's reputation. To put so valuable an acquisition beyond all danger of being again lost, the prince laboured with diligence to repair and augment the fortifications, in which work he so happily succeeded, that Breda was justly deemed one of the strongest cities then in Europe.

The rejoicings made for the reduction of Breda, had almost proved fatal to Rhimberg. The Spanish garrison in the city of Guelders, apprised of the vast consumption of powder at Rhimberg, in firing cannon and giving magnificent exhibitions, and imagining that amidst the joy and riot of public rejoicings, the defence of the town might probably be neglected, formed a scheme to surprise the place, and introduce a body of Spanish forces. That part of the walls where the enemy approached, was guarded only by one centinel, who immediately discharged his piece, and alarmed the garrison. The governor was gone to the Hague, to be cured of the wounds he had received at the siege of Breda; and John Weekins, his deputy, had but a handful of soldiers. Resistance was vain, as the enemy had already applied ladders to the walls; he bethought himself, therefore, of a stratagem, which was to desert with seventeen men to the enemy, in order to prevail upon them to defer the attack, until the orders he had given within could be executed, and the place put in a posture of de-

[m] Mem. de Prince Henry, p. 118.

fence;

fence. The project was wild, but it partly ſucceeded. Weekins was well received; his ſtory was plauſible, and he related it with ſuch diſcretion, and gave ſuch ſtrong reaſons for deferring the attack, that ſeveral hours were loſt: however, being at laſt diſcovered, he was forced to fight his way back; but he diſappointed their deſign, by this equally bold and extraordinary meaſure. When they returned to the attack on Rhimberg, the garriſon received them with ſo much bravery, as obliged them to abandon the enterprize [n].

As the Spaniards were not ſufficiently ſtrong on the Meuſe to act openly, and lay ſiege to the towns lately taken by the Dutch, they made ſeveral attempts to ſurpriſe the garriſons. A deep deſign upon Maeſtricht was happily diſappointed, on the point of execution; all the reſt of their projects had the ſame iſſue. At ſea they were more fortunate. The Dunkirkers attacked a fleet of Zealanders, under convoy of a ſingle man of war, which they took, after an obſtinate battle, during which the merchantmen eſcaped. Soon after they augmented their fleet to forty ſail, and attacked a Dutch ſquadron of the ſame number, whereof five were men of war. A bloody battle was fought, and the victory decided by the loſs of one Dutch man of war, all the reſt having eſcaped ſafe to port. Towards the ſpring hoſtilities were renewed on ſhore. Prince Henry reſolved now to make uſe of the large fleet which had been detained the whole preceding autumn, in the road of Fluſhing, by adverſe winds and the vigilance of the Spaniards. He meditated the reduction of Antwerp, and, to facilitate this ſcheme, advanced his cavalry to Boiſleduc, Bergen op Zoom, and Lillo, leaving Henry de Naſſau, count of Friſeland, with a ſmall army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The infantry was embarked in thirty tranſports, under count William de Naſſau, who arrived on the 23d of June before fort Perle, which he reduced. With a force not exceeding ſix thouſand men, he had laid ſiege to Fort St. Mary, and ſecured the whole country to Fort Iſabella, which immediately communicates with the city of Antwerp; but the difficulty of breaking down the dykes, and other croſs accidents, obliged him to content himſelf with blocking up Fort St. Mary, and direct his chief ſtrength againſt Fort de Verre Broeck, about a league diſtant from Calloo. Mean time the cardinal arrived at Antwerp, and with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot croſſed the Scheld. The Hollanders were immediately drawn from their poſts

A.D. 1638.

[n] Neuville, tom. ii. lib. viii.

before

before St. Mary, and count William having taken Verre Broeck, and received a reinforcement from prince Henry, aſſembled all his forces near Calloo, where he made a ſtand. Here he was attacked by the cardinal, with any army double his number; but he defended himſelf with ſo much intrepidity, that, after an engagement of eight hours, the enemy were forced to retreat. On both ſides the loſs was conſiderable; but the Dutch chiefly regretted the death of the young count Maurice de Naſſau, who had in an extraordinary manner diſtinguiſhed all the virtues of a long line of heroic anceſtors. *An unſucceſsful attempt on Antwerp.*

Though the Spaniards were repulſed in this attempt, they were neither defeated nor diſpirited. A freſh attack was made in the count's quarters, before his troops had time to draw breath. The artillery at the ſame time played with fury, all the outworks were forced, and the Dutch in the utmoſt danger of being totally defeated, when the night ſeaſonably interpoſed, under cover of which the count drew off his broken forces. He was purſued; and his rear, compoſed entirely of Scotch regiments, cut off, after a brave reſiſtance. Great numbers endeavouring to gain the ſhips, plunged into the river and were drowned, while the Spaniards purſuing their victory, entered Calloo, and made priſoners the Dutch garriſon. Fort Verre Broeck, ſurrendered upon honourable conditions to the conquerors; the prince of Orange's whole ſcheme was defeated, and the ſtates were extremely mortified at the ſevereſt blow they had received ſince the cardinal came to the government of the Spaniſh Netherlands *. *Dutch defeated.*

Prince Henry was poſted at Bergen op Zoom, exerting his utmoſt diligence in collecting the fugitive remains of the defeated army. Sfondrato was detached with twenty-four troops of horſe, to attack his intrenchments. He ſurpriſed the centinels, and threw the Dutch camp into confuſion; but the prince poured out his troops with ſuch impetuoſity, as entirely diſconcerted the Spaniards, and repulſed them with great loſs. Two days after, when the Dutch imagined themſelves in perfect ſecurity, their camp was a ſecond time attacked at Wowen, with ſuch vigour, that having forced the intrenchments, the Spaniards began pillaging. In this interval, the Dutch having rallied, returned to the charge, drove the enemy out of the camp, and obtained a complete victory. The Spaniards reſolving to keep the prince in continual perturbation, a third time fell upon his cavalry near St. Vliet; the conteſt was warm,

* Mem. de Prince Henry, ibid.

and

and the advantage diſputed; certain it is, that near a thouſand men fell upon each ſide. It was after theſe ſharp actions that the prince of Orange made an unſucceſsful attempt on Guelders, and that the Spaniards reduced Kerpen, with which tranſaction, and ſome other leſs conſiderable loſſes on the ſide of the ſtates, ended the campaign, in a manner more glorious to the cardinal than any of the preceding.

Affairs in South America.

Nor were the Dutch more fortunate in South America than in Europe. A fever that brought the life of count Maurice into great danger, proved extremely detrimental to their affairs in Braſil. After the reduction of Porto Cavallo, the Portugueſe general, Bagniola, had aſſembled a conſiderable army, with which he fell upon the Dutch conqueſts, and deſolated the country, putting all the natives to the ſword, who had acknowleged the ſovereignty of the republic. Colonel Schruppen marched againſt him, checked his ravages, but could not bring him to a battle. As ſoon as count Maurice recovered, he took the command of the army, and laid ſiege to St. Salvador, to which purpoſe he had received expreſs orders from the directors of the company. He had firſt, by a variety of feints, diverted the enemy's ſtrength to another quarter, and now carried on his approaches without any external moleſtation. But the vigorous conduct of the garriſon, and their firſt ſally, ſupported by four hundred men, boded an unfortunate iſſue to the enterprize. In this ſharp ſkirmiſh the count loſt near three hundred men, ſome of his beſt officers, and the only perſon who merited the appellation of an engineer in his whole army. Finding that his numbers were inſufficient completely to block up the beſieged, or prevent the enemy from throwing in ſuccours, he broke up his camp, and retired with ſome precipitation, and great chagrin. This diſappointment was ſucceeded by a fruitleſs attempt on the plate fleet, made by admiral Jol, in the gulf of Honduras. He attacked the enemy with great fury but was deſerted by his captains in the middle of the engagement, and, left with three ſhips to encounter the whole force of the Spaniards. After having extricated himſelf with great valour, he again collected his ſhips, puniſhed ſome of the delinquents, animated the reſt, and returned a ſecond time to the attack; but with the ſame ſucceſs. Juſt as victory was ready to declare for him, his cowardly officers, whom neither ſhame, honour, nor intereſt, could influence, ſheered off, and again left him deeply engaged in the midſt of the enemy. Once more his conduct and intrepidity prevailed; he broke the enemy's line, and opened a way to

join

join his own squadron. Apprehending that his former severity might have alienated the minds of his captains, Jol had now recourse to arguments and intreaties. He set before them the vast riches in view, the infamy consequent on their cowardice and disobedience, with every other topic that could move their passions, or convince their reason. A few were brought back to their duty; and, supported by these, Jol determined upon a third attack; but now the wind had shifted in favour of the Spaniards. In despight of all difficulties, the brave Dutchman bore down upon the enemy, engaged them with redoubled vigour, and was a third time defeated. Thus, after the noblest exertions of courage he lost his prize, but acquired a reputation which will transmit his name to posterity, enrolled in the long list of heroes produced by the republic. Having superseded the officers who had misbehaved, he sent them home in irons to be tried by the martial laws of Holland for cowardice and mutiny[p].

Bravery of admiral Jol.

The disgraces of the preceding campaign determined the states to make the most vigorous efforts to recover their losses. Early in the spring the prince of Orange was at the head of a formidable army, ready to oppose the cardinal's designs, and the vast projects entertained by the Spaniards, who were highly elated with their victory at Calloo, the reduction of Kerpen, and Henry's disappointment before Gueldres. Leaving a body of infantry at Lillo, and a few squadrons of horse at Bergen op Zoom, the prince divided his army into two columns, one of which he embarked, to make a diversion in Flanders, and engage cardinal Richelieu to perform his part of the late treaty. Colonel Alverdt was left with seventeen companies of foot, to oppose the enemy on the Scheld; and the prince went in person to Nimeguen, where he was joined by four thousand Hessians, under general Melander. With this force he proposed renewing the siege of Gueldres; he had even detached part of his forces to invest the city; but finding that the enemy had thrown in powerful succours, he dropped the design, and removed to Venlo.

A.D 1639.

Greater expectations were entertained from the fleet sent under Martin Harpert Van Tromp, lieutenant-admiral of Holland, and one of the best naval officers that Holland, fruitful in good seamen, ever produced. Tromp had accompanied the famous Heine in all his expeditions; was the great favourite of that admiral; and fought by his side at the time he was killed. In divers other actions he

Van Tromp's rise and victories.

[p] Le Clerc, tom. ii. Neuville, ubi supra.

had

had ſo diſtinguiſhed his intrepidity and conduct, that the ſtates raiſed him to his preſent dignity, under the prince of Orange, the higheſt officer in their navy. Having advice that a Spaniſh ſquadron, compoſed of ten large men of war, four frigates, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, had quitted the port of Randyke on the 18th of February, Tromp immediately went in purſuit of them, came up with the Spaniſh admiral off Graveline, joined battle, and defeated him, after a bloody conflict, which laſted ſix hours. The Spaniſh admiral, and three more great ſhips, were driven on the ſands, and taken; and the vice-admiral's ſhip was burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Hollanders. Four frigates were beſides taken, and the Spaniards were reported to have loſt near two thouſand men, of whom ſeven hundred were made priſoners.

The moſt important conſequence of Tromp's victory was, that four thouſand men on board the Spaniſh ſquadron were deſtined for a grand armament equipping at Cadiz and Corunna, the moſt formidable that had been ſeen ſince the armada prepared to invade England. All the maritime powers were attentive to the object of this vaſt fleet. England and France imagined the court of Spain intended, in conjunction with the king of Denmark, to attack Sweden; while the ſtates general trembled for the fate of the provinces. In fact, the catholic king had his own immediate intereſt too ſtrongly in view, to hearken to the ſuggeſtions of the king of Denmark. The armament was expreſsly equipped to annoy the provinces, and it ſet ſail with twenty thouſand land forces on board, in the month of July, under the conduct of Don Antonio d'Oquendo, who had already experienced the valour and naval abilities of the Hollanders. To oppoſe this powerful fleet, amounting to eighty-ſeven ſail, Van Tromp weighed anchor with a ſquadron of no more than eighteen men of war. His firſt deſign was, merely to obſtruct the paſſage of the Spaniards; but having fallen in with their van, on board which was all the money and four thouſand troops, he attacked it in the night with ſuch fury, that the enemy were wholly diſperſed, every ſhip crouding all the ſail ſhe could make, to get out of the reach of Tromp's cannon. Next morning Oquendo came up with the reſt of the fleet, and immediately engaged Tromp yard-arm and yard-arm. After a violent conflict the Spaniard was forced to ſhift his flag; his ſhip was ſoon after ſunk, and four more were taken; but the Dutch were prevented from purſuing their advantage by a thick fog, which effectually concealed the enemy. Before the weather cleared up, Tromp was ſtrongly reinforced, a cir-

a circumstance which enabled him to pursue the enemy to the Downs, where they had taken sanctuary under the wing of the English admiral. It is probable he would have destroyed the whole but for the partiality evidently shewn in favour of the Spaniards. Tromp remonstrated upon the king of England's conduct as a breach of the treaty subsisting with Holland. To the English admiral's conduct he ascribed the safety of the enemy; his intelligence had misled the Dutch, and his motions had covered the Spaniards; but no redress was obtained. At length another reinforcement arrived, which rendered Tromp so powerful, that he resolved to face the enemy in the Downs, and even to give battle to the English rather than be diverted from his purpose. It was upon this resolution, say the Dutch writers, that the king of England ordered his admiral to withdraw his protection from the Spaniards, perceiving that otherwise he must come to an open rupture with the Hollanders. Thus it was that Tromp, after having for a month blocked up Oquendo, obliged him at last to come to an engagement. Rather than stand an attack in his present situation, the Spaniard resolved running the hazard of crossing the Channel under cover of a fog; but Tromp kept so strict watch that it was impossible to escape. An action ensued, and both sides fought with desperate fury. For the space of eight hours the Spaniards made an obstinate resistance; at last they were totally defeated, with the loss of fourteen men of war, burnt, sunk, taken, or driven ashore, among which were the vice-admiral of Spain, the admiral of Galicia, and the great galleon of Portugal, fourteen hundred tons burthen, mounting eighty guns, and carrying eight hundred men, all of whom perished by the water or the sword. Twenty-one of the enemies ships put back to the Downs in a wretched plight; fire-ships were sent to destroy them; but the English again interposed, contrary to their neutrality, and the express injunctions of the sovereign. That day thirteen ships more fell into the hands of the Hollanders, of which eleven only could be carried off; so miserably were they shattered. In a word, of this whole prodigious armament, only eight reached Dunkirk. Oquendo's own ship was so much damaged, that he owed his life to a frigate sent to his assistance by the generous Van Tromp. Eight thousand men were killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand taken prisoners, and carried with the rest of the spoils in triumph to the Texel, Briel, and Flushing. All Europe admired the skill and intrepidity of Van Tromp, and the naval power of Holland. The states decreed him the same honours that had been conferred upon admiral Heine, and the French king sent him

particular marks of his regard; among the rest a patent, whereby he was enrolled among the nobility of France [q].

A.D.1640. The most vigorous preparations were making to carry on the war by land with equal success. Prince Henry took the field at the head of a powerful army, with which, in the month of May, he entered the bishoprick of Bruges. He encamped at Maldeghem, in order to gain the command of the two canals that lead to Ghent, and the neighbouring forts. This march a good deal alarmed the cardinal, notwithstanding all the passes were in possession of the Spaniards, and strictly guarded. It was his fear that made him throw himself into Ghent, in expectation that his presence would encourage the garrison, and deter the prince from making any attempt on that important town. Every where the Spaniards seemed invincible, driving before them the Hollanders, and defeating them in every encounter. Henry, however, was not dispirited by the unfortunate issue of skirmishes, which produced nothing decisive. He was in hopes that the valour of the enemy was a last effort of despair, and therefore proceeded coolly in his designs, without suffering himself to be disconcerted by accidents, which necessarily eluded human foresight. He laid siege to Damme, and declined fortifying his camp in the usual manner, in hopes to draw the cardinal to a battle. But in this aim he could not succeed, nor did the reduction of the garrison prove a matter of so little difficulty as he imagined; the resistance within indeed was so obstinate, and the alarms from the cardinal's camp without so perpetual, that Henry abandoned the design, quitted Flanders, and disappointed the great expectations of the court of France and the states general. His retreat left the cardinal at liberty to penetrate into Artois, and take measures for succouring Arras, then besieged by the French army.

Prince Henry invades Flanders.

While the cardinal was employed in Artois, the prince was endeavouring to profit by his absence, and cut off his return. With this view he formed an enterprize against Hulst, which he began with storming fort Nassau. This affair was happily and boldly executed by the French troops led on by the marquis de Hauterive. The surrender of the fort struck terror into Hulst, and even set the city of Antwerp upon arming the townsmen, and preparing against a siege. Sfondrato and Cantelmo with a body of troops flung themselves into the city, and the garrisons were withdrawn from all the adjacent fortresses, the better to secure Ant-

[q] La Vie de Tromp, p. 96. Le Clerc, tom. ii. Neuville, lib. ix.

werp.

werp. Henry's object, however, was Hulst; to this place he laid siege, drew his lines, and gave the assault to fort St. Anne, during which his cavalry was attacked by a strong body of horse, under Sfondrato. After a sharp action the Spanish cavalry was defeated; but the infantry coming up, led on by Saavedra, sustained the fire with admirable constancy, and at last repulsed the Hollanders with the loss of the brave Henry Ernest de Nassau, governor of Friseland; a loss more regretted by the states general than the two hundred men who perished in this unfortunate action. This repulse convinced Henry that he had committed a fault in amusing himself with an attack on a little out-fort, when he ought to have employed all his attention in blocking up Hulst. By these means he afforded the cardinal leisure to draw his troops from Artois; but it was too late to remedy the error; the enemy had assembled a superior army, and there remained no alternative, but to run the hazard of being defeated, or immediately to break up the siege and retire. The latter was his choice, and his retreat put an end to the operations of the campaign[r].

Affairs of the West India company in Brasil, and on the coast of Africa.

Fortune, which seemed, upon the whole, to favour the Spaniards in the Netherlands, was less propitious to them in America. Philip had sent the count de la Torre, with a strong armament, the preceding year, to Brasil. On his arrival on the coast of Africa, the troops were seized with a pestilential disease, which swept off three thousand men before the fleet reached St. Salvador. The number that remained did not exceed two thousand soldiers, all of whom were too sickly to enter upon action. It was not doubted but the count de la Torre would dispossess the Hollanders of every foot of land they had in Brasil, as his fleet amounted to forty-six sail of large ships, twenty-seven of which were galleons double manned, and well provided with every necessary. Had this armament arrived safe, Maurice must necessarily have quitted the country; but the wretched situation of the land forces and sailors, and the long stay made in All Saints bay for the recovery of the men, enabled the Dutch to make suitable preparations. In a short time their fleet amounted to forty-one sail of armed ships of different dimensions and strength, while la Torre used such diligence, that he collected ninety-four ships, transports, and men of war, having twelve thousand men on board, including the Brasil forces. His intention was, to fall upon the Dutch settlements; which scheme count Maurice, and his admiral, William Looff, used all their

[r] La Vie de Prince Henry, p. 222.

diligence to prevent. Looff came up with the enemy between the iſland Tamaraca and the river Gojana, and engaged them from noon till night, when he was unfortunately killed by a cannon bullet. His death animated his ſeamen with a deſire of revenge; vice-admiral Huygens took the command, and renewed the battle next morning, with the utmoſt intrepidity. He knew ſo well how to make his advantage of the ſize and ſwiftneſs of his frigates, that he terribly galled the large unwieldy galleons, and raked them fore-and-aft, without receiving conſiderable damage, as they could only bring their chace-guns to bear. Before night ſeveral Spaniſh men of war floated like uſeleſs wrecks upon the water; but it was dangerous to attempt boarding them, on account of their being filled with ſoldiers. Huygens, however, kept cloſe all night, and by day-break again began the engagement with more ſucceſs, notwithſtanding ſeveral of the enemies ſhips that had been the moſt damaged, were towed away to the Rio Grande. For this whole day a running fight was maintained, the Spaniſh admiral making all the ſail he could to the northward; but next day Huygens came to cloſe quarters, and ſo admirably ſerved his cannon, that a complete victory was obtained, with the loſs, on his ſide, of ſcarce a hundred ſeamen and ſoldiers, while the enemy, by their own confeſſion, had four thouſand killed and wounded. Ten of their largeſt ſhips were driven upon the ſands, where they periſhed with their whole crews. The reſt of the fleet was prevented from putting into harbour to refreſh, in conſequence of which a peſtilential diſeaſe appeared on board, and deſtroyed more than half the ſoldiers. Some of their ſtraggling veſſels were every day falling into the hands of the Hollanders, and before the end of the year only four galleons and three merchantmen remained of all this formidable armament, which had once terrified count Maurice into the notion of evacuating the Braſils. Yet no important conſequences enſued. Maurice contented himſelf with driving the Spaniards at a diſtance from the Dutch ſettlements, and deſolating the country round the bay of All Saints. Admiral Jol cruiſed off the iſland of Cuba for the plate-fleet; but he had the misfortune of being terribly ſhattered in a ſtorm, and reduced to the neceſſity of throwing himſelf upon the clemency of the Spaniards.

The ſignal revolution that now happened in Portugal, produced great alterations in the affairs of Braſil. The Portugueſe having thrown off the Caſtilian yoke, count Maurice doubted not but all the natives of that country in South America would follow the example, ſeparate themſelves

themſelves from the Spaniards, and conclude a truce with the Hollanders. Mean while he determined to ſeize the happy occaſion which the quarrel between Spain and Portugal afforded. With this view he repaired the ſquadron under admiral Jol, with the utmoſt expedition, and reſolved to puſh the Dutch conqueſts not only in South America, but on the coaſts of Africa. While he was employed with the land-forces in reducing Seregippa del Rey, and the province of Ceriji, Jol was ſent to the coaſt of Angola, to ſecure the Negro trade to the Dutch company. His force conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips, nine hundred mariners, and two thouſand two hundred ſoldiers, commanded by colonel Henderſon, who likewiſe acted as vice-admiral. The colonel, with the land-forces, was landed on the iſland of Loanda, on the coaſt of the kingdom of Congo, and immediately he inveſted the capital, called Santo Paolo. The Negroes flew to the aſſiſtance of the city, gave battle at the foot of the mountains to the Hollanders, and were defeated. Nor was Meneſes, the Portugueſe governor, more ſucceſsful. With a conſiderable body of Europeans he engaged Henderſon, made an obſtinate reſiſtance, and diſputed the victory until the greater part of his troops was cut in pieces. The city was abandoned to the conquerors; all had deſerted it beſides the aged and infirm; the booty was conſiderable, conſiſting of twenty-nine pieces of braſs cannon, ſixty-nine of caſt iron, great quantity of warlike ſtores, and thirty ſhips lying in the harbour, many of them ready to ſail with Negroes to the ſettlements in America and the Weſt Indies.

Admiral Jol no ſooner found himſelf in poſſeſſion of the capital, than he reſolved to make it a place of ſtrength, for which purpoſe he built one large citadel, and two caſtles upon a more confined plan, but all with regular fortifications. This conduct aſtoniſhed the Portugueſe governor, who hitherto imagined that the Dutch only wanted booty, and would directly quit the iſland as ſoon as that purpoſe was anſwered. Perceiving the admiral propoſed gaining poſſeſſion of the whole iſland, he alleged, that this intention was a violation of the treaty ſubſiſting between Portugal and the republic; Jol denied his knowlege of any treaty, a ſecond time defeated the governor, drove the Portugueſe out of Loanda, and reduced the whole under the dominion of the ſtates, which they kept until it was ſurrendered to Portugal, ſeven years after. A.D.1641.

From Loanda admiral Jol directed his courſe to the iſland of St. Thomas, lying immediately under the equinoctial, which divides the capital. This iſland was before reduced

by the Dutch in 1610, but retaken ſoon after by the Portugueſe. Jol landed his troops near Pavoſan, ordered them to march ſtrait up to the walls of the citadel, but to commit no hoſtilities unleſs they were attacked. The Negroes and Portugueſe fell upon them tumultuouſly, and were defeated, but not before they had blown up a Dutch ſhip with her whole crew and cargo. To reinforce the army, the town and citadel had been left defenceleſs; they conſequently fell an eaſy prey. Jol had ſcarce ſettled the government of his new conqueſt, when he was ſeized with that endemial fever, which had before ſwept away numbers of his troops, and died much regretted by his ſoldiers, the directors of the company, and the ſtates [s].

Theſe expeditions on the coaſt of Africa were ſucceeded by another undertaken by count Maurice againſt the province of Maranhaan, to the north of Braſil. The company earneſtly wiſhed to gain poſſeſſion of a province ſo fertile in ſugar, cotton, ginger, tobacco, and other valuable commodities, ſo rich in gold, and ſo conveniently ſituated to annoy the Spaniſh trade to the Antilles, the Caribbees, and all the iſlands in the neighbourhood of the gulph of Mexico. Maurice detached colonel Coane and admiral Lichtirdt upon this enterprize, in which they ſucceeded with little difficulty. Having taken the iſland Marignan, and the capital St. Lewis, the reſt of the provinces ſubmitted, and thus half the Braſils acknowleged the ſovereignty of the ſtates general. Three provinces however revolted ſoon after, and gave much trouble to the company, and vexation to count Maurice. At preſent a truce with Portugal was concluded. John IV. on his acceſſion, reſolved to ſecure himſelf againſt the attempts of Spain, by re-eſtabliſhing peace with all his other neighbours, and particularly with the republic of the United Provinces; for which purpoſe he ſent Don Mendoza Hurtado to the Hague, to propoſe a ceſſation of hoſtilities. It was no difficult matter for Mendoza to demonſtrate that the inveterate enemy of the provinces would be greatly weakened by concluding the deſired truce; it therefore was ſigned on the 14th day of June, and extended for ten years to all the dominions of both powers on either ſide the equinoctial. Accordingly hoſtilities were to ceaſe in Braſil as ſoon as the truce was publiſhed in that country, and the Portugueſe and Hollanders were to join in the total expulſion of the Spaniards. Notwithſtanding the truce extended to the Eaſt Indies, the Dutch never loſt

[s] Neuville, lib. ix. cap. 5.

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ſight of their own intereſt, and ſeized this opportunity of chaſing the Portugueſe out of Japan [t].

The principal tranſactions relative to the republic in Europe, were the marriage of William, the young prince of Orange, with the princeſs Mary Stuart, daughter of the king of England; a match brought about by Mary de Medicis. The ſiege of Gennep was the next conſiderable occurrence. No ſooner were his ſon's nuptials celebrated, than prince Henry led his troops to the territory of Cleves, laid ſiege to Gennep, puſhed his works with great vigour, and exerted himſelf ſo effectually that his trenches were finiſhed, and a communication opened between all the different quarters of the camp, by means of bridges over the Meuſe and Niers, in the ſpace of a few days. The cardinal relying upon the ſtrength of the place, the numbers of the garriſon, and the courage of the governor, Preſton, an Iriſhman, attempted to ſurpriſe Ardenberg in Flanders; but failing in his deſign, he turned his whole attention to the relief of Gennep. Withdrawing the garriſons from all the towns in Flanders and Brabant, he detached almoſt his whole army under the count de Fontaine, and the marquis de Leda, together with a body of three thouſand imperialiſts, to harraſs the camp of the beſiegers, throw ſuccours into the town, and, if occaſion offered, to give battle to prince Henry. After all, this numerous army gave leſs diſturbance to the Dutch than the garriſon, which behaved with great gallantry. Preſton made the moſt ſpirited ſallies, nailing up the cannon, filling up the trenches, and deſtroying the works of the beſiegers. This ſervice he repeated daily, notwithſtanding his troops were greatly diminiſhed and fatigued; but perceiving that the Spaniſh army undertook nothing, that the place was laid in aſhes by bombs, that the courſe of the Niers was turned, that the town-ditch was dried up, that ſeveral mines were ready, and that a practicable breach was effected, he ſurrendered, on being allowed the honours of war.

Mean time Cantelmo, elated with his victory at Calloo, continued in the territory of Waes, the theatre of his glory, and of all the trivial advantages he had gained over the Hollanders. He now attacked colonel Alnaerdt, and defeated him with conſiderable ſlaughter. Next he ſurpriſed count Tillemont, whom he entirely defeated, though with great loſs on his own ſide. To put a ſtop to his inſults, the prince of Orange aſſembled an army near Hulſt; but Cantelmo joining the army under Fontaine, broke all

[t] Neuville, tom. ii. p. ix. cap. 6.

Henry's measures, and with a corps of eight thousand men obliged him to decamp, at the head of twenty-six thousand chosen troops, and drop the design he had formed of laying siege to the city. With this transaction ended the campaign, about which time the cardinal Ferdinand yielded up his last breath, with the reputation of a wise, moderate, and mild governor. The administration came into the hands of Don Francisco de Mello, who, with the marquis de Velada, opposed the French, while the count de Fontaine, governor of Bruges, commanded in chief against
A.D. 1642. the Hollanders. The death of cardinal Richelieu soon followed; and though it made no alteration in the treaty between France and the republic, it greatly obstructed the military operations of this year, and prevented the prince of Orange from undertaking any enterprize important enough to merit notice in a general history. A new treaty indeed was signed on the 8th of March between the two powers, whereby the states consented to maintain a squadron of thirty men of war to cruize before Calais, and to grant the king's troops a free passage over the Rhine, the Wesel, and the Meuse, into Germany; in consideration of which the king was to pay them a subsidy of one million two hundred
A.D. 1643. thousand livres. Before the treaty was ratified Lewis XIII. died.

The chief operations of the preceding year were directed to induce Cantelmo to give battle, which he always had the address to decline. He now retired under the cannon of Antwerp, where he watched an opportunity of again insulting the Dutch territories with impunity; but prince
Prince William defeats a body of Spaniards. William, who was appointed general of the cavalry, by a bold and masterly stroke, drew him into an ambuscade, attacked him with impetuosity, and, after a short engagement, defeated him, leaving nine hundred men dead upon the field, and carrying off six hundred prisoners, among whom were two general officers, with forty-five others of inferior stations. Cantelmo himself was once taken, but soon after rescued by the bravery of his own troops, and the negligence of the Hollanders. This action, the first in which prince William ever commanded in chief, spread his reputation, and convinced the world that he might one day equal the glory of his renowned ancestors.

The truce with Portugal having stopped all hostilities in Brasil, count Maurice sent admiral Brewers with a squadron to attack the Spaniards on the coast of Chili; but the most important consequence of this expedition was, that the admiral discovered a more safe and easy passage to the South Sea than either by the straits of Le Maire or Magellan, since

since called by his name, but scarce ever frequented. Maurice having now nothing farther to transact in Brasil that required his presence, obtained leave from the company to return to Europe. He arrived in Holland on the 9th of May, 1644, brought home a fleet richly laden, had particular honours conferred upon him by the company and the states, and was appointed to the government of Wesel, and the rank of lieutenant-general of the cavalry by the prince of Orange. The year 1633 was distinguished by the memorable but unsuccessful attempt, to find a safe passage to Europe from China and Japan by the northern coast of Tartary; and by the discovery of New Holland, and other parts of the Terra Australis, or southern continent.

Negociations for a general peace began about this time to be set on foot at Munster and Osnabrug. The states general were sensible that now must be decided their title to sovereignty, and the issue of all those bloody wars, which they sustained against the whole force of Spain for little less than a century past. To gain the other powers, it was necessary to link their interest inseparably to that of France; for which purpose, they concluded a new treaty with that court, the object of which was to cement the contracting parties in a still closer union. The fruits of this treaty was a resolution of the states to assist France in the siege of Graveline. A squadron under Van Tromp was detached to block up the harbour; and he performed his instructions with such diligence and conduct, as greatly facilitated the reduction of the place. The prince of Orange had likewise directions to co-operate with the French; with which view he penetrated into Flanders, and was advancing to Bruges, where he was stopt by the count d'Isemburg, and forced to retire to Maldeghem. This retreat, though involuntary, proved fortunate; it enabled the prince to lay siege to Sas van Ghent, and carry the town, before Isemburg, with all his diligence, could come to the assistance of the garrison. Don Andrea de Petrada, the governor, made a gallant defence; but he was forced to capitulate on the 7th of September, after a siege of six weeks. This conquest was thought of so great importance to the security of the provinces, that the states sent an order for repairing and enlarging the fortifications with all possible expedition. A.D. 1644.

Negociations at Munster.

No sooner were the negociations opened at Munster, than the states found themselves greatly embarrassed with respect to two points; the one regarding the honours to be demanded at the congress by their ambassadors; the other, the nature of their late treaty with France, where-

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by they were tied down from entering upon any conferences either of truce or peace, with any power, particularly Spain, without the conſent and participation of the French court. Don Franciſco de Melo was at this very time urging them to conclude a ſeparate peace with Spain; and it was imagined that very advantageous conditions might be obtained, ſhould they give ear to his propoſals. His moſt chriſtian majeſty laboured to divert them from this meaſure. Cardinal Mazarin gave them to underſtand, that their deputies ſhould have the ſame honours paid to them as the ambaſſadors of the republic of Venice. He likewiſe ſtrenuouſly exhorted them not to depart from their own intereſt, by renouncing their alliance with France, as nothing could be more uncertain than the iſſue of conferences which might hold for years, and at laſt prove fruitleſs. He aſſured them that Spain deſired nothing more than to diſſolve the confederacy betwixt France and Holland, and to ſtop the courſe of the prince of Orange's conqueſts. Their propoſals had no other object, and that once gained, the ſtates would hear no more of advantageous offers, made merely from ſelfiſh motives. The ſtates aſſented to the cardinal's arguments, and in conſequence the alliance was renewed, both parties engaging to continue the war againſt Spain on the uſual footing. Accordingly the French penetrated into Flanders on one ſide, while the prince of Orange opened a way on the other. His deſign was to lay ſiege to Antwerp, a city of which he had long earneſtly
A.D. 1645. wiſhed making a preſent to the ſtates. He ſpoke of it to d'Eſtrades, the French miniſter, and aſſured the mareſchals Gaſſein and Rantzau, that if they aſſiſted him with three thouſand cavalry to oppoſe the enemy's horſe, he would immediately undertake this arduous enterprize. This propoſition occaſioned an interview, but the mareſchals would not acquieſce in the prince's deſign: each prepared a different plan of operations, and thus the whole project vaniſhed. The French generals, however, advanced a few ſquadrons and battalions to diſengage the prince's army, which was cooped up between Ghent and Bruges by general Beck, and count Piccolomini. With this reinforcement Henry was enabled to croſs the canal and the Lys, oblige Piccolomini to retire, and viſit the duke of Orleans near Courtray, to concert the future operations of both armies. On his return general Beck oppoſed his paſſage over the Scheld, was repulſed, and defeated with great ſlaughter, the general himſelf receiving a wound in the ſhoulder, and narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner. Henry was in expectation that the mareſchals would now

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have assisted him in his favourite project; but the siege of Antwerp was inconsistent with the measures of their court, and they excused themselves, by pleading the expiration of their commissions.

Henry, though disappointed in his great purpose, resolved to employ the rest of the campaign to the best advantage, and in performing the engagements into which the states general had entered with the French court. With this design he passed the Lys, though opposed by the Spaniards, and detached prince William with the cavalry to invest Hulst, a strong place, deemed one of the keys of Brabant and Flanders. By the 5th of October, he began to work upon the trenches, and attacked the forts Nassau and Verrebroeck with such impetuosity, that they surrendered at the first assault. Spinola's fort, connected by four great bastions to Hulst and Verrebroeck, proving a great annoyance to his troops, this he likewise attacked, and carried after a sharp dispute that lasted five hours. Having thus reduced all the out-works which could any way retard his operations, he battered the town on every side, without being at the trouble of entrenching himself with his usual solicitude. The garrison, consisting of three thousand foot, and two troops of horse, kept up a perpetual fire, and made three spirited sallies; but the dryness of the season deprived them of the benefit they might otherwise have expected from the canals and marshes with which that place was surrounded. General Beck was, since his late defeat, in no condition to offer them succours, and Piccolomini was fully employed in opposing the French army. On the 7th of November, they saw the prince preparing for a general assault; to amuse him, a Capuchin was dispatched to the camp, with proposals of peace or a truce. He presented his credentials; by which he was fully authorised to terminate all differences between Spain and the United Provinces; but he could not deceive Henry, who was not to be persuaded, that the catholic king would intrust an affair of so much importance to the management of an ignorant priest: yet as the imposture could not be detected, the Capuchin was sent back, the resolution of storming the town resumed, and every thing got in readiness for that purpose. Upon this, the garrison desired to capitulate; all their proposals were granted, except the article respecting religion, the prince determining, that only the Protestant religion should be publicly tolerated in all his future conquests. The court of France resented this restriction, the queen regent having the good of the Catholic faith extremely at heart. D'Estrades had orders from

Hulst taken by the Dutch.

from cardinal Mazarin to remonſtrate upon this head to the prince of Orange, who excuſed himſelf, by alleging that the lenity he had ſhewn upon former occaſions had incurred the ſuſpicion of the ſtates, and given breath to a report, of his being inclined to favour the doctrines of the church of Rome [t].

Immediately after the ſurrender of Hulſt, prince Henry attacked fort Moerſpeye, ſituated between Hulſt and Ghent, defended by four ſtrong baſtions, well provided, and filled with ſoldiers. Nevertheleſs he carried it by aſſault, after a bloody action that continued ſix hours. By this conqueſt, the laſt of his life, he ſecured to the republic the territory of Waes, a barrier againſt Spaniſh Flanders from Lillo to Sluys, and a great number of ſtrong forts ſituated in a chain, at a ſmall diſtance from each other. With this tranſaction ended the campaign on the ſide of the Netherlands.

It was otherwiſe in Braſil, notwithſtanding the Hollanders imagined themſelves in perfect ſecurity by the late truce concluded with Portugal. They did not reflect that this was a meaſure dictated by the new king's neceſſities, and that the Portugueſe in general bore with ill-will the temporary ceſſion made to the Dutch of their conqueſts in Africa, America, and the Eaſt Indies. The Portugueſe ambaſſador at the Hague complained, that ſince the crown of Portugal had been ſeparated from Caſtile, and the truce concluded with the United Provinces, the Dutch governors had committed divers hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of his moſt faithful majeſty; but the Dutch deputies, far from giving him any ſatisfaction, vindicated the conduct of their governors, and aſſerted the company's legitimate claim to certain places in diſpute, both on the coaſt of Africa, and in Braſil. Nothing could be obtained beſides a proviſional treaty, in which it was ſtipulated, that the parties ſhould mutually reſtore all their conqueſts made ſince the 12th day of June, 1641, when the truce for ten years took place. The inſtructions, however, ſent to the governors of their conqueſts were not expreſs; they therefore neglected executing them, and were well ſatisfied with any opportunity of retaining places which produced great advantages in point of commerce. During the laſt year of Maurice's government, all Braſil taſted the bleſſings of tranquillity and repoſe. The truce was rigidly obſerved, and the Portugueſe and Dutch lived in perfect amity. The ſame harmony continued the year after the count's departure; and

The war reſumed in Braſil.

[t] La Vie de Prince Henry, p. 242.

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ſuch was the confidence the Hollanders repoſed in the fidelity of the Portugueſe, that they ſuffered their fortifications to fall to ruin, admitting thoſe who were lately their bitter enemies, into civil and military employments, and without ſcruple ſupplying them with arms and ammunition, for the ſake of the exceſſive price they paid, without reflecting upon their deſigns, to uſe them to their deſtruction. Now the eyes of the company were opened by the complaints of the Portugueſe ambaſſador. They rightly conjectured, that his remonſtrances were calculated merely to palliate ſome ſcheme of violence then in agitation. In fact, it proved what they had conjectured. Antonio de Silva, viceroy of Portugueſe Braſil, meditated a project for expelling the Dutch out of the country, and ſeized the opportunity of the count's abſence, the weakneſs of the Dutch, and their confidence in the Portugueſe, to execute his purpoſe. He carried on a clandeſtine correſpondence with all the Portugueſe under the Dutch government, and readily drew them over to his ſentiments, particularly in the province of Fernambuco. The viceroy nominated Fernandez Vieta, a perſon of fortune, influence, and diſtinction, chief of the enterprize; and Vieta embraced the offer with the more readineſs, becauſe, if the project ſucceeded, he knew he ſhould be clear of a debt of two hundred thouſand crowns, which he owed to the Dutch merchants. A body of fifteen hundred ſoldiers were ſecretly ſent on board a galleon and ten tranſports, to ſurpriſe Reciff, a place of great importance, negligently guarded by the Hollanders. Other detachments were made to ſeize upon Serinhaam, Nazareth, and all the ſtrong holds in the hands of the Dutch; while Vieta and other Portugueſe emiſſaries were privately levying troops in the country, and cajoling the Dutch governors with all the appearances of the moſt ſincere friendſhip. They had been invited on the day appointed for the inſurrection to celebrate the nuptials of a Portugueſe lady; and while they were ſitting at table, letters arrived from the directors in Europe, which gave them the firſt intimation of the conſpiracy. All their addreſs was ſcarce ſufficient to extricate them out of this perplexed ſituation: with admirable preſence of mind they framed an excuſe for retiring a few minutes, ſo plauſible that it even deceived the Portugueſe. The governors immediately gave the alarm, and the conſpirators finding they were diſcovered, fled with their arms to the woods. Both now had recourſe to open hoſtilities, and the war was reſumed with redoubled animoſity. The Dutch were incenſed at the treachery of the enemy; and the Portugueſe reſent-

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ed their disappointment with as much rancour as if they had sustained a real injury. In the first engagement the Hollanders were worsted; but they balanced this check by a victory at sea, in which the enemy lost two of their best ships, and seven hundred mariners and soldiers. Upon the whole the Hollanders lost ground. Cape St. Augustin, Reciff, and Olinda, fell into the hands of the enemy, either by treachery, cowardice, or open force. Nothing but pillaging, stratagem, and massacres, passed between the two nations. The news came to the Hague, and the people rose tumultuously to demolish the Portuguese ambassador's house. Incensed at the insidious conduct of the court and people, they would have tore him limb from limb, if the prince of Orange had not interposed. The ambassador protested, that the court of Portugal had no share in the insurrection, and that they would severely punish the conspirators; but the states, well informed to the contrary, carried their complaints to the court of France, and represented to the most christian king the perfidy of his Portuguese majesty [x].

By these means was laid the foundation of a new truce between France and Holland. Cardinal Mazarin reproached the Dutch with treating privately at Munster with the Spaniards, and said, that their loss in Brasil was the just punishment of their treachery and disregard of solemn treaties. At the same time, he promised them all possible assistance to revenge the insults received from the Portuguese, and encouraged them to use their utmost diligence in defence of their settlements in Brasil. A fleet of fifty-two sail was equipped under admiral Baucher, appointed commander in chief of the naval armament in Brasil, the West Indies, and the coast of Africa, having Sigismund Schuppen to assist him, and direct entirely the land operations. Thus a new war was commenced with great vigour on the farther side the line, which, after having raged without remission for the space of ten years, ended with the expulsion of the Hollanders out of Brasil, and the almost total overthrow of the West India company.

During the whole winter the congress sat at Munster, without making any considerable progress in the scheme of a general pacification. The French king, persuaded that the Spaniards raised numbers of difficulties in order to divide the allies, resolved, by the advice of the queen-regent, his mother, to prosecute the war for another campaign; for which purpose he continued the usual subsidy to the

[x] Neuville, p. xix. cap. 13, 14.

states

ſtates general, on condition they ſhould maintain an army of twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, to lay ſiege to ſome important fortreſſes in the Spaniſh Netherlands, and a ſquadron to block up the Spaniſh ports in Flanders. When the treaty was ſigned, the cardinal diſpatched a meſſenger to the prince of Orange, to induce him to undertake the ſiege of Ghent, the reduction of which would facilitate the deſigns on Antwerp. It was propoſed to march two French armies under the dukes of Orleans and Enguien, one to aſſiſt the prince, the other to inveſt divers other places; but Henry was ſo afflicted with the gout, and a complication of other diſeaſes, that it was not poſſible for him to give a direct anſwer to the cardinal's propoſitions.

In the mean time the marquis de Caſtel Rodrigo, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, until the arrival of the archduke Leopold, having notice of the new treaty between the court of France and the republic, and the deſigns formed upon Ghent, powerfully reinforced that city, and wrote to the ſtates general, demanding a ſuſpenſion of arms, during the conferences at Munſter. Theſe letters anſwered one eſſential purpoſe; they augmented the diſſenſions among the provinces, ſome of which were for detaching the republic from France; but the ſtates wrote back, that notwithſtanding they were perfectly ſincere in the negociations at Munſter, they could not grant the ſuſpenſion required, conſiſtently with their engagements to their allies; however, under pretence of the prince of Orange's illneſs, not above half the army took the field. A plan was laid for the reduction of Antwerp; but that was likewiſe fruſtrated by Henry's diſeaſe, which daily gained ground, and began now to alarm the provinces. It is indeed ſuppoſed that he grew jealous of the power of France, and adviſed the ſtates to haſten the negociations at Munſter. Beſides, he retained ſome of the old prejudices harboured againſt Richelieu, convinced, moreover, that the new miniſter purſued the ſame ſyſtem, and bent his whole policy to procure a ſecure footing in the Netherlands. Certain it is, that the Spaniſh faction daily augmented in Holland, that the alliance with France was in the decline, and that Tromp's blocking up Dunkirk, while the French army beſieged the town by land, was the laſt inſtance of friendſhip that paſſed between the French king and the republic. Venlo indeed was inveſted by prince William; but the ſiege was ſoon raiſed, by order of the ſtates, under pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced. A.D. 1646.

During the whole winter, the prince of Orange lingered under a variety of chronical diſorders. The gout, the ſtone, and

and dropsy, had reduced him to a skeleton, and the excruciating torture in which he had passed several months, not only made his temper harsh and peevish, but even affected his intellects. At length he yielded up his last breath, on the 14th of March, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and was regretted as a martyr to his country, having brought on his illness by that assiduity, diligence, and anxiety, with which he pursued the interests of the republic. No prince of Orange was ever more universally or deservedly beloved. Affable, generous, noble, and above all suspicion of deceit, he was justly esteemed the best politician and greatest warrior in the United Provinces. He loved virtue, cherished science, rewarded merit, maintained the utmost harmony among the provinces, set his soldiers an example of patience, vigilance, activity, and courage, and fulfilled every duty of a general, patriot, friend, and father of a family. We speak not of the two last years of his life, in which sickness and disappointment would seem to have entirely soured his disposition, and changed his character.

A.D.1647.

Death of the prince of Orange.

William II. prince of Orange.

The same day on which his father died, prince William attended the states general to take the oaths, on being appointed to all the employments held by prince Henry. Some of the provinces deferred acknowleging him stadtholder for a few days, in order to watch the bias of his policy, as he was supposed inclinable to continue the war, and the alliance with France. It was proposed in the states of Holland and West Friseland, to exact an obligation from him, that he would endeavour with all his ability to forward the negociations at Munster, and detach the republic from the French interest; but some of the more prudent members apprehended that such rough measures would incense a young prince, full of fire, beloved by the nobility, the army, and the people: they therefore advised the states to content themselves with sending a respectful message, requesting that he would not traverse the conferences at Munster, nor any way obstruct the negociations carrying on with Spain. William no sooner declared himself on this subject to their satisfaction than they acknowleged him stadtholder, and he was immediately proclaimed by the acclamations of the people, stadtholder of six provinces, captain-general by land, and admiral-general by sea, of all the forces and fleets of the republic, with the same powers that were vested in his father and uncle.

All this time the United Provinces were labouring to effect a separate peace with the Spaniards, which was constantly

ſtantly obſtructed by the vigilance and addreſs of the French plenipotentiaries. Beſides the deputies of the ſtates general, and of the particular provincial ſtates, the body of nobility was repreſented by eight deputies. It was now that the ſovereignty of the ſtates general, and the rights of the ſeparate departments of the republic, were eſtabliſhed. No other terms would be accepted than an abſolute independence on the houſe of Auſtria, and an univerſal acknowlegement of all the powers concerned in the negociation, that the United Provinces ſhould henceforward be regarded as a free and ſovereign republic. The conceſſions made in 1609 were but proviſional; they were indeed acknowleged by France, and other powers, whoſe intereſt it was to keep well with the provinces; but Spain retracted them on the renewal of the war, and other ſtates might follow the example, as ſoon as any difference ſhould ariſe with the republic. The French miniſter at the Hague remonſtrated to the ſtates, on the ambiguous conduct of their deputies, and exhorted them not to give Spain an opportunity of accompliſhing her views by fomenting diviſions among the allies. This remonſtrance obliged the Dutch plenipotentiaries to declare, that they had no intention to give weight or force to any articles upon which they might agree with the Spaniards, unleſs they were ſanctioned by the concurrence of their allies. The moſt Chriſtian king, however, ſtill doubted their intentions. In order to keep the ſtates ſteady, he diſpatched Monſ. Servien to the Hague, where he was coldly received, and indeed affronted by the ſuperior attention ſhewn to the Spaniſh miniſter, who was ſent to ballance his influence. Servien, nevertheleſs, ſupported the dignity of his character with great addreſs; but he could not alter the diſpoſition of the ſtates, or prevent the conferences carried on by the deputies, Knuyt and Pauw, with the Spaniſh ambaſſadors at Munſter. At length, after abundance of altercation between the plenipotentiaries of Spain, France, and Holland, after the darkeſt intrigues had been carried on, and the ſources of the deepeſt policy drained, the following articles of peace were concluded between Spain and the United Provinces: That his catholic majeſty ſhould renounce all right and ſovereignty, over the lords the ſtates general of the United Provinces, who were henceforward declared a free independent republic; that both ſides ſhould remain in the unmoleſted poſſeſſion of what they ſeverally held at the ſigning of the treaty; that the ſame regulation ſhould take place in Aſia, Africa and America, as in Europe, with reſpect to the conqueſts made ſince the expiration of the

A.D. 1648.

Peace of Munſter.

armiſtice. In the ſixth article it was ſtipulated, that the Spaniards ſhould not attempt the extenſion of their commerce to the Eaſt Indies; and that the Dutch ſhould form no enterprizes againſt the poſſeſſions and ſettlements of the ſubjects of that crown in Aſia. This obligation, indeed, was reciprocal, and ſufficient time was allowed for tranſmitting the treaty to thoſe diſtant colonies. Thus the ſovereignty of the republic was at laſt acknowleged, and for ever eſtabliſhed, by that power which alone diſputed it, at the expence of her blood and treaſure, with an obſtinacy hardly to be paralleled in hiſtory [y].

The French king reſents the ſeparate peace.

France, however, accuſed the republic of ingratitude, for defeating the intereſts of a nation, the chief inſtrument of her preſent felicity, opulence, and independence. The Dutch were upbraided with a groſs violation of their engagements, to accept of no ſeparate terms until the demands of their allies ſhould be fully ſatisfied; but they juſtified themſelves by demonſtrating the neceſſity of a peace; the private views of cardinal Mazarin in protracting the war, and the frivolous difficulties raiſed about Lorrain. The ambaſſadors of the ſtates waited upon the French plenipotentiaries, and aſſured them, that had they one day longer deferred ſigning the treaty, Spain was reſolved to break off the negociation; but this declaration would not appeaſe their clamours: they inſiſted, that the republic ought, at leaſt, to have waited the return of the courier diſpatched to Madrid by the count de Pignaranda. To remove this load of calumny, the ſtates uſed all their influence to reconcile the two crowns; but they were told by Monſ. Servien that affairs had taken a new turn, and his majeſty now thought himſelf at liberty to act without conſulting the republic, whoſe conduct had abſolved him from his engagements. He ſaid, the mediation of the provinces would be ſuſpected, and the only reparation of their error now poſſible, was to refuſe ratifying the treaty, until the court of France had time to demonſtrate that all the obſtructions to a general pacification aroſe from the delays and intrigues of the Spaniſh miniſtry. Spain offered to ſubmit the diſpute to the arbitration of the ſtates; but this expedient the French plenipotentiaries declined, a circumſtance which ſerved the more to confirm the republic in the rectitude of her own meaſures, and the ambitious deſigns of the moſt chriſtian king. Returning to the Hague, the deputies reported their proceedings, and received the thanks of the ſtates general for the perſeverance, vigilance, and ability,

[y] Baſnage, Hiſt. p. 125.

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with which they had conducted the whole negociation. Soon after their arrival two letters from the French king were presented to the assembly, wherein he reproached the states with perfidy, and the infraction of the most solemn engagements to the greatest benefactor of the republic. These remonstrances produced, however, no effect. The states imagined that Spain was now sufficiently weakened, and it was their business to prevent the French from growing too powerful, and extending their dominions on the side of the Netherlands. In vain, therefore, did Lewis's ambassadors solicit the provinces to delay ratifying the treaty; in vain did they endeavour to excite divisions, and foment discord among the members of the assembly; the same policy which had hitherto induced the Dutch to continue the war, amidst their civil dissensions, and under the pressure of poverty, fatigue, and famine, now impelled them to ratify the treaty lately signed. Accordingly the 15th of May was appointed for the exchange of ratifications, which was performed with the usual solemnities, to the great satisfaction of all the parties, except the king of France. On the same day of the ensuing month the peace was proclaimed. In this manner ended that tedious negociation of Munster, by which tranquillity was again restored to the United Provinces, and that sovereignty established for which they had struggled for near a century [z].

Letters from the king of France.

Scarce was the peace of the republic restored when she was almost involved in fresh difficulties with the elector of Brandenburg, who demanded restitution of certain places in the duchy of Cleves, now sequestered in the hands of the states general. He sent ambassadors to the Hague, under pretence of contracting a new alliance with the provinces, but in fact to make a demand, which was by no means agreeable to the Hollanders. The elector procured the emperor's mediation, but it was little regarded. The states peremptorily refused complying with the demand, because the claim of the duke of Newburg was not yet adjusted, and they were responsible for the places entrusted to their care. This was only a plausible pretext, as Spain had now wholly relinquished the interest of that prince, who was too weak of himself to support his pretensions. Philip now saw himself under the necessity of supporting alone a war against the whole monarchy of France. Deprived of the assistance of the emperor on the one hand, he however found his enemies proportionably diminished on

[z] Le Clerc, tom. ii. sub ann.

the other, by the peace concluded with the republic. His ambaſſadors loitered away their time at Munſter, without renewing their efforts to finiſh a ruinous and diſgraceful war. But Philip was now ſketching the outlines of a more extenſive project. He flattered himſelf that the United Provinces, having incurred the diſpleaſure of the French king, would at leaſt furniſh him with money, and ſuffer him to levy troops in the Netherlands, by which means he might be able to reduce France to reaſonable terms of accommodation. He even went ſo far as to propoſe an alliance; and, when this was rejected, his miniſter at the congreſs, the count de Pignaranda, propagated ſuch reports as rendered it neceſſary for the Dutch deputies to give Servien, the French plenipotentiary, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their pacific intentions, and friendly diſpoſition with reſpect to his maſter. Pignaranda reſented his diſappointment, and now complained of the commerce carried on with France by the provinces; declaring that the court of Madrid was determined to have ſatisfaction. With this view the Spaniards ſtopped the Dutch ſhipping in the port of Oſtend[a]. The ſtates general immediately took this delicate affair into conſideration; but were greaty perplexed in what manner to determine. If they refuſed to ſatisfy the demands of the Spaniſh court, they apprehended their ſhips would be condemned as lawful prize; and, in forbidding a reciprocal trade with France, the commerce of the republic would be greatly injured.

Intrigues of the court of Spain.

While the ſtates were temporiſing, in hopes that a peace between France and Spain would remove all difficulties, cardinal Mazarin played every engine of the cabinet to induce the prince of Orange to engage in his intereſt, and exert his influence again to involve the provinces with the court of Madrid. It is well known that the Orange party always oppoſed the late peace; but whether the prince liſtened to the propoſitions now made is uncertain. The cardinal attacked the young hero on his weak ſide; he applied to his paſſions and his ambition; but the republic were circumſtanced, that the negociation proved fruitleſs. Mean while, after the defeat of the India company's forces in Braſil, the cardinal acted as mediator between the Portugueſe and the republic, in hopes that if a peace was concluded between them, Portugal would then proſecute the war againſt Spain with redoubled vigour. It was ſoon, however, perceived, that the Portugueſe ambaſſador want-

[a] Mem. Siri, tom. xiii.

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ed only to amuſe the ſtates, while he pretended to accept of their propoſitions; but the want of unanimity among the cities and provinces prevented their coming to any fixed reſolution. Some were for avenging the late diſgrace in Braſil; while others, leſs ſanguine in their expectations, thought it better to put up with a ſmall part than run the hazard of loſing all footing in this rich and fertile country.

SECT. X.

Containing all the material Tranſactions in which the Republic was concerned, until the ſecond Rupture with England, in 1665.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs in Holland, while unhappy England was torn with civil wars. The republic had hitherto maintained a ſtrict neutrality with reſpect to the factions in England, notwithſtanding the cloſe alliance between the unfortunate Charles and the houſe of Orange. It is true, indeed, that queen Henrietta paſſed over to Holland, but ſhe could obtain no ſuccours except the money raiſed upon the crown jewels. The prince of Orange had taken ſome meaſures in behalf of the royal party; but they were of little conſequence, and detached from the politics of the republic. Now, however, we ſee the ſituation of the ſtates more delicate, and the provinces reduced to the neceſſity of denying refuge to the ſhattered remains of the royaliſts, or of coming to a rupture with the parliament of England. James, duke of York, having eſcaped from his confinement, took refuge at the Hague, where his preſence conſiderably embarraſſed the ſtates general. Their perplexity was increaſed by the arrival of the prince of Wales, who ſolicited the interpoſition of the republic for the king's life, and repreſented in ſuch lively colours the danger of his majeſty's being brought to an infamous death, that the ſtates reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors to treat with the parliamentary chiefs. Monſ. Pauw and Joachimi, the latter of whom had long reſided in a public character at London, were appointed to this delicate truſt[a]. Theſe two were able ſervants of the republic, and had the courage, the one at the age of eighty-eight, and the other of ſeventy-eight years, to embark in the depth of winter, when the cold was intolerable, for England, where they arrived in the month of February. They were receiv-

A.D. 1649.

The republic ballances with great addreſs during the wars in England.

a Baſnage, p. 142.

ed with respect; they pleaded the royal cause in terms the most pathetic; but all their endeavours to stem the torrent of fanaticism, cunning, and cruel ambition, proved fruitless. Charles lost his head upon the block, to the eternal disgrace of the British nation.

The prince of Orange communicated the fatal event, by one of his chaplains, to the prince of Wales; while the clergy thought it their duty to wait in a body on that young prince, with compliments of condolance. This step was condemned by the states, as equally impolitic and unconstitutional; their speech to the prince of Wales was forbid to be printed, but it soon became public, notwithstanding it was apprehended that the English parliament would take offence at certain flattering expressions, and that warmth of regard shewn to the royal family. But though the states general industriously avoided the publication of every thing which might disgust the infant commonwealth of England, the states of Holland could not dispense with the civility of sending a deputation of condolance to the prince of Wales; even the states general themselves waited upon the young prince, in deep mourning, and complimented him with the appellation of king, though they declined congratulating him on his accession to the throne of his ancestors.

It was next deliberated whether the republic should recall her ambassadors from London, and give audience to the envoy sent by the parliament of England. Mr. Strickland had long served the parliament with fidelity and capacity, in quality of minister at the Hague. He now demanded audience of the states general, as public ambassador from the English commonwealth; in which view he was opposed by Sir William Boswel, who had for several years resided in Holland, as envoy from Charles I. This gentleman's remonstrances were so powerfully seconded by the prince of Orange, and a party he had formed in favour of the king, that Strickland's credentials were, after violent contests, rejected [b].

Dorislaus, envoy from the parliament, is murdered.

While this business was in agitation, an accident occurred, which had almost destroyed all the prudent schemes of neutrality formed by the republic. Dorislaus, a civilian, and native of Holland, employed in conducting the charge against the late king, was now sent by the parliament to assist Strickland. The part he acted in the late horrible tragedy had rendered him odious to all the royalists, who flocked in crouds to the little court kept up by Charles II.

[b] Guthrie, book iii. Le Clerc, tom. ii. sub. ann.

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in the neighbourhood of the Hague. As he was sitting quietly at supper, certain persons, masked, violently forced open his lodgings, and, after having assassinated him, retired without being questioned, or at all suspected of the murder. The whole province was in motion at so flagrant a breach of the laws of nations; a reward was offered for discovering the assassins; but, however, the states acted so carelessly, that the parliament, harbouring suspicions of their fidelity, made complaints to Monsr. Joachimi; and, in truth, Strickland turned the whole with so much address to the advantage of his masters, that the leading men in Holland grew impatient for the king's quitting the province, and even the dominions of the republic. Yet still the states general persisted in refusing Strickland's credentials, under various pretences; upon which he threatened to retire. The states of Holland apprehending a rupture with England, which could not fail of proving extremely prejudicial to the commerce of the province, sent remonstrances to the states general, charging them with all the consequences of Strickland's departure. Upon this they were forced to apologize to the envoy, and to gain time by referring the matter to the provincial states.

The intrigues of cardinal Mazarin.

It was the true policy of the republic to keep clear of the civil divisions, which at that time afflicted both France and Great Britain; but it was difficult to wave the solicitations of the English monarch, supported by the interest of the prince of Orange on one side, and of the intriguing Mazarin on the other. This busy minister insinuated to the prince of Orange, that the royal family in England being entirely ruined, its influence and power must necessarily decline, unless he was strongly linked in alliance with the crown of France. His design was to involve the provinces in a fresh war with Spain; but the prince escaped his snare, and penetrated his views. He informed Monsr. Brasset, the French envoy, of the impossibility of carrying the project into execution, because it must pass through the provincial states, and the refusal of one city was sufficient to frustrate the whole design. Foiled in this attempt, the cardinal sent instructions to Monsr. Brasset, to exert his utmost endeavours to prevent the states from entering into any engagements with the parliament of England, and to conduct himself with such caution that it should not be imagined France at all interposed in the affairs of the republic, while the cardinal was negociating with Fairfax and Cromwell.

While Brasset was deeply engaged in this negociation, Monsr. le Brun arrived at the Hague, in quality of envoy from the catholic king. The provinces of Zealand and

Utrecht, who had not yet ratified the treaty of Ghent, opposed his reception, notwithstanding which his public entry was allowed. Nothing indeed could be more glorious to the republic than this open declaration of her sovereignty, by an express embassy from the king of Spain; and the ambassador took particular care to sow his discourse thick with the flattering terms of Mighty State, Flourishing Republic, and Sovereign People, which produced a good effect on the minds of the states general. Yet this only regarded externals, and the civilities he met with: for as to the real intention of his embassy, he made no progress; the republic resolving, as long as possible, to observe the strictest neutrality. The affair of Frankendal was the most difficult part of his commission. The states general supported the elector, who was violently persecuted by the emperor, and the Spaniards were at a loss how to determine. At last they consented to the restitution upon those conditions, that the catholic religion should be established in the Palatinate; that a free passage should be granted to the Spaniards; that they should be allowed a place of arms; and that the republic should guarantee these conditions. This, together with some depredations committed by the Lorrainers in the neighbourhood of Boisleduc, certain disputes concerning Rhimburg, and an old quarrel with the bishop of Liege, were the subjects of Le Brun's negociation.

It was about this time that the grand-prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem arrived in Holland, to demand all the commanderies of Malta that were situated in the provinces. First, a variety of difficulties arose about the honours to be paid to the grand-prior; but this affair being adjusted, the states entered into a negociation with him, which produced nothing but useless altercation. It was otherwise with Monf. Ufeldt, the Danish ambassador, who at this time concluded a treaty of alliance and redemption between the crown of Denmark and the republic of the Seven United Provinces. By the treaty of alliance they were reciprocally bound to assist the party attacked with four thousand men, and to use their utmost influence with the aggressor to lay down his arms, and submit to arbitration. The treaty of redemption regulated the duties on all Dutch merchantmen passing through the Sound to the Baltic, about which there had been great disputes. Instead of rating each ship according to her tonnage, it was agreed to pay a certain sum yearly for the free passage of the Sound; however, this expedient was displeasing to some of the provinces, and highly resented by the Hans Towns, as injurious to their commerce, especially as a Dutch squadron,

Treaties with Denmark.

dron, not exceeding four men of war, was allowed to pass unquestioned into the Baltic [c]. Sweden likewise complained loudly of an alliance which would necessarily break off the good harmony between that kingdom and the republic; and queen Christina plied the states with remonstrances, which passed unregarded.

The states having established the foreign concerns of the republic upon the most solid footing that the circumstances of affairs would admit, applied their attention to the finances, which were brought into great disorder by the long continuance of the war, and the confusion that reigned for a series of years in the provinces. The interest of public debts was reduced, because the province of Holland had offered to furnish money for the payment of all who desired to be reimbursed. However the public credit was so well established, that not a single creditor sought to withdraw his stock; by which means the interest of debts became too large for the stated revenue. To remove this difficulty certain taxes were imposed on the barony of Breda, and the district of Boisleduc, because those lands had been exempted from taxes during the war. The inhabitants, who had paid heavy contributions to the Spaniards, complained of the hardship of being rated on a footing with countries that had paid nothing. Projects were delivered to the states to obviate the objection, but none of the remedies applied penetrated to the bottom of the disease: one of the expedients proposed by the states of Holland was, the reduction of the troops, which the prince of Orange, supported by the council of state, warmly opposed, while all the princes and states were armed on the frontiers of the republic. The disputes rose high, and yet the whole difference of opinion was trivial; the prince insisting, that a standing force of twenty-six thousand three hundred foot and three thousand horse should be maintained; while the province of Holland asserted that twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand seven hundred horse were sufficient for the protection of the republic. It is probable their animosity was more deeply rooted, and this occasion only seized as a cover to their real designs. Holland had taken certain measures respecting the payment of the troops, without consulting the prince and council of state; and this conduct was not only resented by the prince and council, but by all the officers of the army, and the states general themselves, who regarded it as an infraction of the union. At this time a deputy from the province of Holland presid-

A.D. 1650.

Origin of the civil dissensions in Holland.

[c] Basnage, p. 161. Aitzema, lib. xxx. p. 68.

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ed in the ſtates general, and he laboured to prevent the aſſembly from taking any reſolution contrary to his inſtructions from the ſtates of his province; but finding he could not ſtem the torrent, he reſigned the chair, and was ſucceeded by a deputy of Guelderland, who proceeded to revoke the order of the ſtates of Holland, in conſequence of a great majority of voices. Determining to ſupport this deciſion, their high mightineſſes ſent expreſs orders to all the officers of the army, not to obey any directions they might receive from the ſtates of Holland, unleſs they were confirmed by the authority of the ſtates general; the governors of the frontier towns had ſimilar orders; and the deputies of Holland proteſted againſt this ſtep, as injurious to their liberties. In the end, the ſteadineſs of the ſtates of Holland, and the fluctuating counſels of their high mightineſſes, afforded the prince of Orange the opportunity of puſhing his ambitious views. Attended by the council of ſtate, and count de Naſſau, governor of Friſeland, he waited upon the ſtates general, praying their mightineſſes to forbid the governors to make the reformation in their garriſons required by the ſtates of Holland, and to ſend a deputation to each town of that province, to oblige the magiſtrates to alter their ſentiments. The deputies of Holland and Guelderland oppoſed this requeſt, becauſe the deputies of Friſeland, Groningen, and Overyſſel were abſent; but a reſolution paſſed in favour of the prince, and the deſired deputation was diſpatched. They proceeded firſt to Dordrecht, where they were badly received, and inſulted by a reſolution of the magiſtrates to hold no conferences with the prince of Orange or his deputies. The prince in perſon joined the deputies, but no ear was given to his remonſtrances; upon which he ſet out for the Briel, Gorcum, Rotterdam, and the other towns, where his reception was little better than at Dordrecht. Amſterdam ſent two burgomaſters as far as Tergau, to requeſt of the prince not to attempt entering that city, becauſe they could not give him audience with his train, which was pretty numerous. As he ſtill purſued his journey, a ſecond deputation was ſent to acquaint his highneſs, that if he propoſed honouring the city with a viſit as governor of the province, he ſhould be received with all the reſpect due to his birth and the dignity of his office; but he could not be admitted as a deputy from the ſtates general, becauſe the deſign of his embaſſy appeared dangerous. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the city, he could procure no relaxation in the conditions, and there-

Diſputes between the prince of Orange and the province of Holland.

fore proceeded to Haerlem, where the magiſtrates expreſſed the ſame averſion for the reſolutions of the ſtates general. In North Holland the prince met with more civility; however, the magiſtrates of Medemblic ſent to acquaint him that the roads were ſo bad, and the town ſo ſmall for the accommodation of his retinue, that they could not hope for the honour of a viſit.

On his return the prince complained loudly to the ſtates general of the conduct of the cities, particularly of Amſterdam, againſt which he inveighed bitterly, ordering his ſpeech to be printed, to render it more public, hoping by this expedient to inflame the minds of the people, and eſpecially of the clergy, who were devoted to his intereſt. The deputies of Amſterdam, who were preſent when this ſpeech was delivered, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment that the prince ſhould have particularly aimed his reſentment at their city, when ſeveral others had acted in juſt the ſame manner. They vindicated the conduct of the magiſtrates, and their meaſures were approved by the ſtates of Holland, who, in a public manifeſto, declared that the ſtates general had no right to ſend a deputation to the ſeveral cities, which looked as if they wanted to gain them without the conſent of the provincial ſtates.

The return of admiral de Wit with a ſickly, ſhattered fleet, augmented the civil diviſions. This officer, perceiving the impoſſibility of recovering the loſſes lately ſuſtained in the Braſils, returned, without the conſent of the council eſtabliſhed in that country by the ſtates general. Loud complaints were made by the council againſt the admiral and his officers, who were blamed for the miſcarriage of the expedition. It was urged that he had formed not a ſingle enterprize, that he let ſlip ſeveral opportunities of retrieving the affairs of the company, that he had quitted the coaſt againſt the expreſs order of the council, and that he had carried off all the proviſion, and left the company's ſervants and effects in the entire power of their enemies. De Wit was arreſted by the prince of Orange, as high-admiral; he was accuſed by the ſtates of Zealand, and ſupported by the ſtates of Holland, who feared that his Portugeſe majeſty would ſtop their ſhips in his ports, and prohibit their trading to the coaſt of Guinea, if the war was proſecuted in the Braſils. At the ſame time the ſtates general iſſued orders to the admiralty of Amſterdam, to confine the ſix captains who accompanied de Wit; and this meaſure produced a violent altercation, the ſtates of Holland inſiſting, that the order was a violation of their rights; it was an encroachment on their ſovereignty to impriſon by any other authority within the

Admiral de Wit impriſoned.

the limits of their juriſdiction. The ſtates general quoted precedents, and, beſides, urged, that reaſon dictated that all officers who held their commiſſions from them, ſhould be ſubject to their authority, in whatever province they might happen to reſide. In a word, the captains were confined by order of their high mightineſſes, and the priſon doors were forced by the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, and the priſoners ſet at liberty. William, determined upon revenge, had the ſix deputies of Holland arreſted, at the head of whom was Jacob de Wit, an old burgomaſter of Dordrecht, father of the famous penſioner de Wit. After being ſome time confined in ſeparate apartments in the prince's palace, they were ſent under a ſtrong guard to the caſtle of Loueſtein. Determined to ſupport this bold attempt on the privileges of his country, William detached a body of forces under the count de Naſſau, towards Amſterdam, in hopes of reducing the magiſtrates to his terms, by menaces and the terror of a ſiege [d]. His meaſures were concerted with ſo much ſecreſy, and purſued with ſuch vigour, that the troops were in motion before the magiſtrates had any ſuſpicion of his intentions. Had it not been for ſome unforeſeen accidents, the city muſt certainly, without ſtriking a blow, have fallen into his hands.

Amſterdam beſieged.

When the news firſt arrived at Amſterdam, that the army was on their march, of the four burgomaſters regent, one was dead, two were abſent, and M. Bitzker alone left to provide for the defence of the city. He was well ſupported, however, by M. Nydecooper, an infirm magiſtrate, whoſe diligence, gallantry, and public ſpirit, were now conſpicuouſly exerted in the defence of liberty. So popular were theſe two magiſtrates, that the people flocked to them with offers of their ſervice. Immediately the ramparts were mounted with cannon, the garriſon put in arms, the ſhips cleared out for the defence of the harbour, and every other meaſure taken for making the moſt vigorous reſiſtance. The council met, to deliberate whether the ſluices ſhould be opened, and the neighbouring country laid under water, in order to ſweep away by one fatal ſtroke the whole army of the beſiegers; but a more moderate opinion prevailing, it was reſolved only to drown ſuch parts of the neighbourhood as led to the weakeſt poſts of the city. Every inhabitant was in motion, and the ſailors in particular contributed with the utmoſt alacrity towards the ſafety of this great emporium of Europe. On the count's arrival he found his project was diſconcerted, and his force too

[d] Baſnage, p. 172.

inconſiderable

inconſiderable to attempt inveſting ſo extenſive a city. He gave notice of his diſappointment to the prince of Orange, who was highly chagrined, to ſee a plan laid with ſo much care, ſo unexpectedly foiled, and his honour and authority ſtained and deſpiſed: but imagining his preſence would retrieve all things, he communicated his deſign to the ſtates general, and inſtantly ſet out for the army, attended by great numbers of the nobility and officers of diſtinction. On his way he met with M. de Beeverwert, a gentleman deſcended from the houſe of Naſſau, a friend to the prince, but an enemy to this attack upon the liberties of his country. Reſolving, if poſſible, to obviate the fatal conſequences which might enſue from the obſtinacy of the parties, he led the prince to an eminence, and bid him from thence behold the vaſt body of water in the power of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, with which they could overwhelm his whole army, if they reſolved to puſh matters to extremities. This demonſtration was equally conciſe and concluſive. William inſtantly felt its conviction, and entreated M. Beeverwert to go immediately to the Hague to acquaint the ſtates general with his danger, and procure an order for recalling himſelf and the army; the only meaſure which could ſave his honour [e].

The ſiege raiſed.

While M. Beeverwert was employed in this affair, a negociation commenced between the prince and the magiſtrates of Amſterdam. William had wrote to them, deſiring they would ſend four deputies, to confer with him upon the ſubject of an accommodation. As the magiſtrates began already to feel the inconveniencies of a ſiege, they liſtened the more readily to the propoſal. Diſſenſion had thus early begun to ſhew itſelf in the city. A variety of libels were publiſhed, taxing the magiſtrates with holding a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh parliament. This allegation was founded upon Pieterſon's voyage to England, to manage the affairs of the province with Cromwell, who had refuſed admitting an embaſſy from the republic. Nothing could render the magiſtrates more odious than ſuch an accuſation; beſides, the merchants apprehended that a ſiege would ſtop the courſe of exchange, and hurt their credit. Theſe were the motives which influenced the magiſtrates to enter upon a negociation, and the prince artfully augmented the fears of the citizens, by threatening to convert the ſiege into a blockade. In theſe circumſtances the following articles were mutually ſigned: that the prince ſhould be received in the city with all the

[e] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 200.

honours

honours due to his dignity, which had been paid to his anceſtors in the ſame office (this condition was ſtipulated merely to ſave the prince's honour, for, apprehending the popular indignation, he never made his entry); that the city of Amſterdam ſhould engage to pay the arrears due to the troops which the province had diſbanded; that the magiſtrates ſhould uſe their influence with the ſtates of Holland, to effect a public reconciliation; and, laſtly, that M. Bitzker and his brother, notwithſtanding the many ſervices they had done to the houſe of Orange, and the ſtate, and notwithſtanding their preſent ſtrenuous efforts in defence of freedom, ſhould be ſtripped of all their employments, and rendered incapable of being ever again reinſtated. The council obſtinately oppoſed this laſt article; but thoſe two excellent citizens inſiſted upon reſigning, offering themſelves a voluntary ſacrifice for the public tranquillity. In this manner terminated this dangerous civil war, which had brought the republic to the brink of deſtruction. William's deſigns were now obvious; and all, with one voice, accuſed him of betraying his country, and uſing thoſe forces entruſted to his care for the protection of the republic, to the purpoſes of ambition and the ſuppreſſion of public liberty. Happily, perhaps, for himſelf and his country, he was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, of which he died on the 6th day of November, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, while he was projecting ſchemes of revenge, which might, poſſibly, have involved Holland in a more dangerous civil war than what the provinces had juſt experienced. As his virtues were univerſally acknowleged, and his ambition dreaded, his death occaſioned equal joy and grief in the provinces. The friends of the houſe of Orange lamented him as the worthy ſucceſſor of his heroic anceſtors, cut off in the bloom and vigour of life; while the friends of liberty rejoiced at the event, as flowing from the immediate interpoſition of Providence in their behalf. The people, who imagined themſelves oppreſſed by the rigid exertion of his authority, were quite indecent in their feſtivity and public rejoicings; bonefires blazed in almoſt every town in Holland, and medals were ſtruck, inſulting the memory of a prince who might have died loved and revered, had he known how to moderate thoſe high paſſions which ever prove ruinous in a popular government [f].

Death and character of the prince of Orange.

[f] Baſnage, p. 177. La Vie de Princes du Maiſon d' Orange, p. 48.

William

William had ſet at liberty the priſoners confined in the caſtle of Louveſtein, on condition they ſhould not be reſtored to their employments; but his remains were ſcarcely cold when the deputies were reinſtated with ſuch diſtinctions as could not but be regarded as an inſult to the deceaſed: even the court was divided into parties, and engaged in oppoſite intereſts. The princeſs-dowager, mother to the late ſtadtholder, was leſs ſenſible of the death of her ſon, becauſe, under his government ſhe loſt that authority which ſhe enjoyed in the life-time of his father. As to the young princeſs, his widow, already afflicted with the misfortunes of her royal father and family in England, ſhe became inconſolable, until it pleaſed heaven to revive her hopes, and moderate her grief, by the birth of a young prince, eight days after the death of his father. *The priſoners releaſed and reinſtated.*

As the ſtates general had been ſtrongly linked with the prince of Orange in the ſame intereſt, his ſudden death cauſed a general conſternation in that aſſembly, of which he was the ſoul and invigorating principle, though he had no voice in the ſtates. Their firſt reſolution was to notify this fatal event to all the provincial ſtates. Holland was no ſooner acquainted with it than the ſtates met to deliberate on the neceſſary meaſures. They charged their deputies to aſſure the ſtates general, that they would ſacrifice their reſentments to the public good, and ſtrictly adhere to the conditions of the union of Utrecht, and the reformed religion, agreeable to the decree of the ſynod of Dordrecht. Next, they reſolved upon ſending a deputation to all the provinces, to conjure them to ſend to the Hague deputies from their own body, to deliberate on the preſent circumſtances of the republic. The project was approved by the ſtates general, and the deputation was well received in all the provinces. A third reſolution of great importance to the province, likewiſe paſſed the ſtates of Holland: it was determined to limit that influence aſſumed by the counts of Holland and the ſtadtholders, in the election of the magiſtrates of the cities, by which they often gained an undue influence in the provincial ſtates, and the aſſembly of the ſtates general; and to reſerve to themſelves the nomination to public offices, to military preferments, and all employments of profit or power. They likewiſe ordered that the guards about the prince ſhould be the troops of the province, and that all the rights and prerogatives uſurped by the ſtadtholder, ſhould now be annexed to the ſovereignty of the ſtates of Holland. All the remonſtrances of the young princeſs-dowager had no effect. The infant ſon was ſtripped in the cradle of all the honours enjoyed *The ſtates of Holland reconciled to the ſtates general.*

joyed by his ancestors. Zealand followed the example of Holland, and seized the opportunity of recovering all the prerogatives of the province.

Though the princess-dowager was differently affected from her daughter-in-law at the death of her son, she laboured for the aggrandizement of her grandson from the moment of his birth, and with that view wrote circular letters to all the provinces, persuaded it would give universal satisfaction, that the illustrious family of the founders of the republic was not extinct, and that a child was born, who would support the edifice reared by the hands of his ancestors. She hoped likewise, that the states would invest the infant with all the dignities of stadtholder, as soon as they deliberated upon that subject. Nor was the princess mistaken in her reliance on the affections of the people; however they were disgusted with the ambition of the late prince, they loved the family, and regarded the infant as the only remaining blood of those heroes who had rescued the provinces from tyranny, misery, and oppression, and the peculiar gift of Heaven, to secure their religion and liberties against future encroachments. However, the states general contented themselves with a promise to the princess, that they would forward her letters to the provincial states, though they could not but think creating a new stadtholder unseasonable, as the youth of the prince required a lieutenant.

Disputes for his guardianship.

William III. was doomed from his birth to encounter difficulties. The first disputes arose about his baptism, the next about his tutelage, and the third, which threatened the dissolution of the government, appeared on his entering upon the administration. Deputies from the states general, from the states of Holland and Zealand, and from the cities of Amsterdam, Leyden and Delft, offered themselves as sponsors for the infant. This honour was accepted with pleasure, and followed by magnificent presents to the young prince and his family. The princess-royal, his mother, was for calling him Charles, in compliment to the memory of her father; but the grandmother objected to that unfortunate name, and preferred the name of William, as the most popular and auspicious.

The ceremony of the prince's baptism had occasioned contentions only between the grandmother and mother; but the choice of his guardians was a matter of greater difficulty. The honour was claimed by a variety of princes, who hoped by this channel to come in for a considerable share in the government of the republic, and to exercise the functions of the stadtholder. The candidates were Don Emanuel,

Emanuel and Don Lewis, princes of Portugal, deſcended from a daughter of William I. Philip Lewis, prince Palatine of the Rhine, likewiſe deſcended from a daughter of the ſame prince of Orange; and the prince Palatine, of the family of Deux Ponts, who claimed an affinity to the young prince. He offered to reſide at his own expence at the Hague, ſhould he be appointed to the office of guardian: his propoſals were favourably received by the grand council; but they could not be complied with, out of regard to the elector of Brandenburg, who had married the eldeſt daughter of prince Frederic Henry. Both the grandmother and mother ſent in their ſeveral claims on this occaſion, as the moſt legitimate and natural guardians; but as a miſunderſtanding prevailed betwixt them, the council declined deciding in favour of either. At laſt, a will of the late prince's being preſented by his ſecretary, turned the ſcale in favour of the princeſs royal, though neither ſeal, name, nor date, appeared to the teſtament. In this rough draught, William's intentions were viſible; his princeſs was nominated guardian to the infant, in caſe ſhe ſhould happen to be with child at his death; and fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling were aſſigned for her jointure. The old dowager and the elector of Brandenburg violently oppoſed any deciſion upon proofs ſo uncertain; the diſpute ran high; it was ſubmitted to a court of judicature, and at length compromiſed in the following manner: that the princeſs royal ſhould be chief guardian of her ſon, and have the diſpoſal of all offices about his perſon; that the elector of Brandenburg ſhould be joined to aſſiſt her in the management of the young prince's perſon and affairs; and that the princeſs-dowager ſhould inſpect and ſuperintend their conduct. The two latter appealed to the grand council, and the decree was altered; it being now determined, that the princeſs royal, as mother to the infant, ſhould be guardian on the one hand, and the princeſs-dowager, elector of Brandenburg, and count Landſberg, on the other, as repreſentatives of the father [g].

The enſuing year commenced with a grand aſſembly of the ſtates general. Here they deliberated on the means of maintaining the union of Utrecht, and the reformed religion eſtabliſhed by the ſynod of Dordrecht, on the election of a ſtadtholder, on ſubjecting the army to the orders of the council of ſtate, on preventing the effects of corruption in the ſtates general, on the requiſition of the province of Brabant of ſending deputies to the ſtates general, on a ge- A. D. 1651. *A grand aſſembly of the ſtates.*

[g] Baſnage, p. 212. Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 209.

neral amneſty, and ſeveral other particulars. With reſpect to the firſt point, it was reſolved, that the choice of all officers and magiſtrates ſhould be in the diſpoſal of the cities, and that not only the common ſoldiers and the forces in general, but even the prince's guards, ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the ſtates general, and the ſtates of Holland. In a word, the buſineſs of the aſſembly was to heal the wounds of faction, unite parties, conſolidate the republic into one homogeneous maſs, and ſecure public liberty againſt all future attacks, by revoking all the powers and prerogatives formerly beſtowed on the ſtadtholders.

Arrival of the Portugueſe ambaſſador.

While the ſtates general were occupied in eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of the ſtate, and fixing the plan of government, don Antonio de Suſa Macedo arrived, in the quality of ambaſſador from his Portugueſe majeſty. On his taking his ſeat in the ſtates general, he complained that the republic had violated the rights of nations, in obliging him to enter the Hague privately, and refuſing him an audience for ſeveral months. He recapitulated the ſervices done the republic by king Sebaſtian, and ſaid, that notwithſtanding her ingratitude, the king was now taking meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the ancient amity between the ſtates, not from weakneſs, but from an inclination to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. He concluded with giving an eſtimate of the forces and ſhipping of Portugal, and demonſtrating to the republic, that this was the ſureſt barrier againſt the encroachments of his catholic majeſty. The deputies forthwith entered into conferences with him, and demanded reſtitution of all the forts, ſettlements, and territories of which the republic had been deprived in the courſe of the war, from Rio Real to Siara, including all the ſlaves, cattle, ſugars, and other effects; indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained by the interruption in commerce, and ceſſion of the iſland of St. Thomas, and the African coaſt from cape Lepo Gonzales to the river Coanza. Incenſed at theſe extravagant demands, the ambaſſador quitted Holland precipitately, without the ceremony of taking leave, or notifying his intentions to the ſtates.

The diſputes with the Portugueſe miniſter were followed by violent contentions in the cities about the election of magiſtrates. Dordrecht in particular was all in motion, and the nobility augmented the public confuſion by chuſing this particular time for reviving the claims to the ancient right of ſeats in the provincial aſſemblies. They produced ſeveral ancient acts, proving that the ſtates were formerly compoſed of the nobility, clergy, and the deputies of the cities; and Maximilian of Burgundy pretended, that,

as

as the moſt ancient of the nobility, he had a right to repreſent the whole body, to the excluſion of all the other members. This diviſion among themſelves weakened the weight of their influence, and the ſtates gladly embraced this opportunity of rejecting their pretenſions.

State of the Dutch Commerce.

Amidſt all theſe civil diſſenſions, commerce flouriſhed more than ever, and the republic engroſſed the greater part of the trade of Europe. England had not yet recovered from the calamities conſequent on the entire revolution in the government; and France was wholly employed in diſputes between the crown and the princes of the blood. Yet it received ſeveral interruptions from the attacks of the corſairs of Tunis, Algiers, and Salee. Even the French privateers made no ſcruple of attacking the Dutch merchantmen; but thoſe piracies were ſoon ſuppreſſed by the public ſpirit of two merchants, who equipped a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips of war, at their own expence, cleared the ſeas, and ſufficiently reimburſed themſelves by a great number of captures. But the greateſt obſtruction to trade aroſe from England. His catholic majeſty had diſpatched an ambaſſador to the parliament, offering to puniſh the murderers of the Engliſh reſident at Madrid, to admit the Engliſh ſhipping into all the ports of Spain, and to exclude the fleet under prince Rupert. He likewiſe acknowleged the ſovereign authority of the parliament; which advances were conſtrued into oblique reflections on the dilatory conduct of the ſtates general, who had hitherto declined puniſhing the murderers of Doriſlaus, or acknowleging the ſovereignty of the parliament. Zealand preſſed with eagerneſs, that all manner of ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the parliament, and the titles and authority of this illegal government acknowleged; but the arguments of the deputies made no impreſſion on the other provinces. Determined upon revenge, the parliament, on various pretences, ſeized upon the Dutch ſhips trading to the ports of France, Spain, and Portugal. They inſiſted likewiſe upon ſearching their men of war; they forbid their trading to the Caribees, and took other violent meaſures, which ſeemed to threatened an open rupture. To repel theſe injuries and protect the trade, admiral Van Tromp was ſtationed with a ſquadron off the Scilly iſlands, a circumſtance of which raiſed apprehenſions in the parliament, that the ſtates had a deſign to ſeize upon them as a convenient ſtation for incommoding the Engliſh commerce. In this ſituation, Cromwell, perfectly maſter of the art of diſſembling, ſent an embaſſy to Holland with overtures of a treaty offenſive and defenſive between the two republics. The duke of

The ſtates take meaſures for the ſecurity of commerce.

York was at this time at the Hague, where St. John, the English envoy, had the presumption in a public walk to dispute the precedence with him; which being observed by the prince Palatine, his generous mind was fired at the indignity, he pulled off the envoy's hat, and bad him respect the son and the brother of his king. St. John put his hand upon his sword, refused to acknowlege either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the young prince, compelled him to seek refuge in his lodgings. Complaints were made by the ambassador to the states general, who advised the duke of York to retire to one of the prince of Orange's palaces in the country, and expressed their sorrow for the accident in an apology to the English minister. Ommeren and six other deputies were now appointed to deliberate upon the instructions sent to St. John and Strictland, who first demanded, in high terms, satisfaction upon the murderers of Doriflaus, which had been so long neglected, through the dilatory forms of the Dutch government. This demand the Dutch answered, by presenting a long list of debts due, on account of the depredations of the English. The English ambassador immediately rejected the account, because it chiefly consisted of Dutch vessels taken in an illicit trade with the revolted English plantations. A continuation of the queen of Bohemia's pension was likewise demanded by the Dutch, for the payment of which the states general stood engaged; but this was also refused, the ambassadors alleging, that the pension was granted by the late king, without the consent of his parliament. A variety of other demands were made; but all of them received with so insolent an air of superiority by the English, that nothing could be expected from this negociation, as it was not imagined the Dutch would tamely recede from so many demands [b].

Disputes with the English envoy.

Obstructions to the treaty proposed by the English.

But, perhaps, the greatest obstruction to the treaty arose from cardinal Mazarin, who above all things dreaded the alliance between England and Holland, which had been projected in the life-time of the late prince of Orange. It is true the prince was too intimately connected with the royal family of England to suffer a project so detrimental to their interest to take effect; before his death, he concluded a treaty against Spain with the cardinal, on condition that the French minister should assist in the restoration of the Stuart family. Thus the intrigues of Mazarin, and the friends of the house of Orange, effectually impeded the proposed union between the two commonwealths,

[b] Basnage, p. 210.

which

which was only proposed by St. John, and never taken into serious consideration. Irritated at this disappointment, at the disrespect shewn in many instances to their ambassador, at the partiality of the Dutch in their demands, at their refusal to make the required satisfaction for the unatoned barbarities committed at Amboyna, soon after the establishment of the English and Dutch East India companies, the parliament resolved to chastise the states general, and evince their superiority by the most vigorous measures. These notions were confirmed by St. John, who laboured to give Cromwell and the people a disadvantageous opinion of the Dutch, to persuade them that nothing was so desirable to Holland as an opportunity of disputing the sovereignty on the ocean assumed by the English.

The two republics on the point of coming to a rupture.

What the Dutch regarded as the first step towards a rupture, was the act of navigation passed in England. This, though one of the most salutary laws ever proposed in the English parliament, was highly prejudicial to the Dutch commerce; and its taking place at this time, when the minds of the people were heated by a variety of other accidents, could not but be regarded as an harbinger to farther declarations. Abstracted from other considerations, the act was in itself alarming to the provinces, as it prohibited all nations from importing any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ship belonged; and the commodities from Asia, Africa, or America, to be imported in any other than English bottoms. This blow was levelled directly at Holland, as the Dutch traffick consisted wholly in transporting foreign commodities from one country to another. Ambassadors were immediately dispached to England; and they were received with great formality by the new commonwealth, which had by this time granted letters of marque to divers merchants, who complained that their ships had been unjustly confiscated in Holland, though in fact they were only detained by way of reprisal. Is was easy to discover from the tone of the Dutch ambassadors, that they were apprehensive of a rupture, and powerfully awed by the commonwealth. The English rose proportionably in their demands, insisted not only upon satisfaction for the barbarities at Amboyna, but on the sum of two millions, to repair the losses they had sustained from the Dutch in other parts of the East Indies, in Persia, Muscovy, and Greenland. They also demanded the punishment of the murderers of Dorislaus, reparation of the insults offered to their ambassa-

dor, and an apology for the intercourse carried on with the late king, during the civil war[1].

Demands so insolently made, and exhorbitant, fired the republic, and convinced the states general, that vigorous measures alone could bring to reasonable terms the new commonwealth. They could not brook the homage required by the English at sea, and their vain-glorious pretensions to the soverignty of the ocean. The mere striking to their flag was in itself trifling; but the uncertainty, whether they might not desire to extend their right, appeared to the states a matter of importance, which ought to be checked before precedents were established. The English had already claimed the right of examining, not only their merchantmen for illicit goods, but even the Dutch men of war; they might in course of time assume the power of directing the destination of their fleets, and even prescribing whether the republic should maintain any fleets at all upon the ocean. The tribute demanded by the English for the liberty of fishing on the British coasts appeared unreasonable to the Dutch, though this perhaps was the justest demand of the parliament. For time immemorial, a fortieth herring had been granted; but now the number was augA.D.1652. mented, and the tribute rendered exorbitant. To oppose those encroachments on the rights of nations, the states equipped with the utmost expedition a prodigious fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty ships of war, part of which they sent under the command of Martin Van Tromp into the Channel, to convoy their homeward bound merchantmen.

The Dutch prepare for war.

The first hostilities previous to a declaration of war, were commenced by the English. One of their ships of war falling in with a fleet of Dutch fishermen, demanded the usual tribute and homage; which being refused, the man of war sunk one of the Dutch ships, with all its crew; a fact that is variously related, just as it happens to suit the pnrposes of the different parties. Complaint of this action was immediately made to the English; and the states resolutely declared, unless the captain was punished, they should be forced to make reprisals. As no notice was taken of the demand, they immediately laid an embargo on all the English shipping in their ports. Tromp, before his departure, desired the minutest instructions with respect to his conduct towards the English. He acquainted the states, that, during the late king's reign, it was usual to pay homage to the English flag upon the British coasts, and in the Chan-

Hostilities commenced.

[1] Grot. lib. vi. p. 44. Basnage, ibid.

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nel; but that ſcarce an inſtance occured where this compliment was required on the open ſea. To avoid therefore the neceſſity of entering upon any diſputes, or of acknowleging the ſuperiority of the parliament, the ſtates ordered he ſhould not approach the Engliſh coaſts, unleſs forced by circumſtances.

After Van Tromp had cruiſed for ſome time on the coaſt of Scheveling, he was driven by a violent northerly wind towards Flanders, when, for the ſecurity of his fleet, he failed for the Channel, and ſtationed himſelf between Dover and Calais; but in paſſing the Downs, where admiral Blake lay with a fleet of ſix and twenty men of war, he was ſaluted with a diſcharge of cannon, without ſhot, as a ſignal for him to pay the compliment of lowering his topſails to the Engliſh flag. Dutch writers affirm, that he had diſpatched two of his captains with compliments to Bourn, the Engliſh commodore, to aſſure him that he had been driven to that ſtation by ſtreſs of weather. Be this as it may, it is certain that Tromp paid no regard to the ſignal made by the Engliſh admiral, who then fired a ball at him, which he returned by a whole broadſide. Immediately an engagement enſued, which was maintained for the ſpace of four hours with the utmoſt fury. Commodore Bourn arrived critically with eight ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh; upon which Tromp retired behind the Goodwin-Sands with the loſs of two ſhips, one of which was ſunk, and the other taken. No Dutch writer of authority pretends to affirm that the loſs of the Engliſh was equal, though they allege, that the ſeaſonable interpoſition of night probably ſaved the enemy from deſtruction. Van Tromp, in his letter to the ſtates general, reflects ſeverely on the inſolent carriage of Blake, which reduced him to the neceſſity of returning his fire; and alleges, that he bore two broadſides from the Engliſh, by which ſeveral perſons periſhed, before he gave the ſignal to engage. In proof of this allegation his biographer quotes a letter from the Engliſh admiral, in anſwer to a meſſage ſent by Tromp to demand the priſoners; and it muſt be confeſſed, that here Blake has ſhewn his high, untractable ſpirit, aſſuming to himſelf ſuch an air of ſuperiority as afforded ſuſpicion that he was the aggreſſor. It is, however, impoſſible to aſcertain the truth, except on preſumptive evidence, the accounts on both ſides being ſo diametrically oppoſite and contradictory [1].

The battle of the Downs.

[1] La Vie de Cornel. Van Tromp, p. 16.

The states send an embassy to England.

In London, the news of this battle so exasperated the populace, that they insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who were forced to shelter themselves under the protection of the parliament. They endeavoured to appease the public resentment, by demonstrating that Tromp had no orders to fight; that he stood only in his own defence, and could not, without hazarding his reputation, avoid repelling the gross insult he had sustained. The states likewise sent Adrian Pauw, in quality of ambassador extraordinary, to confirm this assertion, by laying before the parliament Van Tromp's letter to the states, and likewise the insolent answer he received from Blake before the battle. He conjured them to enquire dispassionately into the particulars of the affair; assuring the commonwealth, that if it appeared their admiral had actually refused to compliment the English flag, he should be punished by the states general for his presumption. Certain it is, that now the Dutch sincerely wished an accommodation. They intreated the parliament, by the common ties of religion and liberty, to set on foot a negociation; but possibly the boldness of Blake had shook their resolution, and convinced them, by this first trial, that England was not to be reduced to reason by violence. No regard was paid to the ambassador's remonstrances; on the contrary, the government of England affected to slight, in the most contemptuous manner, the solemn assurances of the states general, and to construe their earnestness of avoiding a rupture into dread of the English courage. Cromwell and Bond were sent to Dover to encourage Blake and the seamen, to thank them for their delicate regard to the honour of the commonwealth, and to provide the fleet with every necessary.

The Dutch prepare for war.

This conduct, and the orders issued for augmenting the navy with forty sail, could not be regarded by the states general in any other light than an open defiance, and declared resolution of coming to a rupture. They therefore recalled their ambassadors, and published a manifesto, specifying the injuries they had sustained, which was answered by another from the parliament. Little stress can be laid on those declarations, in which both sides assert hardily, and suppress every circumstance that reflects light on their real intentions. Cromwell possibly imagined it necessary to divert, by a foreign war, the attention of the people, from considering the ambitious scheme of sovereignty he had projected; and the Dutch, grown rich by commerce, elated with prosperity, proud of liberty, and insolently confident of their naval force, were rejoiced at an opportu-

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nity of aſſerting an equality with the Engliſh commonwealth.

The Dutch ambaſſadors having in their return met with Van Tromp, off Ziriczee, Pauw adviſed him to attack Aſcough on his way from Barbadoes, with three Dutch prizes richly laden. This meaſure was embraced, but diſconcerted by violent contrary winds, in which Van Tromp's fleet was ſhattered and diſperſed. Van Galen, however, was ſent with a ſquadron to the Mediterranean, to oppoſe in that ſea the Engliſh commodore Bodely. Blake, ever vigorous and alert, ſeized the opportunity of Van Tromp's abſence, to aſſert his country's right to the Britiſh fiſhery. With this view he ſteered to the northward, attacked the Dutch fiſheries off Shetland, took their whole convoy of twelve men of war, but ſuffered the fiſhing buſſes to eſcape, on a promiſe never to return without leave from the Engliſh parliament; an act of generoſity highly blamed by the hiſtorians of that country. Van Tromp purſued Blake to the north; but his ſquadron ſuffered a ſecond time in a hard gale, juſt as he had given the ſignal to engage, as if the elements had conſpired againſt the glory of this hero.

Van Galen defeats Bodely.

Van Tromp's misfortunes rather animated than diſcouraged the ſtates general. They promoted de Ruyter, afterwards ſo famous in hiſtory, to the command of a ſeparate ſquadron, conſiſting of fifty ſail, ordering him to protect a rich fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen. Ruyter was of obſcure birth, and had raiſed himſelf to diſtinction by dint of extraordinary merit, from the rank of a cabin boy. He now firſt appeared in quality of commander in chief, and his conduct ſoon juſtified the election of his countrymen. Near Plymouth he met with admiral Aſcough, with whom he began a furious cannonading about four in the afternoon, alone ſuſtained the whole fire of the admiral and vice-admiral for an hour, and at length, by an extraordinary effort of intrepidity, diſengaged himſelf, joined the reſt of his ſquadron, and renewed the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, as obliged the enemy to retire, after moſt of their ſhips had exhauſted all their ammunition. Aſcough had a ſquadron little inferior to de Ruyter's; he behaved with the utmoſt gallantry, was once ſurrounded with nine of his ſhips by the Dutch, extricated himſelf by a deſperate puſh, which broke the enemy, tore their ſhips, and gained the weather-gage; but ſtill he was conſtrained to confeſs his inferiority by withdrawing from the battle. Next day, being reinforced, the engagement was renewed with redoubled eagerneſs, both ſides ſuffered extremely, and at laſt the ſquadrons ſeparated, as if by mutual

De Ruyter fights the Engliſh.

mutual consent; on the third day each admiral claimed victory, with almost equal justice. Both laboured under disadvantages; Ascough wanted ammunition, and Ruyter's orders were disobeyed, either from want of skill or courage in his officers; but the greatest proof of the advantage gained by the Dutch, was, that the merchant-fleet under Ruyter's conduct arrived untouched at Amsterdam, and the English took shelter in Plymouth. To this victory, if it may be called one, succeeded another, not less bloody, but more decisive. Van Galen had attacked Bodely in the Mediterranean, and with great valour fought and defeated his squadron, though he lost his life at the close of the engagement [k].

Mean time de Ruyter was under great perplexity. The last action, though upon the whole to his advantage, was however a convincing proof of the enemy's skill, courage, and obstinacy; while it afforded but too strong conviction of the want of discipline and valour among his own officers. He doubted not but Blake, with a superior fleet, would revenge the cause of Ascough; and that admiral's vigour and impetuosity were evinced sufficiently in the affair with Van Tromp. Under these apprehensions, he acquainted the states general with his situation, and the probability of his being soon attacked by the enemy's united squadrons. The states immediately resolved to send Van Tromp to take the chief command, and join de Ruyter with a strong reinforcement; but Tromp's late undeserved misfortunes had rendered him unpopular. Without being able to tax his conduct, the people had murmured against the event of his two last expeditions. The ruin of the herring fishery had excited commotions in Zealand and Holland; Van Tromp was like to fall the sacrifice of ignorance, while his character was adored by all men of understanding. In despite of his services in quality of lieutenant-admiral for the space of fifteen years, it was with difficulty he could justify himself sufficiently to be retained in the command. Fear of the people, or envy of his glory, had even raised him enemies in the states general, and the colleges of the admiralty. The public discontent was augmented by the great losses sustained in trade, the English having taken and destroyed a fleet of forty sail from Spain and Portugal, and six sloops richly laden from the East Indies. Now Van Tromp was divested of his command, without which the mob was not to be appeased, and de Ruyter was removed to make way for admiral de Wit.

Tumults in Holland.

[k] La Vie de Ruyter, par Brandt, p 52.

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Even this promotion did not give univerſal ſatisfaction: the ſailors loved their two gallant officers; and though they had the utmoſt confidence in their new leader, yet did they murmur at the ſacrifice made of two heroes to a faction. Thoſe who had ſet foot on ſhore, refuſed returning to their ſhips unleſs half a year's wages were advanced, and their comrades on board mutinied againſt the orders iſſued to prevent their landing; all, in ſhort, refuſed to obey the inſtructions of the admiralty, and the magiſtrates of Amſterdam. Vigorous meaſures were neceſſary to ſuppreſs a ſedition of ſuch dangerous conſequence. A party of ſoldiers marched againſt the mutineers, who were forced on board, after having left two of the ringleaders in the hands of the magiſtrates, who immediately gave orders for their execution. This example ſtruck a terror into the ſeamen, and produced the deſired effect, the ſailors returned to their duty, and an amneſty was paſſed to ſecure their gratitude, by an act of kindneſs and lenity; but unhappily this well-timed act became the ſubject of freſh diſputes, becauſe the provincial ſtates inſiſted, that the magiſtrates of Amſterdam had uſurped their prerogative, by aſſuming the power of pardoning. The exigency was preſſing: it would not admit of time to aſſemble the ſtates; yet, after ſome altercation they were obliged to make ſatisfaction, and acknowlege publicly that they had, in critical circumſtances, preſumed upon exerting an authority which did not belong to them [1].

In compliance with the humour of the ſeamen, and from a juſt ſenſe of his extraordinary merit, de Ruyter was again reſtored, and aſſociated with de Wit in the command. Their fleets joined off Dunkirk, and it was conceived they ſhould fail in queſt of the Engliſh admiral, the intrepid Blake, who was equally impatient to come to an engagement. By this time the Engliſh admiral was returned from the North, and his fleet being refitted with aſtoniſhing diſpatch, he was ſteering in purſuit of the enemy. The vaſt booty he had taken in his late fortunate cruizes, ſerved only to whet his ardor; and as he had acquired immenſe wealth without danger, he now reſolved to obtain glory, without the leaſt view to private advantage. With theſe generous ſentiments on both ſides, the fleets came in ſight of each other; and de Ruyter determined to make uſe of a ſtroke of policy, which, if improved by his colleague, might have been fatal to the Engliſh. He drew up behind a ſand-bank, in ſuch a manner as ſecured him from the larger

[1] Baſnage, p. 258.

Engliſh

Engliſh ſhips, and obliged Blake to attack with manifeſt danger and diſadvantage. The utility of this meaſure was apparent the moment the attack begun. The enemy, divided into three ſquadrons, bore down with the admiral, in the Sovereign, at the head; but this ſhip, with three other firſt-rates, ſtruck upon the Kentiſh Knock. Encouraged by an accident which greatly diminiſhed the Engliſh ſtrength, de Wit abandoned his ſituation, and determined to engage on the open ſea, where he hoped to give a better account of the enemy than if ſeparated from them by a mound. De Ruyter objected to his propoſal; but de Wit, who had more ardor and courage than naval ſkill, purſued his own reſolution, and ſoon perceived his error. A furious battle enſued, during which the commanders on both ſides perſormed the moſt gallant actions; the ſailors too of each nation fighting with ſurpriſing courage and perſeverance. The Engliſh ſhips got off the bank, and de Wit found that he had made a falſe eſtimate of their ſtrength; but relying upon the ability of de Ruyter, and the intrepidity of the ſeamen, he fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy, until night ſeparated the combatants. Though the Dutch beheld with horror the ſlaughter made by the Sovereign, in which Blake fought in perſon, and though they were equally aſtoniſhed and abaſhed by the courage of the Engliſh, yet de Wit propoſed renewing the engagement next morning, in hopes the ſuperiority he had in point of number would in the end prevail. De Ruyter, however, better acquainted with the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, oppoſed this reſolution, and both, at laſt, agreed to make all poſſible ſail for the coaſt of Holland, though they ſaw the enemy drawn up in line of battle. The Dutch rear-admiral was taken, but he had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the captor ſunk ſoon after; another Dutch man of war was ſhattered to pieces, and ſunk by the Sovereign. Both ſides ſo artfully diſſembled their loſs, that to aſcertain the truth, at this diſtance of time, would be impoſſible. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied, but victory declared clearly in favour of the Engliſh, who not only offered battle next day, but purſued the Dutch with their frigates until they ran into the Goree [m].

Another ſea fight.

The Dutch worſted in another ſea-fight.

Tumults in Holland.

In this, as in the preceding engagements, heavy complaints were made againſt the captains and inferior officers. The admirals accuſed their officers of cowardice and neglect of duty, while the officers recriminated, by charging de Wit with miſconduct and raſhneſs, to which they attributed the loſs of their ſhipping. The ſtates endeavoured to re-

[m] La Vie de Ruyter, p. 58.

conciſe

concile the parties, and reſtore peace and unanimity. They perceived that de Wit's ardor occaſioned his throwing blame on thoſe whoſe caution he conſtrued into timidity; that the admiral was chiefly in fault, but that his error aroſe from an exceſs of intrepidity, and a glorious reſolution of ſignalizing himſelf in the cauſe of his country; a ſpirit which, at this juncture, was rather to be cheriſhed than repreſſed; it was therefore the endeavour of the government to excite an emulation, to remove all cauſe of contention, and preſerve the utmoſt harmony among the officers. Their zeal proved ſucceſsful; never did there appear ſuch an univerſal ſpirit of revenge and national honour; the crews of merchantmen offered their ſervices to the republic; and in a few weeks the loſſes ſuſtained from tempeſts and battles were repaired by the equipment of a formidable armament, conſiſting of ſeventy-two fine ſhips of war. Van Tromp was reſtored to the command, both in juſtice to his reputation, and becauſe de Wit was confined by illneſs; and he had orders to convoy a fleet of three hundred merchantment to the Lizard. Between Dover and Folkſtone he deſcried the Engliſh fleet, amounting only to forty large men of war; he bore down; and Blake, with his uſual intrepidity, ſeized the occaſion of joining battle. On the 29th of November the fight began, at eleven in the forenoon, with inexpreſſible fury, and continued to ſix in the evening. The firſt fire from the Engliſh admiral was ſuſtained by vice-admiral Evertzon and de Ruyter, who were a-head of the fleet, and in the moſt imminent danger, when Van Tromp came up to their relief. The ſcale was now turned againſt Blake, who found himſelf ſurrounded, and in great danger of falling a victim to his impetuoſity, had he not fortunately been reſcued by the intrepid efforts of two of his captains, who broke through the enemy, ſuſtained their whole fire, and towed the admiral out of danger. In the end, victory declared for the Dutch admiral: Blake was wounded; his own ſhip ſhattered, two others were taken, as many burnt, and one ſunk; and this with the loſs only of one ſhip of the Dutch ſquadron, which was blown up by accident. Van Tromp's conduct was gallant; but his victory was obtained by numbers, and we may venture to ſay that he blighted his laurels by his vanity; having, after the retreat of the enemy, proceeded in his voyage with a broom fixed to his main-top-maſt, intimating that he would ſweep the Channel clear of the Engliſh.

Van Tromp defeats the Engliſh admiral.

As this war was wholly naval, the operations of the contending parties were not confined to the Channel. Both nations

nations had armaments in the Mediterranean, and the Dutch ſupplied the loſs of Van Galen by appointing admiral Cats, an officer of merit, to the command of his ſquadron. On his arrival at Leghorn, Cats found that captain Appleton, with eight ſhips, had taken ſhelter in this neutral port. He deſired the duke of Tuſcany would withdraw his protection, and ſuffer him to attack the enemy in the harbour, or force them to the open ſea. The duke anſwered, that he was at peace with England and Holland; both their ſquadrons were welcome to his ports; but hoſtilities committed there would be a groſs violation of the law of nations, and the higheſt inſult to his ſovereignty. Not ſatisfied with this declaration, Cats was preparing to attack the Engliſh, when, under cover of the night, Appleton, who was greatly inferior in ſtrength, quitted the port, and ſteered, with a favourable gale, clear of the enemy. But the Dutch were obliged to combat not only the open force of England, but the pirates of the French nation, to the incredible damage of their commerce. The civil diſorders of that country gave exiſtence to a ſwarm of privateers, who pillaged the ſhips of all nations without diſtinction, but chiefly of Holland, becauſe the trade of the republic was the moſt flouriſhing, and their ſhips the richeſt. M. Boreel had orders to complain to the French court, to demand redreſs, and to intimate that a ſtrong ſquadron was equipping to make retaliation. At the ſame time admiral Cats had inſtructions to clear the Mediterranean of privateers, and protect the Dutch commerce, without reſpect to the flag of neutral nations. Cats executed, perhaps exceeded, his orders; for, after having taken ſeveral privateers, he drew up before Toulon, and menaced the governor with a bombardment, if he permitted Dutch captures to be carried to that harbour. The French king reſented the remonſtrance of Boreel, and was highly incenſed at the inſolent conduct of admiral Cats; but, unable to redreſs himſelf otherwiſe, he demanded payment from the ſtates general of ſeveral ſums due to his crown ſince the war between Spain and the United Provinces. This demand was conteſted, as the money had been advanced by treaties formed for the mutual advantage of the contracting parties; and, after ſome ſharp altercation, dropped for the preſent [n].

Notwithſtanding the late victory gained by Van Tromp, the ſucceſs of the Dutch arms was not anſwerable to the ſanguine expectations of the republic. The ſailors, accuſ-

[n] Baſnage, p. 284.

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tomed to wealth and victory in all their encounters with the Spaniards, were diſappointed in not reaping the ſame emolument from their bloody diſputes with the Engliſh. Here fortune was various: they had been oftener defeated than victorious, and even their ſucceſſes were diminiſhed by the terrible ſlaughter with which they were obtained. Several of their richeſt merchantmen had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and an entire ſtop was put to the beneficial herring-fiſhery, by which ſo many poor families were ſupported. This conſideration begot diſcontent, which ſoon produced faction and diſcord. One party demanded a ſtadtholder, and another remained fixed in their reſolution of oppoſing invariably the ambitious deſigns of the houſe of Orange. The former aſſerted, that the war could never be puſhed with vigour until a ſtadtholder directed the operations; and the other aſſerted, that the reſtoration of that dignity would be the ruin of liberty. Tumults aroſe in Zealand, and in particular at Middleburgh, where the mob aſſembled in a riotous manner, and demanded a captain-general of the houſe of Orange. They were inſtigated by the clergy, the faſt friends of that family; and the diſorder roſe to ſo dangerous a height, that the magiſtrates of Fluſhing, Middleburgh, and other towns, were depoſed. Nothing was worn but the Orange livery, and there was no ſecurity in the ſtreets without a ſcarf of this colour. Neceſſity obliged the ſtates of Zealand to fall in with the humour of the people; beſides, the influence of the houſe of Orange was ſo conſiderable in this aſſembly, that it was ſuppoſed their inclination likewiſe led them to repreſent the neceſſity of this meaſure to the ſtates of Holland. The infancy of the prince of Orange was, however, an objection to the propoſal; but this might be removed by ſubſtituting his couſin, the count de Naſſau, his lieutenant. Aware of the conſequences of popular commotions at ſo critical a juncture, the ſtates of Holland ſent four deputies to Zealand; but before their arrival at Middleburgh, the ſtates of Zealand had adjourned. They demanded that the aſſembly ſhould be convoked; the people, apprehenſive of the conſequences, oppoſed it, and beſieged the deputies in their houſes. At length they were forced to retire privately in the night, to avoid being ſacrificed to popular rage and fury *.

The populace in Zealand demand a ſtadtholder.

When the ſtates of Zealand again met, the deputies returned, under the eſcort of a party of ſoldiers, who conducted them ſafe to the aſſembly, and took poſſeſſion of the

* Baſnage, p. 293.

doors

doors, to keep off the mob. They laboured, with all the powers of reason and oratory, to display the fatal consequences of vesting any single person with the executive power, and the command of the sea and land-forces, at a time when faction ran so high as to endanger public liberty; but they could not obtain the concurrence of the states of Zealand, who appeared over-awed by the people, and influenced by the family of Orange. They departed with a general answer, and happily escaped being insulted by the people, who were brought into good humour by the resolute behaviour of the states. The dispute now lay between the two provincial states, and became so warm as to threaten a dissolution of the union of Utrecht. As to the other provinces, they appeared divided among themselves, some towns requiring one thing, some another, though a majority declared for a stadtholder, under limitations and restrictions, which were absolutely rejected by the Zealanders. At length, as if by mutual agreement, these civil contentions subsided, and yielded to the general ardour for prosecuting the war with vigour, and opposing the formidable armament which was equipped by the English to revenge the late disgrace.

A.D.1653. Towards the close of the year Tromp arrived in Holland, with a prodigious fleet of merchantmen under his convoy; and the gallant conduct obtained him the thanks of the states general. It was resolved to keep him in the command, and to augment his fleet with all possible dispatch. The enemy had called forth all their force, and the best officers in the kingdom, Monk and Dean assisted Blake in the command. De Ruyter was joined to Tromp, and they set sail, to convoy through the Channel a vast fleet of merchantmen, homeward-bound. It was the intention of the English to intercept this valuable convoy; accordingly they steered towards the isle of Rhé, where, on the 8th of February, they discovered by break of day the Dutch squadron. The fight began under Blake and Dean, seconded by twelve more ships, and the charge was furious, this small division standing the whole fire of the enemy. Never was any engagement more terrible or obstinate: Blake sought to retrieve the reputation he had lost, and Tromp to maintain the laurels he had won in the last battle. Neither side would yield the victory; the engagement was renewed for three days successively; the sea was covered with wrecks, the sun obscured with smoke, and the air pierced with the dreadful shouts and shrieks of the combatants, and the terrible thunder of the cannon. For whole hours the ships engaged board-and-board, and a dead calm happened, as if

A sea fight continues for three days.

nature

nature had suspended her operations to attend the event of the battle. After the utmost exertions of skill and intrepidity on both sides, Tromp, towards the evening of the third day, drew off his fleet, but in such good order, that he seemed rather to decline the farther effusion of human blood than yield the victory. His loss, however, amounted to eleven men of war, two thousand men were killed, and fourteen hundred taken; but the English fleet was in so shattered a condition as prevented the admiral's pursuing. Besides, his loss was nearly equal to the enemy's, and though he maintained his station, he could not be said to have gained a victory. The English, however, claimed it; and Blake, in his letter to the parliament, asserts, that, by the blessing of Providence, he had gained a victory, and taken a great number of prisoners. Bonfires were lighted in all the towns, and the Dutch prisoners conducted in triumph to Canterbury; yet, after all, it must be confessed that there was little cause for rejoicings. Van Tromp's fleet was inferior in number, as he had been forced to leave one division for the protection of the merchant-fleet; his powder and shot were exhausted, and the merchants clamorous to get out of the reach of danger: these were the reasons for his retiring; and he had sufficiently obtained his purpose, in frustrating the scheme of the English to crush, at one blow, the United Provinces, by the total destruction of their commerce [p].

On this occasion, Charles, king of England, wrote to M. Boreel, requesting that the states general would supply him with a squadron, in which he would embark with the officers round him, and either gain a victory or a period to all his misfortunes from the hands of his rebellious subjects; but little regard was paid to this compliment, which promised no great utility to the republic. The states preferred the thoughts of peace to proposals from which nothing could be expected besides the fruitless honour of having a king fighting their battles. A thousand difficulties, however, obstructed this laudable scheme. The English were endeavouring to draw the queen of Sweden into an alliance against the republic, and Van Buiningen found that princess and her ministers violently prejudiced against the Dutch, on his arrival in Sweden. He proceeded, however, to lay his instructions before the Oxenstierns, father and son, representing to them, that the treaties between the crown of Sweden and the republic engaged them mutually to support each other's interests. The Swedes replied, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and the authors of the war, by the treatment which

Negociations with Sweden and Denmark.

[p] La Vie de Tromp, p. 105.

the Engliſh ambaſſador had met with in Holland; an alliance purely defenſive could, therefore, lay the crown under no obligation of engaging in this war. Buiningen endeavoured to ſet the chancellor right in this particular, and oppoſed with all his might the intention of the court to ſend an embaſſy to London. He even threatened to quit Sweden if this reſolution was perſiſted in; but he was given to underſtand the queen was not to be directed where ſhe ſent, or to whom ſhe paid her compliments; all that the Dutch ambaſſador could obtain, was, a kind of promiſe that Sweden would obſerve a neutrality.

Finding all his endeavours to procure a renewal of the treaty of 1640 fruitleſs, Buiningen turned his thoughts to the court of Denmark, where he promiſed himſelf more ſucceſs, becauſe it rarely happens but the crowns of Sweden and Denmark embrace oppoſite intereſts. Chriſtina, jealous of his negociations with her rival, now offered her mediation to procure peace with England and the republic. Buiningen liſtened to the propoſal, but at the ſame time privately purſued his application to the court of Copenhagen, in which he met with greater difficulties than he imagined, from the extreme circumſpection of the king and miniſtry. Theſe the Dutchman ſtrove to remove by ſtratagem, which might have proved a ſevere blow to the Engliſh commerce. A fleet of above twenty ſhips of that nation was then to return from the Baltic, laden with naval ſtores. Apprehenſive of being intercepted by the Dutch ſquadron cruiſing in the Sound, the captains deſired permiſſion of the king to ſhelter themſelves in the harbour of Copenhagen: leave was accordingly granted, and the Dutch envoy had influence enough over the ſovereign, and ſo thorough a knowlege of his prevalent paſſion, avarice, that he perſuaded the king to ſeize the ſhips, and confiſcate their cargoes; hoping by this ſtep to produce an irreconcileable breach between Denmark and England. Some writers, indeed, charge the whole tranſaction on the king's own perfidy and avarice; but Baſnage affirms, and circumſtances corroborate the allegation, that it proceeded from the perſuaſion of the Dutch envoy. The ſpirited conduct, however, of the parliament deprived the Daniſh monarch of the fruits of his treachery; an Engliſh ſquadron appeared in the Baltic, and ſoon forced him to make reſtitution; which at the ſame time retarded his declaration in favour of the republic. Chriſtina likewiſe co-operated to fruſtrate the propoſed alliance, and uſed every intrigue and chicane of the cabinet, in favour of the parliament; but in the end M. Keifer, the Dutch envoy, who ſucceeded Buiningen, ſurmounted every obſtruction, and finiſhed the treaty with

with Frederick III. in consequence of which, the king stipulated to equip twenty ships of war, and the states general to pay an annual subsidy of one hundred and eighty thousand rixdollars. The treaty was offensive and defensive, and the Dutch drew this advantage from it, that the English were excluded the benefit of trading to the Baltic. In other respects the alliance proved useless; for the king was so apprehensive of his own coasts, that he would never permit his ships of war to join the Hollanders, or proceed to any distance against the common enemy, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances and complaints of his allies [q].

Treaty with Denmark.

Such was the situation of the republic with respect to the North, when Cromwell rejected the proposed mediation of the crown of Sweden, and it was generally believed that all thoughts of peace were laid aside; however, the universal discontent that reigned in the provinces, and the elevation of M. de Wit to the office of pensionary of Holland, in the room of M. Pauw, deceased, made great changes in the politics of Holland. M. de Wit was the son of that burgomaster of Dordrecht, who had been imprisoned by the prince of Orange. He was the staunch friend of liberty, a personal enemy to the house of Orange, and a strenuous advocate for peace with England, which he knew to be the most effectual method of curbing the ambition of this family, and silencing the public clamours for a stadtholder. On his first coming into the administration, he exerted himself diligently to carry this important point, and to finish a war which answered no other purpose but exhausting the finances and ruining the commerce. For the greater security, he exacted an oath from all the deputies, that they would religiously keep secret the propositions he was about to make; after which he proposed entering upon a negociation with the parliament of England, without imparting the design to the other provinces. Holland supported the great burthen of the war; it was, therefore, but reasonable this province should have a principal share in negociating a peace; but it was necessary to take some steps before the design should meet with obstruction from the other provinces. De Wit's proposition was admitted more readily than he could expect, on M. Doleman's shewing letters which he had received from general Monk, assuring him that overtures of peace would be well received at the court of London. Leyden alone opposed the measure, urging that it was a gross violation of the treaty of Utrecht; but this objection was superceded, and the states of Hol-

De Wit made pensionary.

[q] Basnage, p. 301.

Negociations for a peace with England.

land wrote privately to the parliament, lamenting that two powerful maritime powers, connected by the ties of liberty and religion, should employ their whole force in destroying each other: a variety of other reflections were added; and the states concluded with requesting that the parliament would please to appoint the time and place for a negociation; otherwise they must commit their cause to Providence, and leave the event of a just and necessary defence to the Almighty, who would not fail to punish that pride and ambition which should occasion the effusion of so much Christian blood. All the Dutch writers unanimously deny that the republic supplicated peace at this time, as is asserted by the English historians; they proposed it indeed, but spoke with the freedom and manly courage of equals, whose moderation, more than their inability or fear, rendered them desirous of terminating a ruinous quarrel, in which both sides were losers. Be that as it may, their overtures were well received by Cromwell, who agreed that a negociation should be brought upon the carpet. The states appointed three deputies, Beverning, Neuport, and Vander Peter, to negociate a treaty with Cromwell, without consulting the parliament; but before the embassy set out, or the instructions were drawn up, admiral Tromp, with above ninety ships of war, fell in with an English fleet of the same number, but greatly superior in size and weight of metal, under the command of Monk, Dean, Pen, and Lawson. Before he set sail, he complained of the inequality of his strength, the chief part of his fleet consisting of light merchantmen, converted into men of war, and commanded by the very officers who had been taxed with cowardice in former engagements. To shew his obedience and desire of serving his country, Tromp accepted the command, and acquainted the states that he could not answer for the consequence of a battle. His remonstrance produced a resolution to equip with all expedition a squadron of thirty large ships; but before this armament was got ready, Tromp's fate, and that of the republic, were decided. His instructions were, to take under his convoy an outward-bound fleet of merchantmen, and to escort back to Holland another fleet of near three hundred trading vessels. This commission he executed with so much address, that not a single ship fell into the enemies hands, though he was closely pursued to the north coast of Scotland. Piqued at their disappointment, the English wreaked their vengeance on a fleet of fishing-boats, and spread terror along the coasts of Holland. Van Tromp, determined upon retribution, sailed for the Downs to fight the enemy; but not finding them in that station, he sailed for the coast of Flanders,

Flanders, where the Engliſh fleet was deſcried. They immediately engaged with equal alacrity, and fought with incredible fury till night interpoſed. Dean was killed in the beginning of the action, but his loſs was concealed, and the battle renewed next day with freſh vigour. Lawſon charged with the blue ſquadron, conſiſting of forty ſtout ſhips, with ſuch impetuoſity as forced the Dutch line, and would have taken de Ruyter's ſhip, had he not been ſeaſonably relieved by Van Tromp, who advanced through the thickeſt of the enemies fire to his aſſiſtance. Tromp was engaged by Monk, and the battle raged from morning to night, each party being ignorant of the loſs they ſuſtained amidſt impenetrable clouds of ſmoke. At laſt ammunition failed, the Dutch gradually ſlackened fire, and at laſt withdrew, all Tromp's menaces and perſuaſions being unable to bring his officers back to the charge. Their fury ſunk beneath the well-conducted ardour of the Engliſh, the weight of whoſe metal gave them great advantages. Tromp had been twice taken, but his own and de Ruyter's bravery reſcued him; ſix of his beſt ſhips were ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; yet nothing but the want of ammunition, and of ſpirit in his captains, prevented his renewing the fight, and accepting the defiance offered next day by the Engliſh. All the Engliſh hiſtorians agree that the Dutch ſlackened fire and withdrew by three in the afternoon; but it is certain that night ſeparated the combatants, and poſſibly ſaved the Dutch fleet from entire deſtruction, as it furniſhed Tromp with the opportunity of taking ſhelter behind the banks of Weilingen, where he could not be purſued.

Another ſea-fight, in which the Dutch are defeated.

Now the victorious enemy rode triumphant before the Texel, until the Dutch fleet aſſembled at Fluſhing, from whence Tromp and De Ruyter ſent remonſtrances to the ſtates of the inequality of their ſtrength. They deſired either to be recalled, or put upon a footing with the enemy in weight of metal, and force of ſhips, and alſo that ſtore-ſhips might attend the fleet, as the want of ammunition had cauſed the loſs of the two laſt battles. They deſired payment of the ſeamen's wages, a recompence for the wounded, and rewards for thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves. De Ruyter, in particular, declared, that he would no longer hazard his reputation, until the fleet ſhould be augmented with large ſhips. The ſtates promiſed to pay due regard to theſe remonſtrances, and immediately ſent to the other provinces, to borrow a ſum ſufficient for equipping thirty firſt-rate ſhips, for which the admiralty had orders to provide ſeamen, ſtores, rigging, and other neceſſaries, and

Complaints of the Dutch admirals.

to be directed in those particulars by Tromp, de Ruyter, and de Wit.

Tumults in different parts of Holland.

Yet could not these vigorous resolutions appease the murmurs of the people. The provinces were overwhelmed with consternation, on seeing the armament they deemed invincible, defeated, shattered, and blocked up in their harbours. Van Tromp's complaints, and the instigation of the Orange party, increased the popular discontent: it was insinuated, that the republic was betrayed, and an unequal force sent against the enemy, only to shew the necessity of making peace upon any conditions [r]. To this flame, the negociation entered upon with Cromwell, by Buiningen, added fuel; and it now burst out with such violence as threatened the ruin of the provinces. The enemies of the house of Orange durst not presume to mention peace, for fear of exasperating the people; and the states, contrary to inclination, were forced to proceed with redoubled vigour in repairing the fleet, as the best means of appeasing the public discontent, and obtaining reasonable terms from the enemy.

But what chiefly excited public commotions was the opposition made by de Wit and the Louvestien party to the creation of a stadtholder. This faction wished for a peace, for the protection of France, and the friendship of England; they were consequently enemies to the house of Stuart: but Van Tromp was popular, he espoused the house of Orange, wished for a stadtholder, and the continuance of the war upon such a footing as would give some chance to his talents, and an opportunity of retrieving his glory. An accident happened that gave vent to the popular discontent. The young prince of Orange was to return from Breda, and the children at the Hague formed themselves into companies, with Orange standards, and proceeded to meet the prince on his journey. As the prince did not arrive on the expected day, the young soldiers separated at night, and retired quietly to their several houses: however, that they might not entirely lose the expences bestowed in colours, standards, and military ensigns, they assembled next day, and appeared in arms before the palace. The magistrates gave orders they should be chastised; their parents flew to the assistance of their children; and, in revenge, attacked the house of M. de Wit, whom they imagined the most violent enemy of the house of Orange. The tumult could not be suppressed without application to military force: a party of soldiers was called in, and crouds

[r] La Vie de Tromp, p. 105.

of

of the mutineers, men, women, and children, were thrown into priſon. Now the whole province was in a flame, and it was neceſſary to keep ſtrong guards in the towns, to awe the multitude, who threatened deſtruction to all government. At Sluys all precautions proved fruitleſs; the herring-fiſhers, incenſed at their being deprived of bread by the Engliſh, took arms, ſeized on the arſenal and magazines, mounted the cannon on the ramparts, fired upon the troops brought to quell the mutiny, and ſhut the gates againſt Brederode, mareſchal of the camp, ſent by the ſtates to apply effectual remedies to this dangerous diſorder. In this ſituation ſtood affairs for ſeveral days. At laſt a happy ſtratagem put an end to a riot, which might have produced the moſt fatal conſequences. A meſſenger from the ſtates came to the gates, pretending that he was charged with a ſpecial commiſſion, upon which he was introduced to the town-houſe, and the people were ſummoned by the alarm-bell to attend. They all flocked from their houſes and poſts, eager to hear the propoſitions; while the meſſenger was, in a loud voice, reading a paper he held in his hand, nine companies of foot ſeized on the gates, entered the town, took priſoners the ringleaders, without reſiſtance, and terrified the inhabitants into ſubmiſſion before they had exchanged a blow [t].

This tumult was no ſooner ſuppreſſed than another appeared in the Texel, where the count de Naſſau arrived, on advice that an expedition was preparing in England againſt this iſland and the Briel. He was received by the people as their deliverer, and crouds of men and women went to meet him, ſtrewing the way with flowers. Theſe honours ſhewn the count, and the liberty he had taken of aſſembling ſome troops without orders, gave umbrage to the ſtates of Holland, who beheld with ſurprize the authority he aſſumed in a province where he had no legal power. The prudence, however, diſplayed by the count ſatisfied the ſtates; for he retired upon finding his preſence had given offence, and aſſured the ſtates, that his intention was only to animate and rouſe the drooping ſpirits of the people, terrified at the thoughts of an invaſion.

Theſe tumults had one very unexpected conſequence. It inſpired the magiſtrates of Haerlem with the reſolution of electing a ſtadtholder. They accordingly inſtructed their penſionary to lay before the ſtates their determination, to deſire their concurrence, and to aſſure them it would not be long poſſible to withſtand the eagerneſs of the people in

[t] Baſnage, p. 308.

favour of the house of Orange. The states were surprised at seeing a pensionary imprisoned by the late prince of Orange, charged with instructions which they believed inconsistent with his principles, and demanding the re-establishment of a stadtholder. But his conduct soon effaced their suspicions: he communicated his instructions to M. de Wit before he laid them before the states, and was so convinced by the arguments of that able statesman, that he changed his sentiments, and prevailed on the magistrates of Haerlem to drop their intention.

The Zealanders renew their clamours for a stadtholder.

The Zealanders were more firm and resolute in their proceedings. In the former year they had demanded a stadtholder, persuading themselves they would be supported by the states of Friseland and Groningen: they even doubted not but these provinces would thank them for so reasonable a proposition. The dispute was carried on with greater violence than the preceding year; but the address of de Wit, and the firm opposition of the states of Holland frustrated all the endeavours of the Zealanders. But, to enter justly into the politics of Holland, it will be necessary to take a short view of the state of England, and the intrigues of Cromwell. The old parliament was now dissolved, and the legislative power lodged in the hands of Cromwell and the council of state. Beverning, and the other Dutch deputies, had made him frequent overtures of peace; but his behaviour was always supercilious, and his answers equivocal. Nevertheless, no sooner were the deputies gone from his presence than Cromwell's agents insinuated, that the Dutch were not to judge of his sentiments from his exterior appearance, which he adapted to circumstances. Ignorant of the true meaning of this duplicity, the deputies were, above measure, confounded to find, after a tedious negociation, that all their pacific conditions were rejected, and they were told that no peace was to be expected, until the Hollanders consented to unite both states so closely, as that they might become one people, and form one united commonwealth. This proposition appeared equally absurd and insolent. One of the deputies, Newport, observed, that it seemed to be exactly copied from the parliament's instructions to their commissioners in Scotland; concluding that Cromwell proposed treating the republic as the parliament had treated the Scottish nation. It was Cromwell's design to prevent the election of a stadtholder, and to procure the dismission of Van Tromp, whom he knew to be a strenuous partizan of the house of Orange: he therefore intimated, that an accommodation might be effected on these conditions. He hinted, that if the Dutch consented to the union proposed,

Cromwell's politics.

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an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities would enſue, a free trade be reſtored, and the privileges of fiſhing adjuſted to the entire ſatisfaction of the United Provinces. Some writers pretend to treat this whole negociation as ideal; but what proves its reality, is the advice ſent to the ſtates by the commiſſioners, of all the proceedings with Cromwell's agent, and the conſequences of that notion, which had almoſt defeated the whole deſign. The correſpondence was diſcovered by the Orange faction; and Cromwell concluding it could not be long kept ſecret in England, where it might ruin him with his party, aſſumed a more ſevere brow, and next time he met the commiſſioners, declared, that ſuch was the ſituation of affairs in Holland, that England could have no ſecurity in treating with the republic. Nor was it long before the commiſſioners received from the council of ſtate an explicit explanation of the former demands, in the following terms: that the two republics ſhould coaleſce; the whole united dominions be ſubject to one government, compoſed of the natives of both countries, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be to their mutual advantage; and that each ſhould, without any diſtinction, enjoy the ſame privileges and immunities with the natives and inhabitants of the reſpective countries, as to houſes, lands, poſſeſſions, commerce, fiſhing, and every other particular. Such was the ſcheme of this political age, mad with projects, and inventive in plans of republican government, which, if poſſible, they would have eſtabliſhed over the face of the whole earth[u]. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe, that the propoſal was highly reſented by the deputies, who regarded it as throwing ridicule on their character, or the ſcheme of an enthuſiaſt. Without, however, giving Cromwell a definitive anſwer, they acquained the ſtates of Holland with the offered conditions of peace, and patiently waited for farther inſtructions.

A ſea-fight.

It was during this ſuſpence, that the famous battle was fought, which brought the war to a ſpeedy iſſue. After the laſt action, de Wit and the Dutch government made ſurpriſing efforts to recover the ſevere blow they had received, and put the fleet on a more reſpectable footing than before. Several large ſhips were added, completely manned and provided; every pretext for quitting the ſervice was taken from Van Tromp and the other admirals, who now took the command of a fleet of one hundred ſail of fine veſſels, all fit for action. No motives either of hope or fear were wanting to the ſailors; their pay was doubled;

[u] Smollett, tom. iii. Guthrie, tom. iii. Baſnage, p. 312.

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the ſhips were crowded with volunteers of the firſt faſhion; and nothing leſs was expected than that the enemy would be obliged to ſcreen themſelves in their harbours. Young Van Tromp, who had deſtroyed an Engliſh man of war in the Streights, and diſtinguiſhed his intrepidity and valour, was ordered home with his ſquadron, and every meaſure puſhed to the utmoſt, to oblige the haughty uſurper to liſten to reaſonable propoſals. The enemy ſtill blocked up the Texel, the coaſts of Holland were beſieged, and the harbours ſo narrowly watched, that all the merchantmen fell into the hands of the Engliſh. It was of the utmoſt conſequence to oblige them to retire, as they equally diſtreſſed trade and the government, by exciting clamours among the people, who exclaimed, that they were ſacrificed to the treachery of the ſtates, and cowardice of the naval officers; a reflection that was pointed at the heads of thoſe captains who had been accuſed of negligence in the laſt engagement. The Dutch armament was now in two diviſions, under Van Tromp and de Wit, in different harbours; and the great difficulty was, how to effect a junction, without being ſeparately attacked by the enemy. Before they ſet ſail, great debates aroſe in the ſtates concerning the inſtructions to be given their admirals. Some oppoſed venturing another engagement, and urged it would be ſufficient to convoy the homeward-bound trade, and particularly the rich fleet from India, which would enable the republic to equip ſuch a navy as the enemy could not preſume to face: others preſſed hard for an engagement, affirming, that the public murmurs were only to be ſilenced by the din of war, and the roaring of cannon; a victory, they ſaid, would infallibly reſtore peace and tranquillity. The latter opinion prevailed, and Van Tromp had orders to fight with the firſt opportunity. With eighty-five ſail this admiral ſteered along the coaſt of Zealand, and on the 31ſt of July diſcovered the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of ninety-four fine ſhips, under the conduct of Monk, Lawſon, and Penn, at the diſtance of five miles a-head. By the ſhifting of the wind, the enemy gained the weather-gage, a circumſtance which determined Van Tromp to avoid an engagement, make all poſſible ſail for the Texel, and there join the diviſion commanded by de Wit and de Ruyter: happily for him a ſtorm aroſe which prevented the Engliſh from forcing him to an engagement, and he embraced the opportunity to effect the intended junction. His fleet was now augmented to one hundred and twenty ſail, with which he proceeded in queſt of the Engliſh, deſcried them, on the 9th of Auguſt, between Scheveling and the Meuſe, and immediately

mediately gave the signal for battle. Tromp took his station on the right, de Ruyter led the left, Evertzen was in the centre, and the command of the rear was assigned to de Wit. At seven in the morning the two fleets engaged, with equal ardor, within sight of the shore, which was crouded with inhabitants, eager to be spectators of an action, which should determine the fate of the republic. Both behaved with wonderful address, and fought with such prudent and subdued courage, as never before appeared in any sea-fight. The cannon of above two hundred men of war fired incessantly; the sea was covered with blood and wrecks of ships, either burnt or shattered to pieces. Tromp, agreeable to custom, pierced the enemies line, and put it in confusion; but, on his return, encountered admiral Goodson; here he was surrounded by the enemies ships, and deserted by his own; but he fought with such desperate fury as would have extricated him from this difficulty, had he not been unfortunately shot dead with a musket ball, as he was gallantly giving orders on the quarter deck[w]. His last words were, "Take courage, my boys, I have run my course with glory." Brederode took the command, concealed the admiral's death from the rest of the fleet, and behaved in a manner worthy of the successor of the brave Van Tromp. The Dutch fire-ships made great havock among the enemy, and a terrible conflict happened between the divisions commanded by Lawson and de Ruyter. At last the Dutch admiral's ship was shattered to pieces, she was towed out of the line, and de Ruyter, shifting his flag to a frigate, returned to the battle. But all his efforts could not restore the spirits of the seamen: it was now known that Tromp was dead, and an universal despondency succeeded, as if victory had depended wholly upon his arms; several ships quitted the line; the whole was in confusion; and a rout ensued, with terrible slaughter of men, and destruction of ships. Agreeable to the best attested accounts, the Dutch lost twenty-six men of war; four thousand men were killed, and two thousand taken prisoners, half of whom the humanity of the conquerors saved from being swallowed up by the ocean. In a word, the victory was complete, but purchased at a high price. Most of the English ships were disabled; some were entirely destroyed; they had six hundred men killed, and near a thousand wounded, many of whom never recovered, and the whole fleet was in so wretched plight as to be unable to pursue the blow, and de-

Tromp killed.

Dutch defeated.

[w] La Vie de Tromp, p. 152.

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ſtroy the broken remains of the enemy in their flight. The United Provinces were overwhelmed with grief and conſternation, while every town in England blazed with bonfires, and rung with rejoicings. The loſs of Tromp was alone ſufficient cauſe of mourning; but as that hero had many enemies, the univerſality of the deſpondency evinced, that it flowed from more general misfortunes than the death of a private man, as much feared and deteſted by one party, as he was adored by another.

The ſituation of Holland after this defeat.

The republic had paid dear for the freedom of trade and navigation of the Texel; but they reſolved to profit by it. The Engliſh fleet withdrew from the coaſts of Holland, in conſequence of the late battle, and de Ruyter was now ordered to convoy a vaſt fleet of merchantmen out of the Channel. This proſpect of reviving commerce fortified the Dutch againſt every misfortune, and the flattering promiſes of cardinal Mazarin inſpired them with courage, under the preſſure of a ſignal defeat, to diſpute the terms preſcribed by England, before the laſt battle. Yet Cromwell was appriſed how impoſſible it was for the Dutch government to continue the war while the republic was divided by faction, and the people clamorous for a ſtadtholder. All their preparations gave no diſturbance to the penetrating uſurper. He beheld with unconcern their efforts to repair the fleet, the promotion among general officers, the rewards given to merit, the generous flame that ſeemed to warm every breaſt, and the appointment of the celebrated Opdam, to the command of lieutenant-admiral, in the room of the deceaſed Tromp: if he regained the advantages which Mazarin had lately acquired over the ballance of Europe, he was ſenſible that all his other wiſhes would follow. The ſtates perceived his deſign; they knew his ability, perſeverance, and courage. They ſaw his great preparations, and reſolved to anticipate their conſequences. Accordingly, two deputies were diſpatched to London, with orders, however, poſitively to reject the ſcheme of union propoſed by Cromwell. When Nieuport, Beverning, and Jonqueſtal, had laid their inſtructions before the council of ſtate, they were agreeably ſurpriſed to find Cromwell relax conſiderably with reſpect to the coalition of the two nations, and in ſome other ſevere demands; particularly as to the right of fiſhing upon the Britiſh coaſts: but two very diſagreeable articles were now added, importing, that the ſtates ſhould engage to exclude the prince of Orange from all the employments held by his anceſtors, eſpecially thoſe of ſtadtholder and captain-general; and that they would limit the navy of the repub-

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lic to a certain number of ships, not to be exceeded without leave from England. These points were disputed by the commissioners, with all the arguments in their power; but finding the protector inflexible with respect to the article regarding the prince of Orange, they desired leave to lay the state of the negociation before their constituents, for which purpose Beverning returned to Holland.

A.D. 1654.

Peace proposed and obstructed by a variety of difficulties.

Peace with England was the wish of every dispassionate lover of his country, and the chief object of the attention of the states general. The Zealanders, however, still insisted on the re-establishment of a stadtholder, and a close union with France, by which they imagined the war might be conducted to advantage, and the haughty enemy reduced in a short time to the necessity of relaxing in the rigid conditions they now prescribed; but Holland constantly opposed this measure, as dangerous to liberty, and unprofitable to the republic. The states general perceived the difficulty of equipping an armament, able to cope with the English. They were aware of the inconveniencies under which a republican government laboured in all disputes with a despotic enemy. Cromwell, though his situation in the supreme power was unsteady and irksome, yet managed with such address as to acquire an absolute authority. The legislative and executive power being vested in the same person, action was as quick as thought, and the measure no sooner dictated than it was executed with the promptness peculiar to monarchy; for in this light England was now to be regarded. Besides the inability of bringing the war to a happy issue, they were sensible of the inconveniencies of the attempt, which would be violently opposed by a strong party, unless their favourite views of restoring the stadtholdership were indulged. In a word, they had a moral certainty, that the prosecution of the war could only terminate in the ruin of the finances, and in the destruction of commerce, without a single counterpoising advantage. It was upon this account the return of Beverning, with proposals of peace, gave great satisfaction; and the exclusive article respecting the house of Orange, was kept a profound secret. The mysterious behaviour attending this article gave rise to an opinion that it was supported, if not originally proposed by the pensioner de Wit; but when the affair came to be publicly known, he cleared himself of this accusation, and proved that peace was to be purchased on no other condition [h].

[h] Basnage, p. 329.

When

When the commiſſioners arrived at the Hague, they found the ſtates diſpoſed to accept peace, even with this limitation, provided Cromwell would relax in the article reſtricting the number of ſhipping which the republic was allowed to maintain; however the conſent of the other provinces was abſolutely neceſſary, though the negociation had been ſet on foot without their knowlege. As the ceremony of aſſembling all the provincial ſtates was tedious, the ſtates of Holland ſent Beverning back in the ſame frigate which had brought him from England, that the ardor of Cromwell for peace might not cool, or any obſtruction be thrown in the way of the negociation. This meaſure gave offence to the other provinces, who thought themſelves entitled to an equal ſhare in the conduct of this important affair. They accuſed the ſtates of Holland of an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht, by ſeparating themſelves from the other provinces in the cloſe, as they had done in the commencement of the negociation; and Beverning was regarded in England not as the ambaſſador of the republic, but of one province only. Though he had been only a few days abſent, the court of Cromwell put on a new appearance, and the general voice of the nation ſeemed to declare for the proſecution of the war. Thurloe complained, that the Dutchman was in no character, had no inſtructions, credentials, retinue, or compliment, in the name of the republic, to the protector on his elevation; while Beverning deſired that this defect might be imputed to the earneſt deſire of the ſtates to loſe no opportunity of promoting peace, and ſtopping the effuſion of blood, and deſtruction of the human ſpecies.

It was, perhaps, a lucky circumſtance for the Hollanders that Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, endeavoured by all poſſible intrigues to thwart the negociation. Cromwell, who had his deſigns upon Spain, propoſed no advantage to that court, from the ruin of the trade and navigation of the United Provinces. The Spaniard offered large ſubſidies to the protector, and gave him hopes that Dunkirk would be put into his hands, if he continued the war. He doubted not but ſuch propoſitions would prove flattering to Cromwell's pride; but he was miſtaken. The protector amuſed Spain, only to procure the better terms from Holland, and demonſtrate to the republic, that he could ballance the alliance of France, by oppoſing to that nation the whole power of the Spaniſh monarchy.

While matters were in this train, commiſſioners were appointed in Holland, to examine the propoſitions brought by

by Beverning; but after they had reduced them to tolerable order, and made them conſiſtent with the articles drawn up at the Hague, St. John and Strictland, the Engliſh envoys, raiſed up freſh difficulties. New inſtructions were ſent to Beverning, and he had orders to ſolicit the ratification ſettled at the Hague, and have it inſerted in the treaty: at length, the provinces finding that Spain had made overtures to Cromwell, determined to veſt Nieuport, Beverning, and Jongſtal, with the character of ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries, in order to flatter the pride of the new protector. The chief remaining difficulty was the excluſion of the prince of Orange, without which Cromwell declared he could think no engagements with the ſtates ſecure. The ambition of that houſe, and their connections with the Stuarts, would always give diſturbance to the republic and England, unleſs the prince was effectually cut off from all expectations of ever filling the offices held by his anceſtors. So little hope was there that the provinces in general would ever be brought to conſent to this article, that it was religiouſly concealed from Jongſtal, who was a Friſelander, and tranſacted between Cromwell and Beverning, the latter promiſing in the name of the ſtates of Holland, that they would never conſent to the elevation of the prince to the ſtadtholderſhip. Cromwell thought himſelf ſecure of the republic, once he obtained the promiſe of Holland, the moſt wealthy and powerful of all the provinces; it was, however, certain, that Holland alone could not reſiſt the other provinces, without a direct breach of the union, and expoſing the republic to the moſt dreadful calamities of a civil war [i].

Conditions of peace, whereby the prince of Orange is excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip.

At length, after tedious conferences, the following articles were ſigned by the Dutch ambaſſadors; that the republic ſhould in no ſhape aſſiſt, aid, or abet, the houſe of Stuart, or the adherents of that unfortunate family; that her ſhips ſhould pay the required compliment to the Britiſh flag; that due puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the cruel perpetrators of the horrid maſſacre at Amboyna; that eighty-five thouſand pounds ſhould be paid to the Engliſh, as an indemnification of their loſſes; that the iſland of Poleron ſhould be reſtored to the Eaſt India company; and that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to London, to adjuſt farther particulars, relative to the tragical affair in the Eaſt Indies, for which reaſonable ſatisfaction had never yet been made to England. The ratification immediately ſucceeded the ſigning the treaty; but now the myſtery be-

[i] Baſnage, p. 329. Le Clerc, tom. ii.

tween

tween Cromwell and the province of Holland was to appear, with reſpect to the excluſion of the prince of Orange. Some writers aſſert, that the ſecret lay between Cromwell, de Wit, and Beverning, having never been communicated to the deputies of the cities, who expreſſed the utmoſt aſtoniſhment when it was mentioned by the penſioner, for their approbation. The peremptory tone of Cromwell vindicated the conduct of the penſioner. His envoys told the ſtates, that as they accepted or rejected this condition, they choſe peace or war; either was in their option: ſuch was the protector's categorical anſwer. De Wit enlarged upon the ſubject, with all the arguments of reaſon and rhetoric; he ſhewed the neceſſity of peace, and the impoſſibility of obtaining any mitigation in this article. At length he carried his point by a majority, and a ſolemn act was paſſed, whereby the prince of Orange was excluded the ſtadtholderſhip, and the other high offices, held with ſo much dignity by his anceſtors. This act of excluſion was ſent to England; but de Wit, foreſeeing it would one day involve his country in civil diſſenſion, charged the ambaſſadors to make one laſt effort to ſatisfy Cromwell, by a general treaty, without particularizing the excluſion of the prince of Orange; but all remonſtrances on this head proved fruitleſs. The act was no leſs neceſſary to the politics of Oliver, with reſpect to the Stuart family, than to the completion of his triumph over the houſe of Orange, and the republic of the United Provinces. In this manner was peace concluded, ſigned, and ratified, little to the honour or advantage of the republic, as it laid the foundation of thoſe unhappy diviſions, which almoſt involved the provinces in ruin.

Though the excluſion-act was kept as profound as could poſſibly be expected, where the affair was intruſted to the diſcretion of near one hundred different perſons, yet it could not be long concealed from the princeſs governante of Orange, who was ſo deeply intereſted. It even took air in the cities, and occaſioned ſome popular commotions at the Hague. No ſooner was the princeſs acquainted with this article of the treaty than ſhe preſented a ſtrong remonſtance to the ſtates general, ſigned by herſelf, the grandmother, and all the guardians of the young prince. In this, they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at the unprecedented, unprovoked injury done to the prince, in excluding him from an authority, which had been poſſeſſed with ſo much glory and advantage to the republic by his anceſtors. They repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the violence offered to the treaty of Utrecht, the privileges of the other

The princeſs of Orange remonſtrates againſt the act of excluſion.

other six provinces, and particularly the insult offered to the tender age of the prince, and to the sex of his female guardians. They exhorted their high mightinesses to interpose in behalf of the infant, and prevent so gross an affront to a child of his birth, expectations, and promising qualities, the representative of those heroes who had spilt their blood in the glorious cause of liberty, and defence of the freedom and religion of the provinces. They concluded, with observing the applause which such an act of justice would meet with from the world and their own consciences, the unhappy consequences which it might obviate, and the retribution they might expect as soon as the prince was of sufficient age to thank his protectors. To the same purpose was a letter sent to the states by his electoral highness of Brandenburg, but neither produced any effect. The resolution was taken; it was powerfully supported, and was now irrevocable, unless they run the hazard of incurring the resentment of Cromwell, and of being taxed with levity and want of firmness and constancy.

The people discontented.

But the remonstrances of the princesses, though not to be disregarded, were of less importance than the discontent of the people, and the violent opposition of the provinces. All protested with one voice against the act of exclusion. The deputy from Friseland entered a protest, with the secretary to the states general, against the secret negociation with Oliver, and the iniquitous exclusion of the prince of Orange, by which Holland had given a violent stroke to the liberties of the republic, the articles of the union, and had shewn herself equally unjust and ungrateful to the house of Orange. This protest was, however, condemned by the states of the province, though they were prevailed on soon after, by the influence of the count de Nassau, to enter another more bitter and severe, in which they complained of M. de Wit personally, as the first author and projector of this iniquitous act, as they were pleased to term it. Zealand shewed no less vivacity and attachment to the house of Orange; Guelderland was more moderate, but in the same interest; Overyssel, though torn by domestic broils, entered into the sentiments of the other provinces; and Utrecht embraced the same cause, though with less warmth, and with more caution and reserve: as to Groningen, we are not told what part this province took in the dispute [1].

[1] Basnage, p. 442.

Negociations with Cromwell.

Holland opposed itself vigorously to this combination, which threatened the dissolution of the union, and the very being of the republic, by exciting a general ferment in the minds of the people, and commotions which it would be difficult to appease. Before the states entered upon any opposition, they sent instructions to the ambassadors in London, once more to try their influence with Cromwell, to procure some mitigation in the act of exclusion, thereby to restore tranquillity to the provinces; but the protector was so incensed at farther applications, and what he regarded as an equivocation of the treaty, that he threatened to renew the war unless the act was immediately put into his hands, and he received it accordingly. The next step was to procure a letter from Cromwell to the states of Zealand and the other provinces, demonstrating the necessity, as well as the utility of the peace; but this epistle produced no effect, and it was fully answered by the Zealanders, and afterwards sent for the perusal of the states general. Holland objected to this unheard-of proceeding, affirming, that the protector's letter ought to have been communicated to the states before an answer was returned; presuming it now could answer no purpose, except that of blowing up the sparks of discord.

In order to regain some degree of popularity, the states of Holland went to make an apology to the princess of Orange, assuring her highness, that no disrespect to the family, but the urgent necessity of the state, had forced them into such a measure, equally disagreeable to them as to the warmest friends of the house of Orange. She received the apology in the most gracious manner, and returned such an answer as gave the states the highest opinion of her moderation, prudence, and sweetness of disposition. Far from reproaching them with what was now irrevocable, she only lamented the unhappy circumstances that rendered such a measure necessary, and exhorted the deputies to apply their utmost endeavours to restore the public peace and tranquillity. The states appointed commissioners more accurately to examine this affair; and, soon after, their apology was published, by the name of Deductions, or Inferences from the State of Affairs. In this piece was examined, whether Holland had a power of entering upon a separate negociation with Cromwell, and how far this province had the right of sovereignty, independent of the other provinces included in the union; the whole design was to prove the affirmative from positive facts, and the particular declaration of the king of Spain relative to this province. Though the arguments were specious, the wrong principle upon which

which those opinions was founded, appeared to every attentive reader. By acknowleging that the abdication of the catholic king vested this province with sovereignty, they acknowleged the hereditary right of the kings of Spain, which could not be destroyed by any act of a particular prince, who had no power to give away the right of his successors. Besides, what had this abdication to do with the article of the union of Utrecht, whereby all the provinces were bound not to enter upon any separate war or peace, treaty or alliance, negociation or alienation, without the joint consent of the other provinces. This writing was severely censured, and several bitter criticisms upon it were published; but no one thought of attacking the foundation and demonstrating the fallacy of the principles. Guelderland, Friseland, and Zealand taxed the states of Holland with ingratitude and arbitrary proceedings; they retorted the charge; the provinces were filled with factions; the republic was on the brink of dissolution; and the ambassadors, who had carried on the negociation, and signed the treaty, in the most mortifying disgrace [b].

Affairs with Denmark.

In this situation of affairs, happily for the provinces, the conduct of the king of Denmark engaged part of the public attention, and diverted it from a dispute, which, from its warmth and acrimony, threatened danger to the state, and particularly to de Wit, the ambassadors, and the projectors and agents in this new treaty. It was before observed, that king Frederic had not complied with a single article of the treaty of alliance formed with the republic, notwithstanding he received punctual payments of a large subsidy. He now added ingratitude to treachery. To extricate the king from the difficulties in which he was engaged with the parliament of England, by the seizure of a fleet of merchantmen belonging to that nation, the states general had indemnified the English merchants, in hopes thereby of more easily attaching that monarch to their interest, and enabling him to execute the treaty with the republic. Frederick, however, not only evaded the treaty, but the payment of the money advanced for his use and conveniency; after which he entered into a close alliance with Cromwell, leaving the states general to exclaim against his injustice and perfidy. In a word, this double dealing of the king of Denmark proved of the greatest advantage to the united provinces; it silenced their private animosities for a time, though it by no means re-

[b] Le Clerc, p. 84. tom. ii.

moved the cause, or extinguished those sparks of discord which flamed out with redoubled fury after the prince of Orange came of age, and Lewis XIV. had invaded the Netherlands.

SECT. XI.

The History of the United Provinces continued; the Particulars of the Second War with England, and other Transactions, to the Invasion of the Netherlands by Lewis XIV.

A.D.1658. NOTHING farther occurred to disturb the tranquillity of the United Provinces until the year 1657, when a violent war was kindled in the North, and pursued with such inveterate animosity between the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as foreboded the destruction of one of the parties, and proved highly prejudicial to the commercial interest of the republic. Charles Gustavus had scarce ascended the throne of Sweden when his politics gave great uneasiness to the states general, at that time encumbered by a war with England, and a fruitless but close alliance with Denmark. Though the exclusion of the prince of Orange, and the little regard paid to the remonstrances made by the elector of Brandenburg in behalf of the young prince, had produced a coldness between the electoral court and the republic, yet that wise prince was sensible he could not more effectually fortify himself against the ambitious views of the Swedish monarch than by entering into an alliance with the United Provinces. The states general had one reason for embracing the overtures made by the elector. It was their interest with respect to the public trade, to provide that the Swedes did not gain possession of the ports of Prussia; and though the duke of Newburg and the emperor advertised them that such an alliance would give umbrage to all the claimants to the duchy of Cleves, yet their regard to trade prevailed over every other consideration. In effect, an offensive alliance was concluded, whereby the states undertook to protect the elector's dominions, including his coasts and the duchy of Cleves, against all enemies whatsoever; while the elector engaged, in return, to defend the republic and her commerce in the Baltic against all attacks, and to give the shipping of the republic free entrance into all his ports in Prussia and Pomerania. This treaty gave offence to the elector of Saxony, to whom the

State of the republic.

the Swedish ambassador insinuated, that it tended to cut off his pretensions to the duchy of Juliers.

During these intrigues count Koningsmark had great success in levying troops in the duchy of Bremen, which gave the alarm to the states general. To obviate this danger, they formed a body of horse and foot, which they cantoned on the borders of the Yssel, under count Brederode. Another corps, led by the count de Nassau, was posted in such a manner as to cover Embden, Coeverden, and other towns of West Friseland; but on Koningsmark's passing the Elbe, and joining the Swedes, these troops had orders to return to winter-quarters. Thus the Dutch were eased from the apprehension of an immediate attack. After the Swedes had taken the capital of Poland, and forced king Casimir out of his dominions, they turned their views towards the provinces of the elector of Brandenburg, a circumstance which obliged him to enter into negociations with the Swedish monarch. He offered to join his forces to the Swedes, provided the king would abolish the homage for ducal Prussia required by the Poles; but the treaty with Holland proved a great obstruction to his designs. At length a treaty was concluded, whereby the elector acknowleged himself a vassal of the crown of Sweden for ducal Prussia, and the ports of that kingdom and of Pomerania were opened to the Swedish shipping. Thus the treaty between Holland and Brandenburg was rendered useless, and the republic was exposed to all the vengeance of Charles Gustavus, irritated at her engagements with Denmark, and the late treaty with the court of Berlin, which had been formed evidently against the crown of Sweden. To prepare against accidents, oblige the Swedes to return to their own ports, and secure the navigation of the republic, the states general resolved to equip against the spring a squadron of fifty ships of war. The Dutch commerce in the North was interrupted by a Swedish fleet which blocked up Dantzick, where no vessels were suffered to enter, except upon certain conditions; and Gustavus had imposed a duty on all merchandize sent to Pillau and other sea-ports of Prussia. This conduct he justified by the example of the Hollanders, who had prohibited the Swedish ships from entering the ports of Flanders during the war with Spain, although they themselves were furnishing the enemy with ammunition and provision; and likewise by their conduct in the late war with England [a].

[a] Le Clerc, p. 84. tom. ii.

An embassy to Sweden and Denmark.

This last transaction it was that determined the states general to dispatch M. Van Buiningen to Copenhagen, to engage his Danish majesty to declare openly against Sweden; but that prince dreaded the victorious arms of Gustavus. They likewise made some overtures to Cromwell with respect to the situation of affairs in the North; but Charles Gustavus had anticipated them in their designs upon the electorate: he had sent an ambassador to England to explain his reasons for declaring war against Poland; to propose means for preventing the Dutch from trading to the Baltic, under pretence that it was injurious to the English commerce; and to settle a treaty of commerce with respect to the imports and exports of the two kingdoms in their mutual trade.

All this time M. Nieuport continued in London, in quality of envoy from the states, to regulate the affairs of the Indian trade, the disputes relative to Amboyna, and to study the protector's disposition towards Sweden. Commissioners were appointed by the two East India companies for adjusting their disputes; but the limited time elapsed without their coming to any agreement: upon which the Protestant cantons of Switzerland were chosen arbitrators; the worst they could possibly have thought of in commercial affairs. The Swiss no sooner opened their mouths as umpires, than they betrayed their profound ignorance of trade and navigation; upon which the contending parties perceiving their error, prolonged the space allowed for the negociation. It was not the desire of giving satisfaction to England, but of obtaining redress, that made the Hollanders solicitous about this negociation. The English East India company accused the Dutch commissioners of shuffling and duplicity in the restitution of Poleron, and indemnification of the losses sustained by the company in India; and the commissioners wanted to ballance this against the losses of the republic, in consequence of the seizure of their ships by English privateers before and since the war. They plied Cromwell with remonstrances upon this head; for still the grievance was sorely felt, and their merchants were daily plundered on the high seas by swarms of privateers fitted out against the Spaniards, with whom Cromwell was now at war. In the end, these altercations subsided in a treaty between France and England, in which the republic was included; after which both nations sent fleets to the Mediterranean to suppress the Algerine corsairs, who had given abundance of disturbance to their commerce.

While

While the republic was fortifying itself against the designs of Sweden on the one hand, and of England on the other, a variety of circumstances contributed to disturb the internal tranquillity of the provinces. One of the chief was the project concerted by M. de Wit, for bringing the revenue into proper order, by the reduction of interest paid by the government; but the great address of that statesman surmounted all difficulties in this affair, in a manner altogether unexpected, and convinced the creditors that it was more to their advantage to receive four per cent. than to withdraw their money; because by this expedient the foreign debts might be paid off, and the interest of their own loans increased as the capital debt diminished. To this was added another subject of debate. The death of Brederode, mareschal-general of the camp, raised up a variety of candidates for that employment. Those of most consideration were of the house of Orange. Maurice claimed it as the right of seniority and long services; and William, governor of Friseland, founded his expectations on his own influence and avaricious connections. All the partisans of the Orange family sided with this last; but the province of Holland patronized the former, out of personal pique to prince William. The states of Holland had not forgot the attempt upon Amsterdam, nor the violence with which William had opposed the exclusion act. The count would have carried his point in the assembly of the states general, had it been decided by a majority of voices; but here unanimity was necessary, and Holland affirmed, that the office was dangerous in time of peace, as it constantly gave the command of the army to the same person, who might thereby acquire an undue influence. M. de Wit presented a memorial, which he hoped would reconcile all differences, but it rather served to quiet for a time than remove the dissensions; for the office in dispute remained vacant, and the candidates soon after resumed their pretensions. Next followed some altercation about the manner of educating the young prince of Orange. Some were for appointing a minister of the gospel for his preceptor, that he might be early instructed in the principles of the reformed religion. This opinion was supported by Zealand; but the states of Holland opposed it, from an apprehension the clergy would blend politics with religion. The princess governante requested that the prince might be put under the tuition of certain members of the states general, and the courts of justice, that his tender mind might receive deep impressions of the constitution and form of government; but the states general fearing that she intended by

Dissensions among the provinces.

this compliment, to gain an influence over the moſt conſiderable members of their body, declined the honour, under pretence that they could not decently interfere with the proper buſineſs of the prince's guardians. This debate renewed in ſome provinces the old affair of the ſtadtholderſhip, particularly in Overyſſel, where the towns and villages were filled with riot and confuſion. As uſual, a thouſand other points of altercation aroſe from this ſingle queſtion; and the point now was not, whether there ſhould be a ſtadtholder, but whether certain cities enjoyed certain privileges? It was a diſpute between one city and another, about points which had no relation to the general plan of government, and therefore ſcarce worthy of notice in a general hiſtory [c].

A plague at Leyden.

We ſhall conclude the year with obſerving that a violent plague appeared in Leyden, which ſwept off near four thouſand of the inhabitants; but was happily prevented, by the diligence of the magiſtrates, from ſpreading itſelf farther into the provinces; and that at this period the magiſtrates of Amſterdam laid the foundation of that immenſe pile of building known by the name of the Stadthouſe.

A.D. 1656.

The new year produced freſh cauſes of apprehenſion that the Dutch commerce might ſuffer from the rapid conqueſts of the Swedes, as the ſtates were upon very indifferent terms with that crown. They had fitted out a large ſquadron for the protection of the Baltic trade; but the aſſurances given by the Swediſh ambaſſador lulled the ſtates into ſecurity, and prevented the ſailing of that powerful armament. Now the duties laid by the king on all Dutch traders to Riga again rouſed the republic, and determined her to act vigorouſly. With this view ſhe ſent ambaſſadors to Copenhagen and Stockholm; to the former, with intention to excite his Daniſh majeſty againſt the Swedes; and to the latter, to remonſtrate on the injury done to their commerce by the late unwarrantable and arbitrary impoſitions. The envoys were arreſted at Lauwenburg, through which they propoſed paſſing in their way to Dantzick, but afterwards releaſed, and apologies made to the ſtates general: however, this conduct ſerved only to inflame their animoſity. Admiral Opdam received orders to ſail directly for the Baltic, to protect all the Dutch ſhipping, and lay every poſſible obſtruction in the way of his Swediſh majeſty, if he ſhould reſolve upon the ſiege of Dantzick. Oliver Cromwell exhorted the ſtates not to break with Guſtavus, and offered his mediation to reconcile their differences,

The Swedes arreſt the Dutch envoy.

[c] Baſnage, p. 455.

under

under pretence of a zealous regard for the Protestant religion; but his intentions were suspected. Cromwell was well known to have used religion as a mask to conceal the most daring and villainous designs; the states persuaded themselves, for this reason, that he must have some other object in view than the good of the church. In their answer, therefore, to the protector's letter, they warmly applauded his piety; but in such a manner that Cromwell should perceive they were not blinded by his affected concern for religion; adding, that, far from having any intention of coming to a rupture with Gustavus, they had sent ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of Sweden and the republic.

Disputes with Sweden.

About this time Gustavus turned his thoughts towards Denmark. He sent M. Durell to the court of Copenhagen, in hopes of persuading the king to join with him in opposing the entrance of admiral Opdam into the Baltic. Previous to this step the senate of Denmark had remonstrated to the court of Sweden on the consequences of the war with Poland; but their letter produced no effect, as the king was then absent. This affair M. Durell had instructions to take into consideration; but the king of Denmark declared, that he could not treat with Sweden without the consent of the Dutch ambassador, M. Van Buiningen. Durell insisted that no strangers should be admitted to the conferences; the Danes took the part of Buiningen, and the dispute rose high, about the time that Opdam arrived at Dantzick, where he was received as the saviour of the city. Sweden insisted that the republic could lend no assistance to the magistrates of Dantzick, without violating the treaty of 1640, and Opdam pleaded his instructions. At last conferences were appointed at Elbing, where this affair was to be maturely discussed. In consequence of these a treaty took place; the treaty of 1645 was renewed; the commerce of neither party was to be disturbed in the Baltic by the war between Sweden and Poland; a tariff was established, and the duties on trade were regulated upon the former footing. The kings of France and Denmark, the protector of England, and the elector of Brandenburg, were likewise included in this treaty. The city of Dantzick also had permission to continue subject to the king of Poland, provided the magistrates afforded no assistance against Sweden [d].

A treaty at Elbing.

The treaty of Elbing gave satisfaction only to the parties immediately concerned. The king of Denmark could not

[d] Puffendorf, tom. vii. lib. vii. octavo.

persuade

perſuade himſelf that the Dutch, after the expence of equipping ſo conſiderable an armament, would return to their ports upon no other ſecurity than general promiſes ſet down on paper. M. Buiningen took fire at Dantzick's being deſerted, and wrote in the moſt preſſing manner to the penſionary de Wit, to procure an order from the ſtates general for admiral Opdam to ſeize upon ſome of the iſlands of the Baltic, where the fleet might winter under the direction of the king of Denmark, who had it in his power to ſerve the republic effectually. Notwithſtanding this application the fleet returned, the public exclaimed againſt the unneceſſary expence of the armament, and the ſtates vindicated it, by demonſtrating, that to it was owing the treaty of Elbing, which they affirmed was equally advantageous and neceſſary to the republic.

While the ſtates were endeavouring to vindicate the meaſures they had taken for ſecuring the trade of the Baltic, the loudeſt complaints were made to the ſeveral colleges of the admiralty, againſt the depredations committed by the Engliſh privateers. De Ruyter was ordered to put to ſea with a reſpectable ſquadron, for the protection of the Dutch commerce; but he ſoon found the office extremely diſagreeable, and remonſtrated to the ſtates upon the liberty aſſumed by the ſmalleſt Engliſh frigate of ſearching the largeſt ſhips of war belonging to the republic. He had received orders to reſtrain the Engliſh from committing violence, or any way injuring the ſubjects of the ſtates; but he was likewiſe cautioned to avoid, at all events, the neceſſity of coming to a rupture with Cromwell, by ſhewing the Engliſh the cleareſt proofs in his power, that none of the ſhips under his convoy were engaged in an illicit traffic. They likewiſe remonſtrated to the protector; but Cromwell knew his own ſuperiority, and gave no ear to their complaints. He was now deeply engaged in meaſures for gaining poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, the price of the aſſiſtance given to the French againſt the Spaniards, and conſequently not at leiſure to examine trifling matters, regarding Dutch traders. As the ſtates knew their inability to redreſs themſelves, they were forced to ſupport with patience inſults which they could not repel [e].

A.D. 1657 — *The ſtates refuſe to ratify the treaty of Elbing.*

Next year produced ſome new difficulties with reſpect to the affairs of the North, and the treaty of Elbing, which the ſtates general, after long delays, refuſed at laſt to ratify. The king of Denmark exerted his utmoſt influence to prevail on the Dutch not to conſent to a treaty ſo

[e] Baſnage, p. 477.

inconſiſtent

inconsistent with their engagements to him; and the maritime provinces likewise exclaimed against it, as it disappointed their mighty expectations from Opdam's expedition. Neither were the Dantzickers at all pleased with a measure which tied them down to the necessity of giving no opposition to the ambitious views of Gustavus, although they had no other security than a general promise for his not attacking their city. As to the king of Denmark, he resolved to profit by the present situation of Sweden, which was involved in a war with all her powerful neighbours, and execute certain designs he had formed on Schonen, Norway, and Germany. It was of the utmost consequence to engage the republic in his interest, and this point he laboured by his ambassador at the Hague; but found the states little disposed to accept the proposed defensive alliance. However, the negociations upon this subject retarded the ratification of the treaty of Elbing, and gave the Danish monarch hopes that he might at length be able to succeed. There was, besides, another objection to the treaty. Some of the articles were by no means clearly expressed, particularly those relative to the duty on merchandize. The king of Sweden insisted on the execution of the tariff, and the regulations made in 1640. The Dutch pleaded, that all the subjects of the United Provinces, who built ships in Sweden at their own expence, were entitled to all the privileges of natives of that kingdom. This inference the king denied, unless they fixed their residence in Sweden, and became subjects of that crown. It would, he affirmed, be attended with the worst consequences to his people, to suffer strangers to cut down the finest forests to build ships, perhaps to fight against their own king and country. In a word, he reasoned this point so strongly, that the Dutch ambassadors were silenced, and forced to content themselves with a general reply, that they would wait for farther instructions from the states [f].

A fresh quarrel with Sweden.

Though the states were unable to answer the arguments urged by Gustavus, they nevertheless with-held the ratification desired, and strongly insinuated that this could only be obtained on the conditions above mentioned. It was not the business of Gustavus to drive the Dutch into the arms of Denmark, he therefore tried every expedient to gain them to his own interest. He made divers specious proposals, all of which the states rejected, as they knew well the terms that would be expected. The true interest of the states consisted in suffering the northern princes to

[f] Basnage, p. 477.

exhaust

exhauſt each other by wars and battles; for this reaſon it was that M. Van Buiningen was blamed for animating the ſtates of Holland againſt the king of Sweden, by repreſenting the advantage they might deduce from the alliance of the crown of Denmark. By his inſtigations the city of Amſterdam, of which he was penſionary, inclined ſtrongly to the crown of Denmark, and had already ſupplied that kingdom with a great number of armed ſhips to ſerve againſt Sweden under Daniſh colours. Several deputies of the ſtates general were accuſed of corruption, and this matter was put beyond doubt by letters from the Swediſh ambaſſador at the Hague, which were intercepted by the king of Denmark, and ſent over to Holland. By theſe the Swediſh miniſter appeared perfectly acquainted with all that paſſed in the aſſembly of the ſtates general, and had likewiſe acquainted his maſter that divers of the deputies received penſions from the crowns of Spain and Denmark. He even went ſo far as to ſpecify the ſums, and the channels of payment and intercourſe. Complaints were made of the Swediſh ambaſſador for the liberties he had taken with the reputation of their high mightineſſes; and he vindicated himſelf, by affirming that he was only anſwerable to the king his maſter for the contents of his letters, and that his Daniſh majeſty had violated the laws of nations, by intercepting the letters of a prince with whom he was not at open war. Not ſatisfied with this plea, he wrote a ſarcaſtic epigram upon the ſtates, which had more wit than prudence. Irritated at his conduct, they refuſed to enter into conferences with him; upon which his Swediſh majeſty declared he would hold no communication with the deputies of the ſtates, and accordingly refuſed them audience, though they bore the character of ambaſſadors extraordinary. This affront increaſed the animoſity. The ſtates reſented his Swediſh majeſty's putting their ambaſſadors upon a footing with his miniſter, who was veſted with no higher character than that of a reſident; they wrote to the king, and he replied, that he was aſtoniſhed to ſee a people who had but a few years before granted precedency to the envoys of electors, talk in ſo high a ſtrain about the dignity of their ambaſſadors. The province of Holland immediately ſent orders to the ambaſſadors to return, unleſs the king apologiſed for the conduct of his reſident, or granted them an audience. Three of the provinces oppoſed this reſolution, which they feared would produce an open rupture; upon which Holland relaxed, and conſented that the reſident ſhould be referred entirely to his Swediſh majeſty, either to acquit or condemn his conduct, as he thought

thought proper; in hopes that this inſtance of moderation would work a proper effect at the court of Stockholm. Guſtavus did not fail to decide the diſpute in favour of his reſident, though he at the ſame time acknowleged the civility of the ſtates, by immediately granting audience to their ambaſſadors. The truth is, he ſtill regarded the republic as a concealed enemy, over-awed by fear and intereſt; and the event juſtified his opinion [g].

The difference compromiſed.

Denmark having now come to an open rupture with Sweden, general Bilde traverſed Holſtein, paſſed the Elbe, and with a Daniſh army invaded the duchy of Bremen. After Wrangel had defeated part of his fleet before Stade, he was more ſenſible than ever that the aſſiſtance of the Dutch was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſs of his meaſures. With theſe ſentiments he offered terms to the ſtates general, ſo advantageous as ſubdued all objections to coming to a rupture with Sweden, and entering on engagements with Denmark. The ſtates were, however, ſo cautious as to contract only a defenſive treaty, whereby the parties agreed to aſſiſt each other, if attacked, with a body of ſix thouſand men, and a ſquadron of ſhips, or a ſtipulated ſum of money, as an equivalent.

Diſputes between the court of France and the republic.

Though deeply immerſed in the politics of the North, the ſtates did not neglect their connections with the other maritime powers. Repeated complaints had been made to Cromwell of the depredations committed on the high ſeas by his privateers; but all were diſregarded, at leaſt no ſatisfaction could be obtained. The Dutch commerce ſuffered equally from the ſwarms of ſmall armed veſſels that iſſued out of the French ports, and preyed upon thoſe of the republic. The Dutch merchants computed that three hundred and twenty-eight of their ſhips had been taken by thoſe privateers. M. Boreel, the Dutch envoy, applied to the French court for ſatisfaction, and above fifty arrets of council had paſſed, to oblige the captors to make reſtitution, but without effect. At Marſeilles they attacked the Dutch conſul publicly, covered him with wounds, and left him wallowing in his blood, becauſe he had attempted to enforce the ambaſſador's orders, and the king's arrets. This laſt violence ſo incenſed the ſtates, that they ſent inſtructions to de Ruyter to take all ſhips coming out of Toulon. The admiral had not long received his orders before he met with two Toulon privateers, one mounting forty, the other fourteen guns. Theſe he took, removing all the priſoners on board his own ſhips, where they ſoon introduced a con-

[g] Puffendorf, ibid. Le Clerc, p. 89.

tagious

tagious disorder, of which the greater number of themselves; and many of the Dutch sailors died. It was well known that these ships had been built in Sweden; that they belonged to the French king, and that cardinal Mazarin had procured commissions for the reputed owners, on condition that he should share in the captures. They were the best sailing ships of France, and had made an infinity of prizes in this cruise. Mazarin was incensed at the presumption of de Ruyter, and the loss of his ships, and the immense sums of money on board. He represented him as a pirate, who, under false colours, made prize of the French vessels. He said, that if the Dutch commerce had been injured by private subjects of the French king, the states ought not to retaliate upon the royal navy, especially as the king had issued arrets to oblige the captors to make satisfaction. It was urged in council, that such an indignity to the crown could only be washed out by the blood of those who had committed it, and that if reparation was not made, war ought to be declared against the republic, and the whole nation persecuted with the utmost rigour, for skreening so notorious offenders, and thereby becoming parties in the offence. However agreeable to the dignity of the French monarchy this spirited conduct might appear, the advice was tempered by the prudence of the chancellor, and the moderation of M. Villeroi, who strenuously opposed entering upon violent measures; however, they could not prevent the cardinal's issuing an order for seizing upon all the Dutch ships and effects in the ports of France. This was accordingly executed. Alarmed at a method of proceeding so unprecedented, the states ordered M. Boreel to represent their astonishment at seeing their ships arrested by the king's order, in direct violation of the law of nations, and without any application to them, to know whether or not they approved of de Ruyter's conduct, without even reflecting, whether necessity did not require that a check should be given the privateers, as they had assaulted the Dutch consul, in contempt of the king's own authority.

Boreel did not wait the orders of the state to fulfill the duties of his office. He demanded an audience of the king, which was granted. He remonstrated with great spirit and intrepidity, though he was thrice interrupted by the cardinal, who said, his speech was not the declaration of a minister, but the declamation of a rhetorician. Boreel's reflections upon the minister were indeed so free and severe, that he could expect no extraordinary effects from his remonstrance. All he obtained was a tolerably silent hearing from the young monarch, who was guided entirely by his prime

prime miniſter. Nor did Mazarin content himſelf with paying no regard to the repreſentations of the Dutch ambaſſador. He ſent M. de Thou to the Hague, to demand ſatisfaction for the inſult committed by de Ruyter, without ſo much as releaſing the Dutch ſhipping. De Thou entered into a detail of de Ruyter's conduct, which he affirmed, before the ſtates, was contrary to the cuſtom of civilized countries, and highly injurious to the honour of the republic. He ſaid, it deſerved the ſevereſt chaſtiſement, as treachery was added to injuſtice. He had hoiſted the Engliſh flag, and deceived the French under falſe colours, a decoy never practiſed except by barbarous nations and Turkiſh pirates, when they lay in wait for their Chriſtian prey. He had likewiſe ſhewn the utmoſt treachery to the ſieur de Lund, captain of the largeſt frigate, by writing him a civil letter, which induced the unſuſpecting Frenchman to viſit de Ruyter on board, where he was detained priſoner. He aggravated the offence by a thouſand additional circumſtances; and concluded with requeſting their high mightineſſes to reflect well upon the conſequences of ſuch uſage to the ſervants of a great king, and proteſting that his inſtructions would allow him to enter upon no other buſineſs, or receive any propoſitions, until he received a definitive anſwer to his demands. To this remonſtrance M. de Ghent, who preſided in the aſſembly of the ſtates general, replied, that the Dutch had ſo evidently a right to make repriſals, that his excellency, who was himſelf a lawyer, if he would reaſon impartially, could not but acquit de Ruyter, and juſtify the conduct of the ſtates. Two days after an order was iſſued for ſtopping all the French ſhips and merchandize in the ports of Holland. To be in a condition to maintain this vigorous reſolution, it was propoſed to augment the navy with twelve capital ſhips, and to block up the coaſts of France ſo cloſely as to prevent all attempts of revenge, and render uſeleſs the ſwarms of privateers with which the ports were crowded. The ſtates of Holland, who had projected theſe ſpirited deſigns, repreſented them to the ſtates general; they applauded the conduct of Boreel, who had ſupported his character with dignity, and even juſtified de Ruyter. Several of the provinces were for coming to an open rupture with France; but the ſtates general were more moderate. Their firſt care was to guard ſtrictly againſt corruption, as it was inſinuated that M. de Thou was charged with large ſums of money for this purpoſe. With this view an oath was drawn up and ſent to the ſtates of all the provinces, obliging the members to accept of no preſents, ſtrenuouſly to ſtand up in the intereſt of their country; to be biaſſed by no private deſigns, and not only

to

to reject all overtures that had a tendency towards obtaining an undue influence, but to render public every ſuch propoſal. At laſt the ſtates general and the ſtates of Holland, each in a body, gave their final anſwer to the ambaſſador. They complained of the depredations, piracies, and robberies, committed by the ſubjects of the French king, for which no ſatisfaction was made by the government. They demanded the execution of the arrets granted by the council, reſtitution of the ſhips and effects ſeized by order of the king, and an apology for the indignity offered to the republic in the perſon of her conſul at Marſeilles, particularly for the liberties taken by the commiſſioners at Rouen, and other places, of examining the papers, ſealing up the cheſts, and taking poſſeſſion of the warehouſes of Dutch merchants.

De Thou, finding he could effect nothing by a high hand, wrote to his court for more moderate inſtructions; and he was ordered to aſſure the ſtates they ſhould have ample ſatisfaction, upon reſtitution of the two frigates taken by de Ruyter, after which a treaty of navigation and commerce ſhould be ſettled. But this propoſition was rejected; upon which the ambaſſador declared the king would be contented with a promiſe of reſtitution, as an equivalent for the ſhips, and he would in the mean time give all the ſatisfaction required. From ſuch ample conceſſions it was imagined the affair was happily at an end; but the cardinal neglected the ratification of theſe preliminaries, upon which the ſtates took fire a ſecond time, prohibited all intercourſe with France, and gave orders to the naval officers to take French ſhips wherever they were found. Never had the ſtates diſplayed more firmneſs and intrepidity than upon this occaſion; but though they bid defiance to all menaces, they were eaſily appeaſed by conceſſions. The king wrote them a letter, which entirely ſubdued by lenity that ſpirit which ſeemed to riſe with oppoſition.

The conſtancy of the republic was, in a great meaſure, owing to her ignorance of the treaty in agitation between Cromwell and Mazarin. Mean while an accident happened, which had almoſt deſtroyed the effect of the king's letter to the ſtates, and the treaty concluded in conſequence of that letter. De Ruyter, then upon a cruize, was informed by the Dutch conſul at Leghorn, that five French ſhips of war had put into Via Regia, a port belonging to the little republic of Lucca: thither he purſued them, but being driven out of his courſe by a ſtorm, they had intelligence of his deſign, and made the beſt ſail for Porto Venere, a harbour in the Genoeſe dominions. Here they were blocked up by de Ruyter, who, though

he

he was not at liberty to attack them in a neutral port, found means so to distress them, that they were on the point of surrendering at discretion, when advice arrived from the states of the treaty signed with the French monarch. De Ruyter's conduct was so much approved on this occasion, that the states, to shew their sense of his merit, complimented him with a gold chain, in testimony of their regard.

Disputes with Portugal about the Brasils.

Scarce had the republic got clear of these disputes with the court of France, when she was involved in others with that of Portugal, about their several pretensions in Brasil. Mess. Tenhoven and de Wit were sent as envoys to Lisbon, to adjust the affair, and present the overtures of a treaty of accommodation. The Portuguese ministry were equally astonished at the propositions made, and the powerful armaments with which they were accompanied. Not a moment was lost in taking every measure for the security of the kingdom; the guards at Lisbon were doubled; all the captains of ships had orders to prepare for action; and a body of infantry was encamped on the shore to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet. After these vigorous steps had been taken, the ministers ventured to acquaint the Dutch deputies, that the court would not listen to propos'als made with such an air of defiance, and with all the pride of conquerors. This declaration was highly resented by the Hollanders, who, in the heat of passion, expressed themselves in disrespectful terms of the royal family, and de Solas, secretary of state; upon which orders were issued to seize upon all the Dutch vessels in the Tagus. Such open violences, could not but be followed by a declaration of war; the deputies quitted Lisbon without taking leave, and de Ruyter took several Portuguese ships in the mouth of the river.

War with Portugal.

Before their departure the Dutch commissaries had sent a declaration of war, sealed up, in the hands of Don Pedro de Sylva. De Ruyter now thought himself at liberty to act offensively: accordingly he divided his fleet into three squadrons, and resolved to cruize in certain latitudes for the Brasil fleet, which was daily expected in Europe. His own division fell in with a fleet of forty sail; but the haziness of the weather concealed them from his view. Only five ships were taken, and it was from the crews of them he learnt that the fleet was so numerous. There was another fleet, homeward bound from Brasil; but the scarcity of provisions obliged de Ruyter to quit his station, and return to Holland [h].

[h] Basnage, p. 512.

The states are involved in disputes with the bishop of Munster.

While the states were thus engaged in open hostilities with Portugal, an affair happened, at first of seemingly trivial moment, but in the end of serious consequences, with the neighbouring princes of the Rhine. The electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, the duke of Newburg, and the bishop of Munster, were desirous of entering into a strict alliance with the republic, for their mutual defence. Their overtures, however, were coldly received by the states of Zealand and Friseland, though the province of Holland approved of a treaty of commerce, respecting the navigation of the Rhine, upon the terms which had been proposed a few years before by the elector of Cologne. This point was under deliberation when the bishop of Munster, quarrelling with his own subjects, interrupted the negociation, and made the republic and the princes, instead of joining in an alliance, embrace opposite parties, and fight with all the bitterness of inveterate enemies. Bernard Van Galen, for so the bishop was called, had some years before got possession of the see of Munster by a stroke of policy. His uncle, who had bred him up from his infancy, reckoned himself secure of being elected, when he found himself outwitted by his nephew, and disappointed in his expectations. The pope refused to confirm the election of Van Galen; but that bold, enterprising genius, maintained his ground, in despite of all opposition, rendered himself respectable, and even formed vast projects for extending his power and dominion. His wearing the mitre did not prevent his understanding the sword. By nature he was intended for a soldier; and he followed his inclinations as soon as an opportunity offered. He entered into all the intrigues of his neighbours, to whom he hired out his courage and his troops. When he was reproached for meditating such vast designs with such slender forces, he replied, that little saints frequently wrought great miracles. Besides the large sums he drew from the neighbouring princes, he levied heavy taxes upon his subjects for the support of the army, and, when they murmured at the oppression, was used to say, that a warrior should have no more compassion than the devil. He soon began to practise this maxim upon his own subjects. Like most other bishopricks in Germany, the see of Munster is subject to the bishops in temporals as well as spirituals, the prelates uniting in the mitre the crosier and the sceptre. Some towns, within their jurisdiction, however, maintained their privileges, and among these was the city of Munster. The burghers insisted that they were not obliged to receive the bishop's garrison, but that the sole command of the city belonged to the inhabitants. Two

years

years before the biſhop had introduced a body of troops, as neceſſary to the ſecurity of the place; the burghers complained loudly, and the diſpute was referred to the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, who decided in favour of the burghers. Van Galen refuſed to ſtand by their award, ſubmitted it to the imperial verdict, and obtained ſix months delay, to produce new arguments in ſupport of his pretenſions. Alarmed at this award, which plainly indicated a bias in favour of the biſhop, the magiſtrates ſent a deputation to the Hague, requeſting the republic to include them in the treaty lately made with the Hans Towns. The grand penſionary de Wit, who foreſaw the iſſue of entering upon ſuch engagements, would do nothing without conſulting the ſtates, particularly thoſe of Overyſſel and Groningen; but their deliberations were ſo tedious, that the opportunity ſlipped of ſtrengthening the frontiers towards that quarter. The biſhop inveſted the town with his own forces, and a body of auxiliaries, and bombarded it with ſuch fury, that in the ſpace of a few hours above two hundred houſes were ſet on fire, two churches were demoliſhed, and a prieſt, as he was adminiſtering the ſacrament at the altar, was killed by a cannon-ball. This terrible ſacrilege, committed by a biſhop, rouſed all the fury of the townſmen; they ſallied out vigorouſly on the beſiegers, and ſlew great numbers of the prelates forces, while their wives and daughters, forming themſelves into companies, reſolutely defended the walls. The electors of Bavaria and Saxony interpoſed, as vicars of the empire; the pope, as father of the church, reprehended his warlike ſon, for having taken arms upon ſo ſlight an occaſion; but more effectual remedies than pontifical exhortations were requiſite.

When it was known in Holland that a war had broke out between the biſhop of Munſter and his flock, the republic immediately put her frontier into a poſture of defence, and ſent two members from the ſtates general, and one from the council of war with offers of her mediation. The deputies were received civilly by the biſhop; but their mediation was rejected; the prelate excuſing himſelf, under pretence it would be an affront to the ſtates of the country, and the princes of the empire, to ſubmit to any other arbitration than theirs: nor would he ſuffer the deputies to enter the city, leſt their preſence might help to animate the burghers. This conduct incenſed the ſtates general, and determined them to ſuccour the beſieged; but four towns in Holland oppoſed this reſolution, which, however, did not prevent the troops from beginning their march. The command

was given to M. Rhingrave, commissary-general of the cavalry, and governor of Maestricht, as prince Maurice of Nassau was at that time in Friseland.

Van Galen had minute intelligence of all that passed in the states general of the United Provinces. He perceived that this affair would soon take a very serious turn. He made some rigorous proposals to the besieged, which were rejected. However, the nobility, who feared to see their country made the theatre of war, used all their influence with the burghers to effect an accommodation; and the bishop, who apprehended he should in a few days be forced by the Dutch to raise the siege, relaxed in a variety of articles. A compromise was agreed to, the gates were opened, and the prelate made his public entry in the beginning of December, but without being honoured with the usual rejoicings and acclamations. The Dutch were piqued that their mediation was rejected, and the bishop was irritated at not being received with the accustomed honours by his subjects, and at the march of the Dutch forces [i]; he resolved secretly to embrace the first opportunity of being revenged on the republic, and the inhabitants of Munster. We shall see, in the course of our narrative, how he accomplished his purposes.

Civil divisions.

Those foreign disputes, in which the republic was engaged, did not prevent domestic broils. The province of Overyssel had been involved for some years in violent altercations about certain privileges, and there appeared no prospect of an issue, when suddenly the parties came to a resolution of referring their differences to the prince of Nassau, stadtholder of the province, and M. de Wit, grand pensionary of Holland, by whom they were happily terminated. But this affair was no sooner ended than the election of a mareschal de camp became a new subject of dissension in the provinces. The states general had appointed a person to this office, and the states of Holland opposed the election, insisting that the states general assumed an illegal authority. In fact, they apprehended that the influence of the house of Orange would be strengthened by the renewal of an office which had for years been abolished; and that was the true reason of their opposition. The affair was agitated with great heat, until the rapid progress of the Swedish arms, and the miserable situation of the king of Denmark, called for the interposition of the United Provinces, and diverted their attention from an object which might have laid the foundation of a civil war [k].

[i] Le Clerc, p. 282. Basnage, p. 518. [k] Idem. ibid. & 520.

Former

Former engagements to the king of Denmark, the ballance of power in the North, and the commercial interest of the United Provinces, all required that Sweden should not become too powerful. As Copenhagen was now invested, the states general proposed sending immediate succours to Frederic; but the provinces of Zealand, Friseland, and Guelderland, insisted upon first creating a mareschal de camp However, this point was dropped, upon the general resolution that was taken of only sended a naval force. Gustavus had given the states the strongest assurances that he would never molest their commerce; he had likewise remitted large sums of money to his ambassador at the Hague, to be duly applied, in order to retard the assistance intended for Denmark; but all his endeavours were frustrated by the vigilance of de Wit, and the spirit of the people, who unanimously resented the encroachments of this enterprising prince. A large fleet accordingly set sail, early in the spring, for the Baltic, under the conduct of admiral Opdam, who had orders not only to protect the ships of the republic, but to assist, by every possible means, the king of Denmark, and fight the Swedish fleet the first opportunity: if Cronenburgh and Copenhagen should be in the hands of the Swedes before his arrival, his instructions were, to assist, aid, and abet, all the enterprizes of the Danish monarch, and with his fleet to block up such places as the king might chuse to invest by land. In a word, the republic seemed determined to keep no bounds with Sweden; and Van Buiningen, who still resided at Copenhagen, contributed to stimulate the states, by representing the infamy and danger to the republic that would ensue from deserting Frederic in his distressed situation, and the benefits she might receive from his gratitude, if a timely, vigorous diversion should be made in his favour. That minister had great weight with the pensionary de Wit, who entered the more readily into his measures, because he was under no apprehensions from France or England.

The states assist the king of Denmark.

After Opdam had long struggled with adverse winds, he arrived in the Sound, where the Swedish fleet was immediately descried; upon which he assembled a council of his officers. It was carried by a majority to attack the enemy; but contrary winds kept the fleet back for four days, and the Swedes shewed no inclination to become the aggressors. At last a fresh gale sprung up, and Opdam advanced in three divisions, while the Swedish admiral, Wrangel, was drawn up in the same order to oppose his passage. Gustavus was in the castle of Cronenburgh, a spectator of the action, and witness to the conduct of his admiral, who

Sea-fight between the Swedes and Dutch.

had already won so many laurels. The heat of the engagement fell upon Opdam and Wrangel; both fought with equal skill and courage; their strength was equal, but not so their fortune. Wrangel was forced to retreat under the cannon of the fortress, and yield a victory which he sold at the expence of a multitude of lives. The carnage indeed was dreadful in both fleets: the Dutch lost two admirals, de Wit and Florizen, they suffered greatly in their rigging, but the enemy lost more private men, and suffered greater damage in their hulls. Wrangel's own ship was pierced through and through; and when he quitted the engagement, he had nine feet water in his hold. Three Swedish ships were taken, the same number sunk, and four more were driven ashore; but what gave Opdam clearly the advantage, was, that he landed two thousand men, military stores, and provisions, in Copenhagen, by which the city was saved. Swedish writers have disputed the victory, only because it was not pursued, and because a process against Opdam was commenced on his return, for not having destroyed the Swedish fleet at Landscroon[1].

This engagement gave great disturbance to Gustavus, as it seemed the prelude of a declared war with the United Provinces. It was debated in his council whether he should dissemble his resentment at this act of hostility, or denounce war openly against the states. A variety of opinions were offered in support of both propositions, and the arguments appeared so equal, that the king took more time to deliberate. In Holland the people reasoned differently. It was not thought sufficient to have afforded the king of Denmark the slender assistance of two thousand men, when by treaty they were engaged to assist him with double the number: it was therefore determined to augment the of auxiliaries to six thousand effective men. Only one difficulty remained, and that was with respect to the payment of this corps. Some of the deputies proposed, that his Danish majesty should put Glucstadt into the hands of the Dutch; but de Wit answered, that this would excite the jealousy of France and England, who were already displeased with the conduct of the republic, as was obvious from the remonstrances of M. de Thou, the French ambassador.

The states jealous of the protector of England,

It was the first intention of the states, to leave only a squadron of six or seven men of war in the Baltic, because it was not doubted but Copenhagen, with the succours thrown in by Opdam, would be in condition to defend

[1] Basnage, p. 325. Puffend. tom. vi. p. 144.

itself

itſelf for the winter; but upon advice that England was about to declare for Sweden, the admiral had orders to remain with his whole fleet, to winter in Denmark, to follow the inſtructions of Frederic, to oppoſe the paſſage of the Swediſh forces from Holſtein, and purſue every meaſure which could contribute to the common intereſt of the allies, and diſappoint the ſchemes of Guſtavus. It is certain that Cromwell harboured deſigns againſt Denmark and Holland, but a variety of domeſtic occurrences prevented his carrying them into execution. He had now got poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, which had lately been taken from the Spaniards, by the joint forces of France and England. The ceſſion of Dunkirk to the protector, was equally irkſome to France, Spain, the Pope, and the United Provinces; but Cromwell carried the point with a high hand. The Dutch in particular had reaſon to complain. They ſaw the Engliſh in quiet enjoyment of a port, which would ſerve as a retreat for their privateers, and in a ſhort time be filled with the pillage of the Dutch ſhipping. The ſtates would have rather ſeen Dunkirk in the hands of the Spaniards than of the Engliſh; for the intereſt of the former, with reſpect to commerce, began now to be re-united to thoſe of the provinces. They ſaw France and England now ſtrongly cemented by this bond of union, and began to apprehend that Furnes, Graveline, Menin, Ypres, and Oudenarde, were likewiſe in danger. M. de Turenne was fixed upon by the cardinal, to quiet the emotions of the republic, and to aſſure the ſtates, that the king had no other view in the conqueſt of the Netherlands than to oblige the inhabitants to throw off the Spaniſh yoke, and to unite in a form of government, ſimilar to that of the United Provinces. He added, that if a republican government was once eſtabliſhed, the king would willingly reſtore all his conqueſts ſince the commencement of the war, not excepting the capital of Artois. The friends of France looked upon this propoſal as ſo equitable, that they preſſed the ſtates to ſecond the deſigns of the moſt chriſtian king; but M. de Wit headed the contrary party, from a conviction that Mazarin's deſign was only to ſow diſſenſion among the provinces, and to extend the frontiers of the kingdom, at the expence of the Netherlands. But while this point was agitated with great warmth, the ſudden illneſs of the French king introduced a great change into the politics of the court; and the ſtates were relieved from their apprehenſions on the ſide of England, by the death of Oliver Cromwell, who was at the ſame time the terror, and admiration of all his neighbours. The vacancy in the imperial

and the king of France.

Propoſals made by the king of France.

throne, likewise made considerable alteration in the state of affairs, and Holland was forced to change her system with the circumstances of Europe.

It was evident that the United Provinces were deeply interested in the fate of the candidates to the imperial diadem, which was claimed by the archduke Leopold, the king of Hungary, the elector of Bavaria, and the duke of Newburg. It was contrary to the interest of the republic to see the power of the house of Austria enlarged, and the empire made hereditary in that family; because the states were not so thoroughly reconciled to Spain, but that some articles left undetermined by the treaty of Munster might still be disputed. On the other hand, it was apprehended that any opposition to the claims of this ambitious and powerful family, might kindle a war, which would necessarily spread itself to the provinces. The present situation of the republic required that France should be assisted in setting upon the imperial throne, a prince less powerful than Leopold. However, all their designs, whatever they might be, were anticipated by the election of Leopold, without bloodshed, or scarce any opposition in the diet [m].

Leopold chosen emperor.

Leopold, immediately after his election, sent M. Trequet in quality of envoy to the Hague, to acquaint the states with his elevation, and to solicit their close alliance with the house of Austria. This minister hoped his commission would be successful, because the union tended to assist Denmark, and oppose the growing power of Sweden. Besides, as the states were on the point of sending another fleet to the Baltic, he presumed they would have no objection to act in concert with the imperial arms; though indeed this proposal was diametrically opposite to their designs, which were to assist Denmark, but not to allow the house of Austria any footing in the islands of the Baltic. Yet the republic made no difficulty of renewing her treaties with the imperial court, and of compromising some disputes about certain frontier towns with the Spaniards.

It was not so easy to make up the breach with Portugal, as the republic continued to demand reparation of her losses, and satisfaction for the injuries sustained by her subjects. The king of France offered his mediation, and de Thou exhorted the states to consent to a suspension of hostilities, in order to settle the preliminaries of a treaty. Accordingly the states general granted an armistice for two months, on condition that his Portuguese majesty should

[m] Le Clerc, p 304. tom. ii.

send

ſend an ambaſſador into Holland, to treat with the ſtates, and that in failure of his arrival, hoſtilities ſhould recommence. In the mean time, the admiralty was buſied in preparing for the worſt, and equipping ſuch a fleet as it was hoped would oblige the Portugueſe to liſten to reaſon. This fleet ſet ſail under de Ruyter in the month of June; but that admiral never met with an opportunity of exerciſing his valour; though his ſkill and conſtancy were put to a ſevere trial in a terrible ſtorm, which overtook the fleet ſoon after it quitted the coaſt of Holland. At length he arrived in a ſhattered condition in the Tagus, a circumſtance which rendered the Portugueſe the more averſe to accommodation, relying upon the diviſions among the provinces, the incumbrances on the India company, and the engagements of the republic to the king of Denmark, that would prevent their paying the neceſſary attention to the affairs of Braſil. The commiſſioners met, and diſputed, but ſettled nothing [n].

Still the war between Sweden and Denmark raged with unremitting fury. Copenhagen was beſieged by land, and blocked up by ſea, while the Dutch and Daniſh fleets were locked up by the ice, and the Swedes made vaſt conqueſts over every part of the Daniſh dominions. At laſt, the allies broke the ice, and made way for ſome of their ſhips to put to ſea. Early in the ſpring, they encountered ſix Swediſh men of war, who valiantly ſuſtained their firſt attack, though preſſed with the utmoſt vigour and impetuoſity. After an exceeding obſtinate engagment, they were forced to yield to the weight of a greatly ſuperior ſtrength, and retire with the loſs of two ſhips of fifty guns each, one of which was taken, and the other ſunk, leaving a complete and deciſive victory to the Hollanders.

This defeat, the vigorous deſcents made from the Dutch fleet, and the treaty concluded between France, England, and Holland, to reſtore the tranquillity of the North, operated powerfully on the mind of Guſtavus, who had ſtill obſtinately perſevered in beſieging Copenhagen, and ruining the dominions of his adverſary. To give more weight to the treaty, the republic ſent de Ruyter with another fleet to the coaſts of Jutland, and communicated to him the articles of Denmark's engagements with France and England, as the cleareſt explication of his inſtructions, and rule for his conduct. His Swediſh majeſty now entered into negociations with the Dutch deputies; but the arrival of an Eng-

[n] Baſnage, p. 556.

liſh

lish fleet in the Sound, and the ambiguous conduct of that nation, fluctuating, unsteady, and unhinged in its internal government, disconcerted all the measures of the Hollanders, and broke off the negociation after it was far advanced. De Ruyter and Opdam even apprehended an attack from the English, until they received the most solemn assurances to the contrary from the lord Montagu, whose departure from the Sound disappointed all the hopes of the Swedish monarch. No sooner were the Dutch left there at entire liberty to act than they renewed their operations, harrassing the enemy by descents on every side. It was by the desperate courage of a body of soldiers, headed by de Ruyter, that the victory at Funen was gained, which gave the first shock to the fortune of Gustavus; for as to the advantages gained over his fleets, those were regarded as of less consequence. In a word, the diligence, vigour, and intrepidity of the Dutch, first disposed the king of Sweden to listen to reasonable conditions, which he was on the point of accepting, when he was seized with a disorder that deprived him of life.

This event produced various effects; Charles Gustavus was deeply regretted by all the Swedes, while the Danish monarch, and the city of Copenhagen, could not refrain from indecent transports of joy. In the end, however, it proved fortunate for both sides, who were almost reduced to the verge of desperation, by their obstinacy and implacable animosity. A peace, under the mediation of England and Holland, was concluded, and repose once more restored to Denmark, which, for near two years, had been the theatre of a bloody war, productive of every species of distress and misfortune to the truly miserable inhabitants *.

Peace restored to the North.

Cardinal Mazarin now offered his mediation to reconcile his Portuguese majesty and the states general; but the negociations proved more difficult than those of the preceding year. When this matter had been before agitated, the only obstruction was the indemnification required by the Dutch for the loss sustained in the Brasils; now the India company had driven the Portuguese from the island of Ceylon, thereby engrossing the most valuable of all the India spices, the cinnamon, which constitutes one of the most essential articles of their commerce. This invaluable acquisition was due to the diligence and valour of M. Gohens, counsellor of state at Batavia, who first made an attack upon some of the smaller Portuguese factories in the

The Dutch take the island of Ceylon.

* Basnage, p. 620.

island:

iſland: encouraged by his ſucceſs, and the invitation of the natives, who were grievouſly oppreſſed by the tyranny of their old maſters, he ventured upon an attempt in Jaffanapatan, the head ſettlement of the Portugueſe. The ſituation of this place rendered a formal ſiege impracticable; however, by the force of bombs and red hot bullets, the Dutch forced the great lords of the country to abandon their magnificent palaces, and take ſhelter in the Portugueſe fort, which was in a ſhort time reduced by famine to extremities. In about fourteen weeks after, the city was firſt inveſted, the beſieged deſired to capitulate, and the Europeans were permitted either to remove to Goa without their effects, or remain in the country in ſubjection to the conquerors. The king hated the Portugueſe; but he was alarmed at the rapid progreſs the Dutch made, and the lofty manner in which they treated the vanquiſhed Portugueſe and the natives. He accordingly determined to cruſh them in the infancy of their eſtabliſhment, and raiſed an army for that purpoſe; but was over-awed, and forced to relinquiſh his deſign, by the Dutch ſquadron. In the end, he compromiſed matters with the company, and left the Hollanders in full poſſeſſion of whatever the Portugueſe had claimed in this valuable iſland.

Though the articles of pacification with Portugal were rendered more intricate by the late conqueſt in Ceylon, yet it contributed to make his faithful majeſty more pliant. He found he could not with impunity attack the company, or avoid making reſtitution of the lands and merchandize taken from the republic in Braſil. Senſibly touched with the loſs of the valuable ſettlements in Ceylon, he ſent an ambaſſador to Holland with freſh propoſals; and to facilitate the way to an accommodation, he applied to Mazarin for the mediation of the court of France. Mazarin committed this affair to M. de Thou, reſident at the Hague; and that miniſter acted ſo warmly in the affair as to incur the diſpleaſure of his eminence, who apprehended that Spain would reject his taking part in the affairs of Portugal, at a time when the two courts were ſettling preliminaries for a durable peace, after a tedious, bloody, and ruinous war. Such was the ſituation of Holland with regard to Portugal, when freſh occaſions of diſcontent aroſe. The Portugueſe Jeſuits traded, under a variety of ſhapes and diſguiſes, to a prodigious extent in the Eaſt Indies. By a thouſand arts and machinations they obſtructed the Dutch commerce; and by the eſteem in which they were held in the different countries of India, not only foreſtalled the markets, but even ſo far prejudiced the natives, that

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in many places they refuſed to hold any intercourſe with the Hollanders. They not only inſinuated themſelves into the court of the emperor of China, by their addreſs and ſkill in geometry, aſtronomy, and mechanics, but made pilgrimages to every kingdom in India, particularly to Dehli, where the grand mogul reſided, and to Golkonda, whence they returned loaded with diamonds of the beſt water and ſize, and the moſt precious jewels. The arts uſed by the Dutch to counteract them, were not very juſtifiable: they were, however, perfectly conſiſtent with the genius of this people, who ſtick at nothing to promote their intereſt. They are accuſed, and the charge hath never been diſproved, of having arreſted the Jeſuit pilgrims, and ſtrangled them privately; they are even charged with having uſed poiſon in the moſt baſe and inſidious manner. Certain it is, by a ſeries of the darkeſt arts and intrigues, the Dutch firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves, ruined their adverſaries, and formed a variety of advantageous treaties and alliances with the natives.

The revolution which now happened in England, and the king's reſtoration, affected the politics of the ſtates general, who had never been cordial with Cromwell, and ſince his death, were in a ſtate of uncertainty about the conduct they were to obſerve to his ſon Richard. The tranſactions in England were no ſooner known than Charles ſet out for Breda, where the ſtates diſpatched a ſolemn deputation to congratulate him on his happy proſpect, and welcome his majeſty into the dominions of the republic. This deputation laid the foundation of a violent altercation between the ſtates general and the ſtates of Holland, the former inſiſting not only upon their precedency at Breda, but even in the province of Holland, as the repreſentatives of the Seven Provinces, and the ſovereign authority in the republic. Both reſolved to have the lead in the intended public entry of the king into the Hague; but Charles interpoſed, and happily reconciled the contending parties. He was oppreſſed with honours and civilities during his ſtay in Holland, and upon his departure, was followed by a ſplendid embaſſy to his newly recovered dominions.

The ſtates receive the king of England with great reſpect.

It was in the courſe of this year that the French king had taken violent poſſeſſion of the principality of Orange, upon an ancient claim which princes always find means to prove by the longeſt ſword. The diſputes between the princeſs-dowager furniſhed a pretext for reviving this claim, and Lewis did not chuſe to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of extending his dominion. He alleged that the princeſs governante had

had ſhewn him many inſtances of diſreſpect during the minority of her ſon the prince of Orange. He likewiſe maintained that he was performing a ſignal ſervice to the prince, by eaſing him of the load of uſeleſs expenſive garriſons. This opinion was ſupported by the enemies of the houſe of Orange, who inſiſted that the finances of that family had been ſo miſmanaged and miſapplied ſince the regency, as to render the burthen of maintaining guards, garriſons, and fortifications, quite intolerable. They could not, therefore, conceive what deſign Maurice could have in fortifying, at the price of two millions, a place ſituated in the heart of the French dominions, which could prove of no uſe to the republic, as a barrier againſt the encroachments of France. Very little encouragement from the prince's enemies in Holland was ſufficient to determine the king to undertake an enterprize to which he was before diſpoſed. He was at that time in Provence upon other affairs, and reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the principality of Orange. M. de Milet was ſent to ſummon count Dohna to ſurrender his truſt to the king, as mediator of the differences between the princeſſes-dowagers, and legitimate tutor and protector of the young prince. Upon Dohna's anſwering, that he would only act by the orders of the princeſſes who had veſted him with the office of governor; Milet replied, that he was aſtoniſhed at his preſumption in refuſing obedience to the command of the king his maſter, adding, that the moſt chriſtian king would ſupport his right with the irrefragable proof of twenty thouſand men, who would make him repent of his obſtinacy. The count, without being moved at this menace, perſevered in his duty, and ſent notice of his ſituation to the Hague. The court of the young prince was inſtantly alarmed at the danger which threatened the hereditary dominions; and the friends to the family laboured to reconcile the princeſſes, as the only means which could ward off the impending blow; for as the king had made their differences the principal argument for his own proceedings, it was hoped their reconciliation would take away all pretext for ſo unjuſt and oppreſſive an invaſion on the rights of a minor. Mean time the garriſon was unprovided with ſtores and every neceſſary of a ſiege, while the king's army, under the mareſchal Pleſſis Pralin, advanced to the gates of Orange. The count de Dohna, unable to make any defence, capitulated; and, with the conſent and advice of the magiſtrates, delivered the keys into the hands of the mareſchal. The king promiſed to exerciſe juſtice in the prince's name, and to reſtore the principality, with all the

The king of France ſeizes on the principality of Orange.

the ſtores, cannon, and effects, as ſoon as he arrived at age; or, in caſe of his death, to the electreſs of Brandenburg, or the neareſt heirs; but he took care immediately to demoliſh the citadel, which had been erected at a vaſt expence by prince Maurice. Dohna was accuſed of having yielded to the force of corruption, and the princeſſes exclaimed violently againſt the king's arbitrary proceedings, throwing themſelves upon the protection of the ſtates general, and imploring the aid and aſſiſtance of their high mightineſſes in defence of a helpleſs injured minor. They ſet no bounds to their complaints; they wrote in bitter terms to the king, accuſing him of violating the laws of nations, and taking advantage of the infancy of a child, and the weakneſs of two women, his only protectreſſes.

Lewis's deſigns were too evident, and the caſe of too much importance for the ſtates to paſs it over unnoticed; but they dreaded the effects of the king's diſpleaſure. However, inſtructions were ſent relative to the principality to their ambaſſadors in France and England. The princeſs herſelf viſited England, not only to congratulate the king her brother upon his reſtoration, but to intercede with him in behalf of her ſon. Before her departure the ſtates of Zealand ſhewed their attachment to the family of Orange, by propoſing that the prince ſhould be declared the firſt nobleman in the provinces, veſted with the authority of ſtadtholder, captain-general, and all the other titles and prerogatives held by his anceſtors, and a penſion of one hundred thouſand florins. They alſo demanded that he ſhould immediately be admitted a member of the council of ſtate, in order to be early inſtructed in the arts of war and government, and the other qualifications neceſſary to his high birth and rank in the republic. They, however, allowed that he ſhould not enter upon the functions of his office until he attained the age of eighteen years; and that neither the ſtadtholderſhip, nor any of the other prerogatives ſhould in the mean time be exerciſed by a lieutenant. To give more weight to their propoſal, the zealous ſtates of this province went in a body to the Hague, and preſented themſelves, in a cavalcade of twenty coaches, to the ſtates general. M. de Wit, their penſioner, recited, in a long laboured oration, the ſervices done the republic by the houſe of Orange, and the reaſons why the ſtates of Zealand thought the acceptance of their propoſal neceſſary to the ſecurity and quiet of the provinces. He did not omit a ſingle argument that could enforce his ſubject; and his views were ſeconded by the ſtates of Friſeland and Overyſſel. Holland, however, and the other provinces kept aloof;

aloof; yet, to shew their respect to the princesses and the king of England, they assigned the prince a yearly revenue of forty thousand florins, to support the dignity of his house and the expences of his court and education. They even proceeded so far as to abolish the act of exclusion, which had raised such dissensions in the provinces, and was passed merely out of dread of Oliver Cromwell. In this manner did the complaisance of Holland prevent the other provinces from pushing their designs farther at that time, and open the way to the young prince of Orange, to all the honours and dignities of his illustrious ancestors[r].

A.D. 1661.

Treaty with Portugal.

Notwithstanding the Dutch had been extremely successful in the war against Portugal; though they had obtained all they could propose to themselves by the sword; and though the king had no hopes of recovering his losses by the continuance of the war, yet no peace had been concluded. As the hostilities were confined entirely to a distant country, it could not be expected to be carried on with the same vigour as if Europe had been the theatre of war. The difficulty of transporting troops into those remote regions, and of meeting with other fleets in that vast expanse of ocean, rendered their mutual operations languid, and decisive blows unfrequent; yet both parties were of opinion it was high time to sheath the sworth, and turn their thoughts to a solid reconciliation. The Dutch especially gave way to these pacific sentiments, from a desire to taste the sweet fruits of their conquests, which could not be done with security, while the rupture continued with a kingdom still powerful by sea, though greatly declined; and the crowns of France and England promised their good intentions, from views widely different. His christian majesty rejoiced at having this thorn in the side of the catholic king, and was desirous by taking off the Dutch, to give Portugal weight in his negociations for a peace with the court of Spain; while the king of England, who was upon terms with Catharine, the infanta of Portugal, was eager to render so signal a service to a family with which he was soon to be linked in the closest alliance. The news of this intended marriage were received with more chagrin than surprize in Holland. It was obvious that such engagements would necessarily cement the king of England to the interests of Portugal. The states represented to the king, by their ambassadors, the injustice done them by his Portuguese majesty, in refusing to make restitution of Brasil; but their remonstrances were coldly received; Charles even declared, upon hearing that

[r] Samson, Hist. de Guillaume III. p. 372.

great

great preparations were making in Holland, his intentions to aſſiſt the crown of Portugal. Though he expreſſed himſelf in polite and friendly terms, it was plain that his anſwer contained a menace, if the Dutch ſhould longer purſue their reſentments. At the ſame time he offered his mediation, which, however, was too much ſuſpected to be cordially accepted. The truth was, the crowns of France and England were both meditating the means of ſupporting Portugal; while the miniſter of Alphonſo VI. was diligently negociating a peace at the Hague, where he had gained over a great number of friends. The great obſtacle was the reſtitution of Braſil. This the ſtates had long demanded in vain; it was now determined to relinquiſh the project rather than proſecute hoſtilities againſt a crown ſo powerfully ſupported by France and England, and on the point of being reconciled with Spain. Four provinces, however, oppoſed this reſolution, upon late aſſurances from the Spaniſh court, that they were determined to come to no accommodation with Portugal, and that Braſil ſhould be reſtored to the republic the moment his catholic majeſty ſhould again become poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Portugal. Zealand in particular inſiſted, that, by the treaty of Utrecht, this reſolution could only be carried into execution by an unanimity of voices, which was requiſite in all matters of ſo high importance as the making peace or war. The debate was puſhed to a great length, but it never broke off the conferences with the count de Miranda, the Portugueſe miniſter. At length a treaty was concluded, by which his Portugueſe majeſty promiſed to pay the republic five hundred thouſand livres annually, in money, ſugar, and ſalt; and a million of money to indemnify her loſſes in the Braſils. He likewiſe conſented that the Dutch ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges of trade to Portugal, Braſil, and the coaſt of Africa, as were enjoyed by the Engliſh. Hoſtilities were to ceaſe in Europe two months before the exchange of ratifications, and in the Indies immediately upon public notice of the treaty in thoſe parts[s].

England had already manifeſted a ſtrong bias in favour of Portugal: the intentions of that court became ſtill more obvious by the propoſal that was now made, of a triple alliance between the crowns of England and France and the United Provinces. It was the manner rather than the terms of this propoſition, which gave offence. The coldneſs was increaſed by the reception which the Dutch am-

[s] Wicquefort, p. 14. Baſnage, p. 635.

baſſadors

bassadors met with at the court of London, where they were treated with distant respect, and affronted with the revival of all the claims made by the late protector. They wrote back to the Hague soon after their arrival, that their negociations were likely to prove tedious and difficult, because the king insisted upon the conclusion of a treaty favourable to him, before he entered upon the subject of navigation and commerce. The first obstruction that occurred in course of the conferences, was the right of fishing for herrings on the British coasts. The next was the prerogative assumed by the English of visiting and examining Dutch vessels at sea, as well as in the ports of the kingdom. It was above all things the wish of the Hollanders to abolish this custom, which was equally inconvenient to trade and ignominious to the government; but it was a badge of superiority of which the English were extremely tenacious. The crown-jewels pledged in Holland by the late king, and the not delivering up to punishment all the murderers of the king's father, who had now taken shelter in Holland, together with certain hostilities committed by an English officer on the coast of Africa, all contributed to increase the coldness between the two nations, and render the disputes of the commissaries fruitless. It was plain, from the king's general behaviour, that his designs were rather to avail himself of the power of the republic than live with her upon the ancient footing of friendship. His supporting the claims of his nephew, the prince of Orange, to the stadtholdership; his reconciliation with the princess of Orange, with whom he had been at variance; and his entering into a closer union with the elector of Brandenburg, excited the jealousy of the states, and persuaded them that Charles was no way affected to Holland, or disposed to promote the interest of the republic. Both the king and the states courted Mazarin; but in doing this Charles embroiled himself with the pensioner de Wit, and inflamed the populace of Holland by distressing their fisheries, at the time too when his nephew most wanted their assistance. But what gave the greatest offence was the king's insisting, that the India company should allow free liberty to the English to trade to all the ports of Asia that were not immediately in the possession of the Dutch, even with the kings and princes at war with the republic; and that the English factories should be an asylum for all the natives who sought protection of the British nation. Such demands from a prince who pretended to court the alliance of the republic, could not but be regarded as acts of that authority which aspiring princes attempt to exercise over their neighbours aswell as their sub-

Transactions with England.

jects; but it was the business of the states to suppress their resentment to a more seasonable opportunity. In complaisance to the king three of the regicides were to be seized, in order to be delivered up to punishment. Downing, the English minister, threatened the deputies with the king's resentment if they refused to sign an order to that purpose. He obtained the order; but the magistrates of several towns interposed, affirming it would be the greatest injury to the republic to violate the protection granted to all refugees; and that, in this instance, it would for many reasons be base and insidious. In despite, however, of their opposition, the regicides were taken into custody, embarked at the Briel, and sent to London. De Wit was the principal manager in this transaction, which greatly astonished all his friends, who were no strangers to his declared enmity to the king of England and the house of Orange[t].

Already the tutelage of the prince of Orange had given birth to various dissensions, which were now renewed upon the death of the substitutes appointed by the princess, upon her departure for England. That she should nominate the king her brother among the guardians of the young prince, gave umbrage to the rigid republicans. The enemies to the house of Orange, some of whom were the leading men in the republic, resented highly her substituting the king of England, who, they said, would educate the prince in despotic principles, fill all the vacant offices in the towns dependent on the Orange family with his creatures, and sap the batteries they had been for years erecting in defence of public liberty. In a point of so vast importance, they thought themselves justified in exerting any means to ward off the danger, and striking, what they called, a blow of state. Accordingly they seized upon a strong box which the princess-dowager left in her apartment, where they expected to find the clearest information of the intrigues carried on by the late prince, to establish his own sovereign authority, of the enterprize against Amsterdam, and the secret intercourse he was supposed to hold with divers members of the states general. Charles complained that the law of nations had been grossly insulted by this action; he likewise alleged that his own dignity was affronted, by a violent attempt to extort the secrets of a sovereign family so nearly allied to him, and under the protection of the crown of England. To this remonstrance, the states of Holland, which had authorised the courts of justice to execute this affair, could make no reply, besides

The states of Holland seize upon the papers of the princess-dowager.

[t] Basnage, p. 651.

the

the intereſt they had in all that concerned the prince, and the authority that devolved on them, in conſequence of the princeſs's departure. They found means, however, to ſhift off the reſtitution of the papers demanded, and to lodge them in the ſecretary's office. It is probable, that the occaſion which the princeſs had for the aſſiſtance and countenance of the ſtates, in her propoſed journey to France, to procure reſtitution of the principality of Orange, made the king her brother inſiſt leſs ſtrenuouſly upon this point.

State of Holland with reſpect to France.

The death of cardinal Mazarin, which happened ſoon after the arrival of the Dutch ambaſſadors that were ſent to demand reſtitution of Orange, occaſioned great changes in the court of Lewis XIV. That prince was now, for the firſt time, actually a king. Every thing was conducted under his immediate direction. He uſed the aſſiſtance of his miniſters, but he did not ſuffer them to govern him, as the cardinal had done; and this ſpirit he evinced by the ſudden diſgrace of M. Fouquet, which the Dutch ambaſſadors were in expectation would turn out to the advantage of the republic. He had always oppoſed the treaty of alliance and commerce between the two nations; but the views of Colbert, who ſucceeded in the miniſtry, greatly diſappointed the hopes of the ſtates general. After this affair had been long agitated, the ambaſſadors were on the point of departing, without having made any advance in the negociation. They perceived that the new ſur-intendant had formed vaſt projects for the extenſion of the French commerce, which was altogether inconſiſtent with the treaty they required; however, they found that the intereſt of M. Leguier, Tellier, and the mareſchal Villeroi, might be able to procure their demands under certain modifications and reſtrictions. In effect, theſe miniſters perſuaded the king, that it was for his intereſt to renew the ancient treaties and alliances with Holland; but Colbert guarded againſt their proving injurious to the commerce of the kingdom, and the deſign he had projected of raiſing the French marine to a reſpectable footing. The treaty of commerce imported, that all piracies ſhould be checked, and the offenders puniſhed; that the merchants of both nations ſhould reciprocally trade to each others ports, upon paying a certain duty, without any diſtinction of commodities, except whale-oil. Great difficulties aroſe about the king's guarantying the herring-fiſhery, which the court knew would give umbrage to the Engliſh. Lewis, under pretence that he could not guarantee a conteſted claim without expreſsly declaring againſt one of the claimants, content-

ed himself with general expressions; but the Dutch ambassadors, sensible that a general guarantee would be useless, made pressing instances that the conditions of the king's protection should be minutely specified. In the end, the A.D.1662. treaty was signed upon this footing, but Lewis deferred the ratification[b].

Ruyter sent against the Algerines.

No sooner had the republic secured her commerce against the attacks of French pirates, by the treaty we have just mentioned, than she resolved to check the insolence of the Algerines, who had committed a variety of depredations on the high seas, confiscated the goods and shipping, and enslaved the subjects of the United Provinces, while the states and they were in profound peace with each other. For this purpose de Ruyter was dispatched to the Mediterranean with a powerful squadron. He fell in with a fleet of eight Algerine pirates, which he dispersed, after having taken one and sunk another. A violent storm, that arose in the middle of the engagement, prevented his destroying the whole squadron. It was upon this occasion he received a challenge from the dey of Algiers, couched in the following terms: "Sir, although we differ in religion, I am in hopes we shall agree with respect to the following proposition, and that you will be ready to grant the demand I hereby make: you have three times given me chace, and if I have avoided fighting, I desire you will not attribute it to a deficiency in courage, but to the inequality of my strength. Mine is only a small bark, your's a large ship, and floating castle: it is for this reason I desire you will meet me upon equal terms, that we may prove our fortune and valour: if you conquer me, I shall be your slave; but if fortune should be propitious to my endeavours, I shall rest satisfied with the glory of victory. Grant me this request, and if I prove backward, rank me among the number of timid spirits. Receive the compliments which I send you." De Ruyter accepted the challenge, and appointed the time and place for the engagement; but he heard no more of the Algerine bravo. His constancy on this occasion inspired the Turks with the highest opinion of his courage and generosity; they wished to be friends with the man whom they equally dreaded and admired. The prince of Tunis immediately made concessions; but the Algerines would have persisted in their defence, had their ships been any way proportioned to de Ruyter's strength. This inequality alone obliged them to bend the neck, make apologies for their conduct, give security for their

[b] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 305. Basnage, ibid.

future

future behaviour and enter into the strictest engagements not to molest the Dutch commerce [c].

The education of the prince became again the subject of vehement disputes between the provinces of Holland and Zealand. Holland insisted, that, by the Roman law, and the particular laws of the Netherlands, the tutelage of a nobleman, or young prince, rightly belonged to that sovereign power in whose obedience the father of the minor was at the time of his death. They affirmed, that Zealand had no pretensions, either by sovereign right or testamentary election. The Zealanders replied, that the young prince of Orange was not to be regarded as a mere noble minor, subjected to certain laws, and chambers erected for managing his estate; the prince's chief territories were situated in Zealand; it was therefore reasonable he should have his education under the direction of that province. This dispute begot other subjects of contention, which greatly disturbed all persons attached to the true interest of their country, though de Wit alone, whose influence was every day increasing, laboured to apply the proper remedies. The dissensions were not confined to Holland and Zealand; they spread to Groningen and Utrecht, and at last terminated in an altercation with the duke of Newburg, which was soon compromised [d].

A.D 1663.

Collusion between the king of France and the pensionary de Wit.

France and Holland appear at this period to have been under the direction of the same spirit, and to have co-operated in the same measures. There subsisted a thorough understanding between the pensionary de Wit and the count d'Estrades, who was French ambassador at the Hague. The letters of the most Christian king are full of acknowlegements of the services done him by the pensionary; and, speaking of the treaty in agitation between the crowns of France and England, he expressly declares, that nothing should be concluded in it contrary to the interest of the United Provinces. But this intimate union was neither formed nor continued without warm opposition and loud clamours. The English and Spaniards had each their faction in the states general, and both joined with the Orange family to distress de Wit, who was thus forced into a dependence on France, by which he triumphed for a time over all his adversaries. Spain, jealous of the growing power of France, laboured to form a fœderal union between the republic and the other ten provinces, for their mutual security. This d'Estrades traversed with all his address, and influence with the pensionary. De Wit drew

[c] La Vie de Ruyter, p. 56. [d] Basnage, p. 674.

up a counter-project; the apparent deſign of which was to graft a new republic upon the old, though the effect would probably have been to gain France poſſeſſion of the ten provinces, without the trouble, hazard, or expence of a war. Lewis, however, was unwilling to be put off with the bare poſſibility of obtaining what he was now contriving to poſſeſs; for this reaſon he continued the negociation, but found a variety of pretences to avoid bringing it to an iſſue. When this could no longer be done, without exciting the jealouſy of the ſtates, he laid aſide the maſk and the project together [e].

Cauſes of a rupture between England and the United Provinces.

All this while ſir George Downing, the Engliſh ambaſſador, was ſupporting the negociations of Gamarra, the Spaniſh miniſter, to form the league of the ſeventeen provinces we have already mentioned; but Charles, incenſed at the ſecret tranſactions between de Wit and d'Eſtrades, had given him inſtructions to demand reparation of the injuries done by the ſubjects of the ſtates to the Britiſh commerce. A variety of circumſtances indeed contributed to bring on a rupture between the two nations, to which this remonſtrance was a prelude. They were rivals in commerce, and open enemies in every emporium of trade on the face of the globe. Reciprocal injuries were committed by fraud and violence. Holland had, it is true, left unperformed ſeveral of the articles of the treaty of peace made with Cromwell; but England had ballanced theſe by ſimilar neglects. One circumſtance indeed highly reflected on the dignity of the Britiſh crown; namely, that no ſatisfaction was yet made for the depredations on her commerce in Aſia, or atonement for the maſſacre at Amboyna, except the unexecuted promiſe of a trifling ſum of money. The Dutch contented themſelves with penitential proteſtations on this head, by which even Cromwell had been duped, and prevailed on to with-hold puniſhment, when he had the whole nation at his mercy; can we wonder if the inconſtant, irreſolute Charles, ſhould be over-reached by their artifice? The Dutch, perceiving the humour of the Engliſh, knew that the king would be forced into violent meaſures, they therefore publiſhed a long charge againſt the Engliſh Eaſt India company, which likewiſe anſwered the purpoſe of an apology for their own conduct. This was anſwered by a paper, proving that the charge was a deliberate aſſemblage of frivolous pretences and unjuſt and inſolent demands, made without any regard to honour, truth, reaſon, or the law of nations. Liſts of damages

[e] D'Ablancourt's Memoirs, p. 162.

were

were mutually delivered, which both ſides ſupported by ſeveral ſtrong memorials. It will be unneceſſary to enter into a particular detail of thoſe diſputes in this place: Charles declared to M. Cuneas, the Dutch reſident in London, that he would receive no memorials from his hands, as he expected the ſtates would ſend an ambaſſador in the manner promiſed by M. Beverwert, when he took his leave. His majeſty, beſides, laid a great reſtriction on trade, under pretence of a plague that raged in Holland; and he conſidered it as a particular mark of his regard for Amſterdam, that he confined the uſual time of performing quarantine to thirty days, inſtead of forty. The precaution would have been juſt, had the fact been true; but in any event it ought to have been extended to all the other maritime provinces as well as Holland, which, on this occaſion, was ſingled out, in enmity to the penſionary and the ſtates of that province.

Downing, indeed, by his violent remonſtrances to the ſtates, and the partial accounts remitted to England every day, widened the breach between the two nations. He inſiſted in his memorials upon the reſtitution of two India ſhips, called the Bonadventure and Good Hope, as likewiſe of ſeveral other Engliſh ſhips, rather as ſcaffolds than the building, as collateral circumſtances, but not the main foundation of the propoſed rupture. This is obvious from that treaty concluded the preceding year between the two nations, in which not one of the forty-five articles of damages now preſented was contained. As to the India ſhips, the Engliſh were left, by agreement, to proſecute their claim, and eighty thouſand florins were depoſited by the Dutch company, by way of indemnification, ſhould the deciſion turn out favourable to their adverſaries. The Dutch alleged that the Engliſh greatly over-rated their damages, particularly with reſpect to the India ſhips. They complained that the demand was exorbitant; but this was only a part of the diſpute. Perhaps the real grounds of the war are to be found in the natural intereſt of both parties in the Guinea trade, and the extenſion of their commerce in America. Sir Robert Holmes had been diſpatched with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Africa, to aſſert the rights of Great Britain, and check the encroachments of the Hollanders. This ſervice he performed very effectually, by diſpoſſeſſing them of Cape Verd and Cabo de Corſo; after which he proceeded in his voyage, and rendered himſelf maſter of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York. Theſe hoſtilities the Dutch commiſſaries on the coaſt of

Guinea reſented by detaining the Engliſh ſhipping and merchandize in the ports belonging to the republic. Thoſe veſſels and effects belonged to the new-eſtabliſhed Africa company, of which the duke of York was governor. Downing exclaimed againſt the inſult offered to the king and duke, inſtead of giving ſatisfaction for the hoſtilities which had occaſioned this retaliation. It is for this reaſon we cannot join iſſue with the Engliſh hiſtorians, who are unanimous in throwing the whole odium of the war upon the ſtates general. Had they attributed it to Charles's reſentment of the unatoned barbarities committed in the Eaſt Indies upon Engliſh ſubjects, their plea would have been paſſable; but to charge the Dutch with being the aggreſſors on the coaſt of Guinea, evidently proceeds from national prejudice, and a ſuperficial enquiry into the facts aſſerted by both parties, and inconteſtibly proved by the Hollanders [g].

The grievances of the Dutch were ſtill greater on the ſide of America. Hudſon, an Engliſh captain, had made a deſcent on the Dutch colonies, ſituated at the mouth of the river which now bears the name of that officer, towards the north ſide of the continent of America. This was in the reign of James I. From that time the claims of the Dutch and Engliſh were extremely intricate. The ſituation was too remote to admit of a clear ſtate of the objects in diſpute. Mutual hoſtilities paſſed, and each endeavoured not only to ſupport, but to extend, their ſettlements by force, fraud, and violence. Holmes attacked the Dutch by the king's authority; the Dutch Weſt India company therefore carried their grievances before the ſtates general; but before they could take any meaſures for redreſſing them, advice arrived that the Engliſh had landed on the iſland Monchattan, and had made themſelves maſters of the town of New Amſterdam. Downing not only ſupported this action by affirming it was a conſequence of the inſults offered to the Britiſh commerce on the coaſt of Guinea, but he ſo warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of Sweden and Denmark with reſpect to the Baltic trade, that it was manifeſt no terms could be long preſerved. By this canal he had the addreſs to involve the ſtates in diſputes with the Northern powers, the elector of Brandenburg, and even the French monarch, from whom Sweden received a ſubſidy. His conduct towards the houſe of Orange had inſpired the elector with a perſonal animoſity to the penſionary of Holland: the ſame cauſe had irritated the king of England againſt

[g] Baſnage, p. 713.

this

this miniſter; de Wit, therefore, conceived the only method of guarding againſt the impending blow, was to unite cloſely with France, and ſacrifice trivial claims to the real and neceſſary protection of that powerful prince. The project with reſpect to the cantonment of the Spaniſh Netherlands was again renewed; and the occaſion ſeemed natural, as the king of Spain's life was in great danger, and the infanta labouring under an ardent fever. Matters proceeded ſo far, that four deputies were ſent from the ten provinces to confer upon the ſubject with M. de Wit. At laſt, after ſeveral conferences and propoſals, they were diſmiſſed without coming to any reſolution.

Freſh intrigues with the court of France.

No ſooner the project of forming a new republic vaniſhed than another was ſubſtituted. De Wit laboured to conclude a treaty of partition with France, whereby the houſe of Auſtria ſhould be excluded the poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands, in caſe the emperor Joſeph married the infanta of Spain. This was no other than a diviſion of the provinces between France and the republic. But ſeveral difficulties aroſe in the execution. A miſtake committed by d'Eſtrades, in decyphering a letter of inſtructions from his court, had almoſt broke off the negociation. The ambaſſador inſiſted that Ghent and Mechlin ſhould be aſſigned to the king, by which means the frontiers of the republic would be expoſed to his mercy; but the king cleared up this blunder, by affirming that he had never demanded the latter, and that his miniſter had miſtaken the former for Cambray. Now the greateſt difficulty was to engage the deputies of the towns in his deſign; and this the penſionary effected by a very extraordinary ſtroke of policy, which at the ſame time diſplays his knowlege of mankind, and the ignorance of the deputies. He inſinuated to them his apprehenſions leſt the infidels ſhould, after having conquered the empire, penetrate into the Netherlands, and eſtabliſh a footing in the neighbourhood of the republic. The court of France laughed at the wildneſs of M. de Wit's project; but they were aſtoniſhed when they perceived its effects, and that he drew from it the very conſequence he propoſed. He perſuaded the deputies of the neceſſity of entering into a cloſer alliance with the king, whoſe power alone could ſtem the torrent of Turkiſh conqueſt, and protect the republic of Holland. To carry his point more clearly, under pretence of viſiting his uncle he made the tour of Holland, and conferred in perſon with all the magiſtrates, while d'Eſtrades was taking the ſame meaſures in ſome of the other provinces. A fortunate accident to promote his ſcheme happened at Conſtantinople, where

where the Dutch resident was arrested, because a Dutch ship, freighted by the grand seignor to Alexandria, had fallen into the hands of the Maltese. Warner, the resident, was at length forced to pay the damages; upon which he was set at liberty. De Wit turned this circumstance to his advantage, and inflamed the people to such a degree, that the states laid an additional duty on all commodities from the Levant, until the losses of the resident should be indemnified. All the magistrates of the principal towns were now unanimously of opinion that the republic ought to enter into the strictest ties with the French king. Some towns, however, opposed the scheme of a partition of the Netherlands, from an apprehension that this must embarrass the republic with Spain and the emperor [b].

While things were in this train, the rumour of a treaty between France and England, and of an armament equipping by the former against the pope, excited the jealousy in the states, and even alarmed the pensioner, lest France might have secret designs of becoming entirely master of the Netherlands. The Spanish minister at the Hague likewise propagated a report, that a treaty between Spain, France, and England, was in agitation; which report produced an extraordinary effect upon the minds of the people. To this we may add the revival of the old disputes between the provinces of Holland and the states general, upon the variety of topics already mentioned. Both de Wit and the states began to apprehend they might bewilder themselves in such a labyrinth of intrigues as should incur the displeasure of all the other neighbouring powers, the emperor, the kings of Spain and England, while they could have no reliance upon the friendship of the French monarch. This consideration determined the pensioner to act with more caution, and to cast about for the means of avoiding a rupture with England, until the republic should be fortified by alliances, or at least secured against the resentment of Spain and the empire. But this point was found impracticable. Hostilities had so long been pursued on the coast of Africa and in America, that both nations were highly exasperated, and there appeared a necessity of terminating the quarrel by the sword. Walchenberg, director-general for the Dutch East India company on the coast of Guinea, had imprudently, not only in the name of the company, but even of the states general, set forth a claim to the whole coast, and prohibited all other nations

A.D.1664.

[b] Lettres de Comte d'Estrades.

from

from ſettling in that quarter. The inſolence of this order extremely irritated the Engliſh in particular. The affair came before the parliament, and that body reſolved, that the wrongs, injuries, and indignities done to his majeſty by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Africa, and America, and the damages done to the Engliſh commerce, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade; his majeſty was therefore intreated to take ſpeedy and effectual methods for redreſſing the grievances of the nation; the commons aſſuring him they would aſſiſt him with their lives and fortunes.

Notwithſtanding the zeal of the Engliſh parliament, and the mutual reſentmment of the parties, it was ſtill a doubt whether a rupture would enſue, as de Wit ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the coming to extremities. The ſtates, however, determined to provide againſt the worſt, and make the neceſſary preparations for war. The Eaſt India company offered to defend the ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, at their own expence, on condition they were ceded to them in form. D'Eſtrades endeavoured to prevail on de Wit, and the leading perſonages, to embrace the propoſal, as the moſt certain means of diſtreſſing the Engliſh, and putting the African trade on a reſpectable footing; but as de Ruyter was now upon that coaſt with a ſquadron, the ſtates were willing to be firſt acquainted with the ſucceſs of his expedition. Meanwhile a ſquadron commanded by admiral Opdam put to ſea, and cruiſed upon the Flemiſh ſhore, to watch the deſigns of the Britiſh fleets; but he could not put a ſtop to the depredations committed by prince Rupert, who, before war was declared, had taken above a hundred Dutch merchantmen, laden with wine and fruit from Bourdeaux, and other French harbours. It was this circumſtance that determined the ſtates to ſend Van Buiningen in quality of ambaſſador to France, to implore a more effectual mediation than the king's promiſed guarantee, and to ſignify, that de Ruyter had been ſent to the coaſt of America, not to attack the ſhips, forts, and ſettlements of the Engliſh, but to protect the Dutch trade; an artifice which ſerved only to exaſperate the Engliſh, who now regarded the whole conduct of the ſtates as inſidious and deſigning. In the beginning of the year, they had invited Charles to act in concert with them, againſt the Algerines. The king complied, and a ſquadron was ſent to the Mediterranean to join the Dutch. On the meeting of the ſquadrons, ſome difference aroſe about the honours of the ſea; de Ruyter complained that he was affronted; Lawſon, the Engliſh admiral, denied it; but the Dutchman, under this

this pretext, parted company, sailed for the coast of Africa, and reduced all the places lately taken by the English, except the fortification at Cape Coast. He besides battered and took fort Cormantin, which had always been an English settlement. He also seized upon eight English merchantmen just arrived, and appropriated their cargoes to the West India company. To render their treacherous schemes still more unsuspected, they came to a resolution of communicating to the court of London their intention of sending a small squadron to the coast of America, such as could afford no apprehension that they proposed acting offensively. This, at least, is the charge of the English historians: and indeed it must be confessed, that the conduct of the states was extremely ambiguous; but whether from necessity, irresolution, or design, we cannot pretend to determine [1].

While Europe was in suspence about the issue of the intrigues carried on in France, England, Spain, and Holland, the Dutch, upon the eve of a war with their great rival in commerce, were disturbed by some alarms from Denmark, the empire, and the busy restless bishop of Munster. The Danes complained that the Hollanders had monopolized the trade of Africa; and every measure which might accelerate and insure the ruin of the republic was eagerly embraced by the court of London. It was artfully insinuated at Copenhagen, that the states proposed excluding all other nations from any communication with the coast of Guinea; the court of Vienna was reminded of the injuries and oppressions sustained by the subjects of the empire; of the enterprising disposition of the Dutch, and their tyranny over all the petty neighbouring princes; and the bishop of Munster was sensible, that now the opportunity offered of revenging himself upon a republic, whose meddling policy had obstructed the accomplishment of his favourite projects. The Dane however was awed by the importance of the Dutch trade to his dominions, and the revenue arising from the duties they paid in the Sound; the emperor's whole attention was employed on the means of repulsing the infidels; he even went so far as to propose an alliance to the states general, which they rejected, from an apprehension it might give umbrage to the French monarch. As to the bishop of Munster, Downing, the English minister, found him more ready to listen to his projects. This prelate was now engaged in a controversy about some lands, with the prince of Lichtenstein. The process was determined in his favour by the imperial cham-

Dispute with the bishop of Munster.

[1] Basnage, p. 723.

ber at Spire; and believing it neceſſary to profit by this award, the biſhop uſed force, and thereby incurred the diſpleaſure of the ſtates general. He ſurpriſed fort Eydeler, garriſoned it, and repaired the fortifications. Alarmed at this ſtep, the ſtates complained that their frontier was in danger: and the biſhop replied, that the republic had no right to the fort, as her borders were ſufficiently guarded by other fortifications. France and Spain wanted to accommodate the difference, and offered their mediation; but the biſhop rejected their offers, relying upon the protection of the emperor, who declared he would ſuffer no violence to be done to the prelate, and the approaching war between England and Holland, which he foreſaw would give ſufficient employment to the ſtates general.

The ſtates preſented ſpirited remonſtrances to the court of Vienna, and ſhewed the neceſſity they were under of ſecuring the frontiers of the republic, keeping at a diſtance ſo enterpriſing a neighbour as the biſhop, and depriving him of his late acquiſition. As this remonſtrance produced no effect, they wrote to the biſhop, that unleſs he immediately withdrew his troops, they would march a body of forces to inveſt Eydeler. The firmneſs of the ſtates ſtaggered the reſolution of the biſhop; he now diſpatched an envoy to the Hague, begun a negociation, and had the addreſs to prevail on the ſtates to recall the prince of Naſſau, who was laying ſiege to the fort. However, the conferences were broke off, the war was renewed, and the prince of Naſſau ſent with an army to lay ſiege to Wilderſkans, a ſtrong place, before which he died of a putried fever [k].

A.D. 1665.

The ſituation of the republic at the commencement of the war with England.

The ſituation of the republic was now critical. She was engaged in actual war, with a bold, reſtleſs, ambitious prieſt, protected by the emperor, and upon the verge of a rupture with England, the moſt powerful maritime nation in Europe. The king of England, inſtigated by his brother the duke of York, who never forgot the uſage he received at the Hague during his exile, and was beſides inflamed with a violent deſire of ſignalizing himſelf againſt a republic he mortally hated, had now determined to keep no terms with Holland, and to terminate the differences of the two nations by the ſword. Mutual animoſity rather than intereſt actuated both parties. Battles fought on land generally brought ſome advantage, and acquiſition of territory to the victor; but the naval engagements which now coſt ſuch ſeas of blood, produced nothing but glory. The prodigality of the

[k] Id. ibid.

king

king of England urged him to a rupture. From the supplies which might neceſſarily be granted for the proſecution of the war, he foreſaw he ſhould be able to with-hold conſiderable ſums for the ſupport of his pleaſures. Beſides, that prince had a taſte for ſhip-building, and a paſſion for equiping ſuch an armament as ſhould give law to all the maritime powers of Europe.

Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, the ſtates ſolicited the mediation of France, by means of Van Buiningen, whoſe vivacity, genius, and oratory, began now to give him diſtinction, and raiſe his reputation high in the eſteem of Lewis. The French king ſeemed to yield to the intreaties of the Dutchman, at the very time it was ſuſpected he was ſupplying his brother the king of England with money to maintain the war which now appeared inevitable. Another circumſtance likewiſe contributed to render the ſituation of the republic, with reſpect to France, very dubious. Several French ſhips, under various pretences, had been detained in the ports of Holland; particularly five large veſſels bought up for the ſervice of the Eaſt India company. Theſe the Dutch fitted out for the uſe of their own company; they were reclaimed by d'Eſtrades, in divers fruitleſs memorials [1]; but the ſtates alleged, that the embargo, which the approaching war with England rendered neceſſary, ought to extend to the ſhipping of all foreigners, Nothing can be more ambiguous than this conduct: the Dutch were ſoliciting the friendſhip of France publicly by their ambaſſador; they were imploring his mediation between them and the king of England; and yet they were privately taking ſuch meaſures, as they ought to know muſt have confirmed France in the intereſt of their enemies. Such unſteadineſs can only be accounted for, by the little harmony that ſubſiſted among the different departments of the republic, and the factions ſupported by de Wit on the one hand, and the friends of the houſe of Orange on the other. That miniſter was fixed in the intereſt of Lewis, while the oppoſite party wavered between their reſpect for England, and the neceſſity of keeping upon fair terms with France, at the ſame time that they ſecretly obſtructed the deſigns and projects of the penſioner. The nation in general had no opinion of the ſincerity of France; they complained, that Lewis only watched an opportunity of ſeizing upon the Netherlands; yet, to gratify his indignation, and ſtop the cravings of his ambition, they joined iſſue with de Wit about reſtoring the

[1] Wicquefort, Hiſt. p. 15. Lettres d'Eſtrades.

ſhipping;

ſhipping; which they did in terms the moſt honourable and ſubmiſſive [m].

Nor was this the only difference between the king and the republic. The diſpute about the ſhipping was no obſtacle to the negociations of Buiningen, who kept his majeſty ſteady in the overtures to England, of his meditation. However, the ambaſſador by expreſs order of the ſtates, had given ſuch a turn to affairs as highly diſpleaſed Lewis. While they pretended to relax in numberleſs points, they cloſely adhered in fact to their old terms; this conduct obliged the king to complain in the moſt lively manner, that they triſled with him, by offering to England conditions which that court had frequently before rejected; that, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, he could not afford the leaſt hope of accommodation, and that, if ſome propoſals were not made relative to the future ſettlement of trade, he ſhould have reaſon to ſuſpect their deſigns were to engroſs the whole commerce of the world. The ſtates knew it was Lewis's intereſt to ſupport the Louveſtein faction againſt the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the protection of his uncle, the king of England; and in fact, notwithſtanding the firmneſs of the ſtates, and the many cauſes of diſpleaſure they had given, Lewis, ſtrongly inclined in favour of the penſioner, and particularly reſpected the creature of that miniſter, Van Buiningen. Yet he was apprehenſive of declaring againſt Charles, leſt he ſhould throw himſelf into the arms of Spain, whither that prince had now diſpatched an ambaſſador. To gain time, this politic monarch ſent the duke de Verneuil, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy to London, with farther offers of mediating a pacification; and the duke continued at that court for ſeveral months, though his conferences proved fruitleſs. The truth is, he found that the republic had not prepared a ſufficient fleet to oppoſe the Engliſh; he had been miſinformed as to the ſtrength of the Dutch naval armament, and had ſtrongly recommended a defenſive war, and keeping cloſe in their harbours. It was matter of aſtoniſhment to him, to find that the ſtates had actually in commiſſion a fleet of three hundred men of war, beſides traders, yachts, and fireſhips, manned with twenty thouſand ſeamen. The low condition of his own marine, when compared with that of Holland, made him now regard the republic with more reſpect. To find that ſuch an armament ſhould be equipped without any noiſe, or extraordinary means, could not fail to inſpire him

Differences with the court of France.

[m] Lettres de Compte d'Eſtrades.

with

with ſublime notions of her formidable naval power, and the vaſt extent of her commerce [n].

While the French king was thus balancing between England and Holland, the duke of York ſet ſail in the month of May, and cruized for fifteen days before the Texel, during which time he took a great number of the enemy's ſhips homeward bound, before the Dutch fleet had aſſembled. On the duke's return to Harwich the fleets of Holland and Zealand joined; but they were diſperſed by a ſtorm, and ſeveral ſhips forced into the Engliſh ports. Again they rendezvouſed at the mouth of the Meuſe, to the number of a hundred and twenty ſail, excluſive of fire-ſhips, ketches, &c. under the command of the admirals Opdam, Evertzen, Cartemaar, and Van Tromp, nephew to the celebrated Tromp, who had loſt his life in the laſt war. The utmoſt reſolution and ſpirit appeared in all the officers and ſeamen, all emulous of the opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves, and of recovering the loſt honour of the republic; for ſuch they deemed the humble ſupplications made to the uſurper Cromwell. The penſioner himſelf went on board the fleet to acquaint the officers with promiſes of rewards, and he accompanied it in a yacht for two leagues to ſea, where he delivered the order of the ſtates to fight the Engliſh at all hazards. Opdam, in compliance with his inſtructions, proceeded in queſt of the enemy; but the wind blowing in ſuch a manner as to give the Engliſh the weather-gage, he choſe rather to deviate from the orders of the ſtates, and bear away for the Meuſe than riſk a defeat by fighting under a diſadvantage. His conduct incenſed the penſioner, whoſe intereſt now predominated in the republic. De Wit had reſolved to hazard an engagement, knowing that even a defeat would induce France to declare for the ſtates; he therefore obtained an order, requiring Opdam, under pain of death, to ſeek out the enemy and give battle. The admiral was piqued at inſtructions which ſtrongly reflected on his courage. He perceived that the orders had been dictated by de Wit, who had become his enemy on account of his attachment to the houſe of Orange, and reſolved to take a glorious revenge, by faithfully diſcharging his duty, and demonſtrating the injuſtice of the aſperſion. With this view he weighed anchor on the 3d day of April, and in a few hours fell in with the Engliſh fleet, of equal force, under the conduct of the duke of York, the earl of Sandwich, ſir George Aſcough, and the admirals Pen and Lawſon, who had ſo eminently

The Dutch fleet is defeated by the Engliſh.

[n] Baſnage, p. 742.

diſtin-

diſtinguiſhed themſelves under the protectorate. The fleets met between Yarmouth and Harwich; the engagement began at four in the morning, and both ſides maintained it with their uſual intrepidity, conduct, and animoſity. Opdam is blamed for allowing the Engliſh to gain the weather-gage, but unjuſtly; circumſtances would not ſuffer it ſhould be otherwiſe, and yet he was under the neceſſity of fighting. He called a council of war, laid his own opinion before the officers, and ſhewed them his inſtructions. "We muſt (ſays he) pluck laurel or the cypreſs, there is no alternative." He would even ſeem to have ſome foreboding of the unfortunate event, for he ſent all the money back to Holland immediately upon his clearing for battle. Never was a ſea-fight more confuſed or terrible; ſcarce a ſhip kept to its proper ſtation, yet all were deeply engaged. Both admirals committed egregious blunders, which they endeavoured to regain by valour. The duke and Opdam, by a reciprocal miſtake, fought ſhip to ſhip with the moſt deſperate firing. Three perſons of quality were killed by the ſide of the duke of York, and his cloaths covered over with their blood; and ſoon after admiral Opdam, with a great number of volunteers of diſtinction, was blown up into the air. Above ſix hundred men periſhed by this accident, which aroſe from a ſpark of fire falling into the powder-room. His flag was hoiſted by Cartemaar, who was ſoon killed by a cannon ball. Still, however, the battle raged with doubtful event, and it is probable the night would have ſeparated the combatants, had not ſeveral Dutch captains withdrawn themſelves from the line. They had been promoted, by the intereſt of the prevailing faction as ſpies on the conduct of Opdam, without any regard to merit. Many were deficient in ability, and ſome in courage. The enemy profited by their negligence, and puſhed with redoubled vigour the ſhips that continued in the line. Evertzen, and even Tromp, defended themſelves with the utmoſt obſtinacy; but the former was obliged to ſhift his flag, and have his ſhip towed away. This circumſtance, and the deſtruction of ſeveral of the ſhips, either devoured by the flames, or ſwallowed up by the ocean, firſt introduced confuſion, which was ſucceeded by an unuſual deſpondency; in a word, the Dutch were defeated, with the loſs of eighteen ſhips, either ſunk, burnt, or blown up in the action, with near ſix thouſand mariners, beſides two of the beſt admirals in Holland. Van Tromp, however, made an admirable retreat, and, by his valour and the ſkill of his diſpoſition, prevented the enemy from purſuing a victory they had purchaſed with the loſs of the brave

admiral Lawson, two thousand seamen, and seven capital ships [o].

Admiral Evertzen was the first who brought the report of this defeat to the Briel, where the people were so exasperated as to attempt his life, though they had every reason to approve his conduct. It was with the utmost difficulty he could pass under cover of the night to the Hague, to lay the situation of affairs before the states: his narrative overwhelmed them with consternation. The Orange party demanded an immediate peace with England, and the elevation of the prince of Orange to the stadtholdership. M. de Wit was greatly disappointed in his sanguine hopes of victory. However, he supported his opinions with a resolution that shewed he was prepared for the worst that could happen. He did not, nevertheless, openly oppose the faction; but he answered their demands, by affirming, that now was the time to expect the open declaration of the French king. He procured an immediate order for Van Tromp to keep the sea, with the remains of the fleet, in order to diminish the glory of the conquerors, sustain the reputation of the republic, and persuade the people that the defeat was less decisive than the enemies of the government had reported. Three deputies were accordingly sent to Tromp; but he refused to run farther hazards with officers, in whose skill, courage, or fidelity, he could have no dependence. Several captains were tried for cowardice and neglect of duty; three were shot, four had their swords ignominiously broken over their heads by the common hangman, two were superseded and declared incapable of service, and the chief pilot was sentenced to walk under a gibbet with a rope about his neck, after which disgrace he was banished.

By these rigid and just punishments the states gratified the officers of merit, answered the public expectation, and inspired the seamen with a spirit of emulation, a dread of the consequences of neglect, and with respect for the officers promoted in the room of the delinquents. The utmost expedition was used in repairing the fleet, as it was known that the enemy lay in wait for de Ruyter, who was daily expected from the coast of Africa, with his greatly inferior squadron. The armament was manned with little difficulty, but it was no easy matter to fix upon an admiral every way unexceptionable. Van Tromp had skill, courage, and popularity; he was exceedingly beloved by the seamen, but he had disobeyed the deputies sent with orders

[o] Smollett, Hist. Eng. book vii. chap. 1.

from

from the states. He was besides attached to the house of Orange, which, by rendering him suspected by the pensioner, proved a great obstacle to his elevation. It was not, however, upon this occasion only that de Wit subjected his private resentments to the public good; he had often raised merit without respect to party, though where an equality appeared in candidates of opposite principles, he gave the preference to the friend of his own faction. Van Tromp was now without a rival in talents, and he was set at the head of the navy until the arrival of de Ruyter, an old officer, of at least equal merit, equally beloved by the nation, and particularly esteemed by the pensioner. In this post he had not continued long when de Ruyter arrived, after having happily escaped under cover of a thick fog. He was no sooner in the port of Delfzil, in Groningen, than the sailors mutinied, insisting upon being set on shore and disbanded, before any orders came from the states. They were disgusted with the toilsome, tedious, and sickly voyage; they dreaded being immediately again sent to encounter with fatigue and danger, and they pretended they were told that the English had used their prisoners, after their late defeat, with great barbarity. At length the confidence which the admiral reposed in their honour, and the leave he gave them to visit their friends upon their promise to return on the first notice, secured them in his interest so strongly, that not an individual deserted.

The safe arrival of de Ruyter was particularly agreeable to the pensioner, whose intention was to give him the chief command of the armament now equipping, and to raise him to the rank of lieutenant-admiral-general. The council of state made the proposal to the states of Holland, who immediately accepted it, ordering de Ruyter to take the oaths, receive his commission, and enter upon his employment. Van Tromp complained of the preference given to his rival, and refused to serve in a subordinate capacity; but the states sent orders for the fleet to sail immediately to sea, for Van Tromp to keep the station appointed him, and denounced vengeance against the least opposition to their will, being determined to pursue the general good, without regarding the humours of party and of disappointed ambition. So impatient was de Wit for the departure of the fleet, that, to accelerate matters, he accompanied the other deputies on board, though he exposed thereby his fortune and character to the censure of his enemies, who did not fail to make a handle of his desertion of his proper business on so critical an occasion. The French king was alarmed at so unprecedented a mea-

ſure; and his own party imagining he intended ſerving in the expedition, being left without a head, ſunk into deſpondency. His friends applied to him, and M. de Wit's anſwer plainly indicated what were his reſolutions. He reſolved to hazard his life, and replied, "My perſon and my intereſt are inſeparable from the preſervation of the ſtate; a ſecond naval engagement will determine the fate of my country. Van Tromp has ability and courage; but he may be wanting in obedience to the orders of his ſuperior, and in experience to conduct an important action. The impetuoſity and ardour of the officers may blind their judgment, and occaſion the loſs of the faireſt opportunities, and thoſe rivalſhips may generate diviſions; I therefore think my honour, my conſcience, and my duty to my country, require that I ſhould prevent the fatal conſequences either of too much pride or too much valour."

De Wit's inflexibility raiſed a univerſal clamour; he was accuſed of having brought the republic into the moſt imminent danger, and then deſerting the helm, at the moment his ſteadineſs and ability were moſt required. At Paris it was believed, that he took this ſtep to avoid the perſecution of his enemies. The clergy in Holland, always attached to the houſe of Orange, declaimed violently from the pulpit againſt the adminiſtration, and the ſtates were under the neceſſity of prohibiting them to meddle with public affairs: however they ſtill perſiſted, and ſome of them were ſuſpended by authority. As an addition to the calamities of the ſtate, a mutiny broke out among the ſailors, which could only be appeaſed by violent remedies, and the execution of the ring-leaders. Afterwards the fleet was detained by adverſe winds, ſhallow water, and other accidents, while the king of England was meditating a project, the ſucceſs of which would have deeply affected the commerce of Holland, and ſtruck at the very being of the republic. A vaſt fleet of Eaſt India and Turkey merchantmen, having ſailed north about to avoid the Engliſh cruizers, put into Bergen in Norway, where they propoſed lying till de Ruyter ſhould conduct them to Holland. It was propoſed to the king of Denmark, by the Engliſh envoy at Copenhagen, that he ſhould ſeize upon that rich fleet, by way of indemnification of his loſſes in the Swediſh war, in which the Dutch had involved him. The northern monarch could not withſtand the powerful temptation; but he told the envoy, that though he thought the meaſure highly prudent and convenient, he was in no condition to execute ſo important an enterprize. This was directly his language to the Dutch ſome years before, when they adviſed

viſed the ſeizure of the Engliſh merchantmen put into Copenhagen to avoid their ſquadrons. It was giving the envoy an opportunity of making offers of the king of England's aſſiſtance, which he did not fail to embrace; upon this aſſurance the bargain was concluded, on condition that the prize ſhould be equally divided. Lord Sandwich had orders to ſail immediately to Norway to execute the project; but he contented himſelf with diſpatching part of the fleet, under an inferior officer, who attacked the Dutch with great impetuoſity. As the governor of Bergen had not yet received orders to join the Engliſh, or even remain paſſive, he thought himſelf bound by the law of nations to protect a fleet that had taken ſhelter in a neutral port; accordingly he joined the Hollanders, and gave ſo warm a reception to the Engliſh admiral, as forced him, with conſiderable damage, to abandon the enterprize.

Scarce had the count d'Alefeldt delivered the Dutch merchants from the hands of the Engliſh, when he put them in equal danger, by the demand of a large ſum of money, by way of indemnification of the damage his Daniſh majeſty had ſuſtained upon their account. This unjuſt claim he was preparing to enforce by violent meaſures, when, fortunately, de Ruyter arrived, and took them under his protection; upon which the whole fleet ſet ſail for Holland. In the voyage they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, diſperſed, ſhattered, and ſome of the ſhips thrown into the hands of the Engliſh; but the remainder arrived, in a wretched plight, in different parts of the United Provinces. The utmoſt expedition was uſed in collecting and repairing the ſhips, ſo that in a ſhort time a more powerful ſquadron than the former put to ſea, under the ſame commanders, and with much the ſame fortune. A ſtorm aroſe more furious than before, and drove the admiral back into port with his ſhattered armament.

Notwithſtanding the elements ſeemed combined againſt the republic, the ſtates, encouraged by de Wit, reſolved upon one more effort, for fear the Engliſh, who had ſuffered in the ſame tempeſt, ſhould have time to refit, or before they could be enriched by captures, and the ſpoils of the Dutch commerce. The vigilance and activity of the penſioner met with the thanks of the ſtates; he was the actuating ſpring of every motion, and laboured now with the utmoſt diligence to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow, which might at the ſame time ſilence the clamours of his enemies, and oblige the enemy to liſten to reaſonable terms of accommodation. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the terrible plague which was at this time deſolating the capital of

Great Britain, contributed more to the ſecurity of Holland than all the endeavours of the ſtates and M. de Wit. This dreadful calamity, together with the natural indolence of the king's diſpoſition, damped the ſpirit of the Engliſh, enfeebled every reſolution, and infuſed a languor into the councils of that nation.

While the third expedition was preparing, the ſtates general propoſed revoking the commiſſion granted to the deputies de Wit, Huygen, and Boreel, to attend the armament, which they believed diſpirited the officers, and rendered men who had not ſtudied the art of war the chief directors of military operations. This motion was oppoſed by the ſtates of Holland, who not only refuſed to comply with the ſtates general, but confirmed and enlarged the former powers of the deputies: however, as the winter was far advanced, the penſioner reſigned his naval employment. De Ruyter was recompenced for his ſervices with a preſent from the admiralty of Amſterdam, and invited to ſit as preſident of that college, until the ſeaſon permitted his putting to ſea.

All this time the king of France kept aloof. He apprehended that de Wit's party would, in his abſence, be forced to ſink under the weight and popularity of the oppoſite faction, now greatly ſtrengthened by the penſioner's quitting his civil employment, to act in a military capacity. Van Buiningen plied his majeſty cloſely, and endeavoured, by every artifice, to draw France into the quarrel; but could obtain only general aſſurances, until the arrival of M. de Vaal from Bergen, when he ordered his ambaſſador to declare to the ſtates, that he was determined to keep up to the conditions of the promiſed guarantee. To give this declaration the ſtronger air of ſincerity, the ambaſſador preſented to the ſtates a memorial, drawn up by his court, reſpecting the operations of war, ſhould it be found neceſſary to come to an abſolute rupture with England.

In this fluctuating ſituation was France upon the return of M. de Wit, and his reſuming the employment of penſioner. It ſoon appeared what the preſence of one great man can effect in a ſtate, whoſe councils are languid and diſtracted by oppoſite opinions and intereſts. The penſioner no ſooner arrived at the Hague than the face of affairs were changed, and freſh vigour and ſpirit re-animated every department of the republic. The murmurs of party were ſilenced, and all joined in admiring the activity, the wiſdom, the policy, and the ſagacity of the penſioner, who now was deemed the life and ſoul of the ſtates. The enemies of the republic were multiplying, but her reſources

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and strength seemed likewise augmented, by the ardour inspired by de Wit, who made sure that his return would engage France openly to declare against Great Britain. Van Galen, bishop of Munster, excited by ambition, and engaged by a considerable subsidy from Charles II. determined to prosecute his inflexible animosity to the states. This prelate perceived that the whole attention of the provinces was employed in equipping a powerful naval armament, and that they had neglected repairing and garrisoning their strong holds, in order the more readily to man and fit out their squadrons. In Guelderland and Overyssel the fortifications were totally neglected, and all consideration for so petty, though implacable an enemy as the bishop of Munster, was absorbed in the more important object of a vigorous defence against the powerful monarchy of Great Britain. Van Galen resolved either to profit by this conjuncture, or to lose his life in the attempt. With this view he made an irruption into the province of Overyssel, at the head of eight thousand men, seizing upon Almelo and other places, before any measures were concerted to stop his progress. Berkelo alone made any resistance. Here the commanding officer, after a vigorous defence, capitulated upon honourable conditions, which were little regarded by the bishop, who, as soon as he had it in his power, slaughtered the soldiers and burghers without distinction. Terror diffused itself through all the provinces, and the states of Holland and the pensioner laboured diligently to apply remedies to a disorder observed when too late. New levies were made, a treaty was entered into with the duke of Lunenburg, and instructions were sent to Van Buiningen to demand of the French king the six thousand auxiliaries stipulated by treaty [p].

War with the bishop of Munster.

Every day the bishop was increasing his strength, and acquiring fresh vigour by his successes. Not satisfied with ravaging Overyssel, he meditated an enterprize against the city of Groningen. Leaving a part of his army to resist the forces then raising by the dukes of Lunenburg, Zell, and the bishop of Osnabrug, he marched into the heart of Groningen, with intention first of surprising Delfzil, in which enterprize the English promised to assist him; but a party of his troops being repulsed with loss by a small corps formed out of the neighbouring garrisons, defeated his design. However he proceeded to lay siege to Groningen, into which the princess of Friseland threw herself and family to animate the garrison by her presence; a re-

[p] Basnage, p. 675.

ſolution worthy of the daughter of prince Frederic Henry of Orange. She had ſold her plate and jewels to raiſe a ſufficient body of men for the defence of the city; and took ſuch vigorous meaſures as retarded the operations of the enemy, giving time for the Dutch forces and the French auxiliaries to come to her relief. In a word, her attachment to her country prevailed over maternal duty and affection, and ſhe was the inſtrument of the ſafety of Groningen, expreſsly contrary to the commands of the princeſs of Orange, who wiſhed to ſee the biſhop ſucceſsful, that the adminiſtration of the penſioner might become more odious. On the approach of the allied army the biſhop was forced to raiſe the ſiege, retire into winter-quarters, and defer his operations to the enſuing campaign.

A.D. 1666. Lewis's firſt ſtep towards a declaration in favour of Holland, was the body of auxiliaries he had ſent to check the aſpiring views of the biſhop of Munſter. He now went farther, in recalling his ambaſſadors from England, and taking every meaſure that portended an entire rupture with that nation. The ſuſpenſe he was under which faction might prevail, and his high opinion of the wealth, and conſequently the power, of the republic, occaſioned his ſo long deferring his declaration. He feared driving king Charles into an union with Spain; but he now was more apprehenſive of the ruin of the republic, ſince the real ſtate of affairs had been preſented to him by the count d'Eſtrades, who demonſtrated, that the ſtrength of a commercial people was not always to be eſtimated by their wealth, as the king had always before imagined. It was immediately upon this repreſentation that he recalled his ambaſſador from London, and in the month of January declared war againſt England, though he never entered heartily into the quarrel, or ſupported his allies with the expected vigour and ſpirit. The ſtates found means likewiſe to engage the king of Denmark in their intereſt, by virtue of a large ſubſidy, in conſideration of which he obliged himſelf to maintain a fleet of thirty ſail for their ſervice. The judicious diſtribution of their money had indeed wrought a thorough change in their favour; and the biſhop of Munſter, who had lately been ſo formidable an enemy, was now flying before the powers raiſed againſt him by the republic. Little confidence, however, was placed in the doubtful conduct of Lewis, who ſeemed equally inclinable to ſerve the ſtates, and avoid entering the liſts with Charles. Friends and enemies in vain looked out for the French fleet, to give the Engliſh battle, and join the Dutch ſquadron; but the admiral had the addreſs

addreſs never to be found, while his court was ſtipulating with the ſtates about the command of an imaginary junction, and whether it ſhould belong to Beaufort, the king's admiral, or to the lieutenant-admiral of Holland. The mode of operations was likewiſe diſputed, and at laſt each determined to purſue their own particular views and intereſts, without regard to the common cauſe.. It was the deſign of the Hollanders to come to a general engagement, to which Lewis was averſe, leſt his own infant marine might be deſtroyed, or the Engliſh power ſuſtain ſuch a blow as would give too great a naval ſuperiority to the republic [q].

Sea fight between the Dutch and Engliſh, which continued for four days.

When the Dutch fleet was ready, de Ruyter put to ſea, in three diviſions, aſſiſted by the admirals Evertzen, Tromp, Meppel, Nes, and Vries, the whole fleet conſiſting of eighty-three capital men of war, beſides the ketches, tenders, and fireſhips. To prevent confuſion, each of theſe ſquadrons was ſubdivided under the conduct of an admiral; the ſignals were all agreed upon; and in this order they proceeded in queſt of the enemy. As to the Engliſh, they were equal in number; but the duke of York, declined taking the command, becauſe his force would have been unequal, if the French fleet had joined the Hollanders. The command therefore was given to prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, the ſame officer who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the name of Monk in the laſt war. On advice that the French ſquadron approached, prince Rupert ſailed, with twenty-five ſhips, in queſt of the duke of Beaufort, who was ſaid to be cruiſing off Belleiſle, ready to enter the Channel. By this ſeparation the advantage was greatly on the ſide of the Hollanders; however, Albemarle bravely reſolved upon giving battle, for which purpoſe he bore down upon de Ruyter on the 1ſt day of June, with the advantage of the weather-gage. The Dutch admirals, no leſs eager to engage, ſlipt their cables, that they might be the more able to cloſe with the enemy. Both ſides were determined to exert their utmoſt valour; and, indeed, the event left it doubtful which had ſhewn the moſt ſkill, obſtinacy, or conduct. The battle began with unparalleled fury, and was maintained with unexampled intrepidity. Tromp and de Ruyter were both forced to ſhift their flags, becauſe their ſhips had ſuſtained ſuch damage as rendered them unfit for ſervice. While ſir William Berkeley, an Engliſh admiral, ſailed with his diviſion into the midſt of the Dutch fleet, where, after a gallant reſiſtance, he was killed, and his ſhip taken;

[q] Comte d'Eſtrades Letters.

Evert-

Evertzen was engaged in perſon with Albemarle, and after an obſtinate engagement killed, juſt as two of his ſhips blew up. Several ſhips were ſunk and deſtroyed on both ſides; yet the battle raged with unremitting fury, until night parted the combatants, leaving the admirals on either ſide full of admiration of each others ability, and obſtinate valour.

Next day the weather proved more moderate, and the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. Van Tromp, as if the preceding engagement had only whetted his ardour, deſperately crowded into the midſt of the Engliſh; but his ſtrength proving unequal, he was reduced to the laſt extremity, when de Ruyter, his mortal enemy, generouſly came up to his relief, ruſhed in among the enemy, and brought off his rival, with a dignity of mind that cannot be ſufficiently applauded. By this time the Dutch were reinforced with ſixteen ſhips, and the Engliſh ſhattered in ſuch a manner, that not above thirty ſail remained fit for action. This circumſtance determined the duke of Albemarle, who, though in the vale of life, had fought with the fire and ardour of a youthful warrior, to make the beſt of his way for England, and leave the glory of victory to the Dutch, after he had ſhewn them how deſerving their enemies were of the empire of the ocean. He drew off his fleet in the beſt order poſſible, and was cloſely purſued by de Ruyter, when a calm enſued that prevented the Hollanders from beginning a freſh attack.

Not all the horrors of the battle, which was deſperate beyond deſcription, could diſcourage the Dutch; they determined to purſue the advantage obtained by their ſuperiority, while the duke of Albemarle, calling a council of flag-officers, was, by their advice, diſpoſing his fleet in a real-line of battle, to make a fighting retreat. A breeze ſpringing up about four next morning, de Ruyter bore down a third time, and begun the action, when the duke diſcovered prince Rupert and his ſquadron to the ſouthward, making all the ſail in his power to come in for a ſhare in the action. Immediately he hauled upon a wind to join this ſeaſonable reinforcement, and baffled all the endeavours of de Ruyder to prevent their junction, though with the loſs of a firſt-rate, commanded by admiral Ayſcough, which had the misfortune to ſtrike upon the Galloper Sands, where ſhe was ſurrounded, attacked, and taken, after a vigorous reſiſtance. The endeavours of the ſeveral admirals to gain the advantage of the weather-gage by a variety of different motions, conſumed the third day; but on the fourth, the battle was again renewed with the ſame impe-

impetuoſity as if all the ſhips had come freſh to the engagement. Four ſucceſſive charges were ſuſtained and given by both admirals; at laſt, a thick fog interpoſed, under cover of which the Engliſh retired, but with ſo formidable an appearance as to give them ſome title to diſpute the victory, which the Dutch claimed. De Ruyter twice broke the enemy's line in the laſt day's engagement, and obtained immortal honour. During the four days he took eleven great ſhips, and burnt or ſunk an equal number. The ſlaughter on both ſides was prodigious, and hardly a ſhip of either ſide eſcaped undamaged (A).

Though, in conſequence of theſe bloody engagements, neither the Engliſh nór Dutch were able to keep the ſea, both had vaſt reſources; they exerted them to the utmoſt, and both fleets ſoon ſet ſail as formidable as before. De Ruyter had orders to join the French ſquadron under the duke of Beaufort, who had artfully ſuffered the two great maritime powers to weaken each other, before he ventured to engage the king's ſquadron in the quarrel. Even the Engliſh themſelves allow, that had he joined de Ruyter when he might, the victory muſt have been deciſive, and the conſequence fatal to the naval power of Great Britain, *Another engagement.*

(A) Though bonfires were made in London, and thankſgivings for the victory ordered to be obſerved in all the churches, candour muſt confeſs, that victory declared clearly on the ſide of Holland, though obtained with the moſt terrible carnage. Three admirals and ſeven captains were killed; above two thouſand ſeamen were thrown dead into the ſea to clear the decks, and a greater number were wounded. They had no ſhips taken by the enemy, but ſeven were ſunk, or otherwiſe deſtroyed, and the whole miſerably ſhattered. Ruyter and Van Tromp had ſhifted their flags to ſix different ſhips; but the trophies which they earned were thought a full recompence of all the labour and danger they had undergone. Lord Arlington, the Engliſh ſecretary of ſtate, in fact acknowleges that the king's fleet was defeated. In a letter to ſir William Temple he expreſſes himſelf thus: "Neither do I take pleaſure in repeating any thing of this engagement. This advantage I am ſure they had of us, that they have carried home their trophies; whereas we have not one, what we took being all drowned or burnt." He might have added ſtill more indiſputable proofs, though this teſtimony from a miniſter will alone appear ſufficient. As to what biſhop Burnet, and other writers allege, of the penſionary de Wit's being in the engagement, it has no foundation in truth. The penſionary, indeed, viſited the fleet before it ſet ſail; but the clamours raiſed againſt his laſt expedition deterred him from repeating the experiment.

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which, however, was by no means the intention of the moſt chriſtian monarch. De Wit applied with his uſual activity to repair the fleet, and the great object of the ſtates was, to deſtroy the Engliſh ſhipping, in the docks and yards, in the river Thames. With this intention they ſet ſail on the 10th of July; but ſome accounts received from England, and the ignorance of the pilots with reſpect to the ſoundings, obliged him to lay aſide the enterprize. It was next propoſed to make a deſcent on the coaſt of England near Harwich; but all the places of landing were found ſo well lined with troops, that this ſcheme too was found impracticable, and a reſolution formed to wait for the enemy, and decide the fortune of the war by another general engagement. By the 24th he fell in with the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, who commanded a fleet of one hundred ſail, while de Ruyter's did not amount to eighty-two men of war and ſome fire-ſhips. Fluſhed by the late victory, the van advanced with too great impetuoſity, and for a time the battle was maintained with equal zeal, emulation, and ſpirit; but Evertzen, brother to the admiral of that name, who had been killed in the laſt engagement, was at length ſurrounded, overpowered, and defeated, by Sir Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, with the loſs of three inferior admirals, and a dreadful ſlaughter of the ſeamen. Van Tromp, in the mean time, engaged and defeated Sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue ſquadron; but, purſuing the chace too eagerly, he was entirely cut off, and ſeparated from the center, where the battle raged with unparalleled fury between de Ruyter and the duke of Albemarle. Here de Ruyter ſuſtained for three hours the utmoſt efforts of the whole Britiſh fleet. He maintained the fight with ſeven ſhips only in the line, and at laſt yielded the victory, when his men were ſo exhauſted, as to be unable to work the ſhips, and keep up a continued regular fire. It was now only he made that ſignal to retreat, which was readily obſerved by all the fleet, though it was ſaved from deſtruction by the ſeaſonable calm that enſued. De Ruyter's conduct through the whole action was ſo cool, reſolute, and determined, that even his defeat added luſtre to his former glory. Had he been duly ſupported by Van Tromp, the victory would at leaſt have proved doubtful.

Now the Engliſh crouded in purſuit of Van Tromp, who had been ſeparated from the main fleet ever ſince that deſperate effort, by which he broke through their line. They diſcovered him near Harwich, and attacked him with vigour; but that gallant officer ſuſtained the ſhock with

with ſuch admirable firmneſs as foiled all attempts, and enabled him to retreat with little loſs to the Texel; notwithſtanding which, loud complaints were made by de Ruyter to the ſtates, that the loſs of the battle was owing to his raſhneſs and miſconduct. The number of killed and wounded was very conſiderable on both ſides; ſome writers alledge, that the Dutch loſt above two thouſand men, beſides three admirals. Twelve captains were beſides ſlain, and ſeven ſhips ſunk and deſtroyed, but none taken. Upon the whole, we may judge of the certainty and value of the victory to the Engliſh, by its conſequences. The Dutch took ſanctuary in their ports, before which the enemy rode in triumph, inſulting their coaſts, and interrupting their commerce. The late rejoicings of the ſtates were turned into mourning; and as the expectations of the populace are always ſanguine upon every inſtance of proſperity, their clamours and diſcontents riſe in proportion upon any change of fortune. To embarraſs the government ſtill more, the animoſity between the two beſt admirals of the republic broke out with redoubled violence: the ſeamen likewiſe, entering into the quarrel of their commanders, formed two oppoſite factions, came to blows, and threatened the diſſolution of the government. Van Tromp was ſupported by the houſe of Orange, and greatly beloved, on account of his generoſity and valour, by all the ſeamen; yet had the ſtates courage enough to ſuperſede him, and proſecute his family for a paper they publiſhed in his juſtification, becauſe it reflected on their conduct. The French king, however, did juſtice to his merit, by ſending him the order of St. Michael, his picture finely ſet with diamonds, and a letter of compliment wrote with his own hand, teſtifying his ſenſe of that gallant conduct which had brought off a ſmall ſquadron of no more than eight ſhips, though furiouſly attacked by thirty ſhips of the enemy. It was, nevertheleſs, true, that his impetuoſity in the beginning of the action had occaſioned the ſucceeding misfortunes, though he now glorioufly effaced that error [s].

Van Tromp is ſuperſeded.

Meantime M. Buat, a diſcarded domeſtic of the prince of Orange, had, by the inſtigation of lord Alrington, the Engliſh miniſter, entered into ſecret meaſures for concluding a peace, ſeparating France from Holland, and reſtoring the prince of Orange to all the honours held by his anceſtors. This plot was diſcovered by a blunder committed by Buat, who, inſtead of another letter, delivered lord Arlington's to

[s] Baſnage, ibid.

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the penſionary. De Wit was aſtoniſhed with the contents, which were afterwards confirmed by Buat, who was ſeized, impriſoned, and tortured. While he was upon the rack, he named above ſixty accomplices, ſome of them the principal perſonages in Holland; but it was thought proper to wink at his information, and attribute it to the criminal's deſire of ſaving his own life, many of the perſons pointed out having great influence and popularity. In the end, Buat ſuffered upon a public ſcafford, and the plot was ſuppreſſed.

The Engliſh inſult the coaſts of Holland.

To fill up the meaſure of the calamities of the republic at this period, a detachment from the Engliſh fleet entered the road of Vlie, under Sir Robert Holmes, piloted by a Dutch ſkipper, and burned one hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, and a village on the coaſt (B), the whole damage being computed at ſix millions. It is the opinion of ſome writers, that this enterprize formed a part of the conſpiracy for which Buat was executed, but the conjecture is rejected by the beſt hiſtorians. The merchants on whom this immenſe loſs fell, raiſed loud clamours againſt the government, and endeavoured to ſtir up the people to revolt. The Orange faction reared her head, and it was natural to expect that the republic, overwhelmed with ſuch a torrent of misfortune, would now have humbled herſelf, and implored a pacification; but the ſpirit of de Wit was invincible, and the reſources of his genius inexhauſtible. He applied himſelf diligently to the means of quieting the ſeditions in the provinces, and the factions in the government, in order to proſecute the war with vigour. In this deſign he gained the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and paid little regard to the murmurs of the other provinces, as they contributed but little towards the public expence. By the proper and judicious diſtribution of a large ſum of money, he appeaſed all the mutineers in the fleet, and the diſcontents among the ſeamen; while d'Eſtrades, the French miniſter, was no leſs ſucceſsful in his practices upon the ſtates. The very exiſtence of the ſtates at this period, depended on the pleaſure of the French king; his ſentiments determined the fortune of the whole nation. It was his policy, however, to preſerve a rival to the maritime power of England: accordingly, he

(B) This village was called Brondaris, in the iſland of Schelling, a rich, populous, and flouriſhing place, containing above a thouſand families, all of which were reduced to extreme miſery, their effects having either been pillaged or conſumed in the flames.

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no sooner received advice of the defeat of the Dutch fleet, and the dispirited condition of the government, than he determined to risque his infant naval force, the first and dearest child of his policy, reared by the hand of the sage Colbert. The duke de Beaufort now had express orders to join the Dutch fleet, and to act in the most vigorous manner against the common enemy. Accordingly, he returned to Rochelle, there to wait the proper opportunity of effecting a junction as soon as the allies of France should be ready to put to sea. M. Bellefonte was dispatched to the Hague, to concert, with the pensionary and the count d'Estrades, the most probable means of accomplishing this delicate and important measure, with the utmost safety and expedition; yet, after all, de Wit harboured suspicions of the French sincerity, and a warm altercation passed between him and M. de Lionne [t].

These disputes did not divert the penſioner's attention from the principal object. The fleet was refitted by his indefatigable diligence in an incredible short time. It put again to sea under de Ruyter, with instructions to cruise between the streights of Dover and the mouth of the river Thames, to watch every motion of the English, until it was certainly known in what manner the French king intended to dispose of the duke de Beaufort's squadron. De Ruyter set sail on the 10th of September, and had no sooner arrived at his station, than prince Rupert's fleet was descried at a distance, bearing down full sail before a favourable gale. The Dutch writers allege, that de Ruyter had thrown out the signal to engage, and his ships were clearing for that purpose, when the interposition of night and a calm, obliged prince Rupert to retire. Others go so far as to affirm, that his disposition disconcerted the prince, forced him to retire, and gave de Ruyter an opportunity of clearing for several hours; the very contrary of which is reported by English historians. It is certain that a storm came on, which damaged both fleets considerably, and reduced the Dutch admiral to take shelter in St. John's road, near Boulogne. Here he was seized with a fever, and the whole fleet grew sickly, upon which the states sent orders for him to return to Holland. As to the duke of Beaufort, he sailed up the Channel as far as Dieppe, upon a supposition that the Dutch were still in the neighbourhood of Boulogne; and finding his mistake, directed his course to the coast of Britanny, where three ships in the rear of the squadron fell in with the

[t] Wicquefort, lib. xv.

English,

Engliſh, maintained an obſtinate engagement, and were defeated with the loſs of one man of war.

It was upon the return of the fleet that the ſtates reſolved to ſend three deputies on board, with full powers to regulate the naval operations, with the aſſiſtance of a council of the principal officers. The provinces of Zealand and Friſeland, which were each to ſend a deputy, diſapproved of the meaſure. This circumſtance determined M. de Wit, who was nominated by Holland, to charge himſelf with the whole care and conduct of the armament. On his arrival he found de Ruyter in ſo bad a ſtate of health. that he was ſent to Amſterdam, where he remained until the month of September. However, the fleet proceeded to ſea, under admiral Van Nes, ſubject to de Wit's orders, arrived on the coaſt of England, with intention to fight the enemy, and was a ſecond time driven back by a furious tempeſt, which occaſioned the French king to complain that his ſquadron was expoſed to the mercy of the Engliſh. In fact, however, the Engliſh were incapable of embracing the opportunities that offered. A terrible fire had deſtroyed great part of the capital; public credit was affected; univerſal deſpondency had ſeized the minds of the people; and all was fear, ſuſpicion, diſtruſt, and diſſenſion; the miniſtry and the nation being divided among themſelves. The conflagration, which had deſtroyed above ſix hundred ſtreets, was ſuppoſed to be the effect of malicious deſign, and erroneouſly attributed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the ſtream of faction happened to be directed. Hence aroſe the jealouſies and diſſenſions we have mentioned, which were augmented by the diſturbances in Scotland, ariſing from the perſecution of the preſbyterians in that kingdom, and the decline of parliamentary complaiſance for the king and miniſtry. The ſituation of the Britiſh nation was the great ſecurity of the republic. Charles, now tired of a war, from which he had not reaped the propoſed private advantages, made overtures of peace, and the king of Sweden offered his mediation. Yet ſtill he kept in view the ancient pretenſions of his crown, and the indemnification required at the commencement of the rupture, for the damages done his trading ſubjects in India, and elſewhere. He demanded that the ſtates ſhould ſend their deputies to London, to adjuſt the preliminaries of peace. Other marks of ſubmiſſion were beſides required, which produced various opinions in the provinces. Some aſſerted that the advantages gained by England were not ſo conſiderable as to give them a right to dictate; while others thought thoſe inſtances

Propoſals of peace made by the king of England.

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of an assumed superiority and pride, of too little consequence to obstruct a necessary accommodation. The states, however, declared, that they had no objection to the proposal of holding the congress at London, but the consideration for their allies the kings of France and Denmark, who refused to treat in any part of England. Several towns of Holland and Zealand were earnest for a congress, without regard to punctilios; but de Wit found means to secure the states, and exerted his utmost influence with the court of France to keep her firm in the alliance, and difficult with respect to the terms of negociation. Lewis, however, had now sufficiently established his credit in Holland, and disappointed the extensive schemes of England. Growing jealous of lord Sandwich's negociation at Madrid, and that an union between Spain and Great Britain might take place, he resolved to establish peace; and for this purpose not only recommended, but enjoined the states, not to be too delicate about formalities. Nor was this all; he permitted Ruvigny to correspond with the earl of St. Alban's, to bring the court of London to the most pacific dispositions; with which view a letter was directed to that nobleman, in such terms as should excite the jealousy of the Hollanders. However, that the states might have no reason to tax the king of France with duplicity, the letter was first communicated to the pensioner, and he found it so general and ambiguous, that it was impossible to make objections. On receipt of Ruvigny's letter the earl of St. Alban's signified to the court of France, that his Britannic majesty was not averse to treating in a neutral place, provided France would preserve a neutrality. The English ministry took advantage of this clandestine correspondence to insinuate notions that his most christian majesty was treating without the participation of his allies. This report alarmed the provinces in general, A.D. 1667. and especially the towns and cities of Holland, who cried out, that the republic was betrayed. To refute the report, and stop the torrent of abuse thrown out in Holland against the insidious conduct of his ministry, the king ordered the count d'Estrades to give the states the most solemn assurances of his resolution to adhere strictly to the terms of his alliance, though he was desirous of effecting a peace, in which he should chiefly have an eye to the good of the republic [b].

In the mean time the king of England, as if perfectly satisfied with the apology made by the states for declining to

[b] Basnage, p. 779. Smollett, lib. ix. cap. i. Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii.

open the congreſs in London, immediately veered round, and offered to treat of preliminaries at the Hague, where the ambaſſadors of the allies then reſided. This motion gave the alarm to M. de Wit and the French party, who concluded that it muſt imply ſome deep and dangerous ſcheme, to divide the republic, and diſſolve the confederacy. The propoſal immediately begot diſſenſion, no leſs than four provinces taking the occaſion of expreſſing their animoſity to the penſioner. To oppoſe ſo growing and imminent an evil, the utmoſt addreſs of the French and Dutch miniſtry was neceſſary. It was not thought adviſeable to ſhew any ſuſpicion of the king of England's deſign; a letter was therefore ſent to him from the ſtates, recommending the choice of Maeſtricht, Boiſleduc, or Breda, for holding the congreſs, as more convenient and ſecure than the Hague, which being an open town, afforded no protection to the miniſters of the different powers; that conſequently, while thoſe powers were at variance, they were expoſed to a variety of fatal accidents, too many melancholy inſtances of which had already happened, in violation of juſtice, and defiance of government. They concluded with thanking his majeſty for the honour intended them, which they were obliged to decline, for the conſiderations mentioned. To this letter from the ſtates to the king of England, ſucceeded one from the French king to the ſtates; in which he enlarged upon the danger, to a popular government, of admitting the miniſters of a hoſtile prince, who would not fail to raiſe ſuſpicions, foment diviſions, and promote cabals, among a people equally open to the impreſſions of falſe and real ſuggeſtions. Afterwards he proceeded to recommend Dover, as a place not improper for carrying on the negociation; though it appears, from Mr. Lionne's letter to d'Eſtrades, that the court was ſenſible that the propoſal would not be reliſhed in England.

It was plain, from the ſtrange conduct of Lewis, that he muſt have had farther deſigns than mere friendſhip to the ſtates; and indeed the Orange faction began thus early to declare their ſuſpicions, that he would prove himſelf more dangerous as an aliy than he could as an open enemy. The penſioner was, perhaps, not blind to the motives of the French king; but he was now deeply engaged with that prince, and his countenance afforded the beſt ſupport againſt the houſe of Orange, which was bent upon his ruin. It was viſible indeed to all Europe, that the court of France was paving the way for the execution of their ſchemes upon Flanders. The emperor, who had a reverſionary claim to this fine country, began likewiſe to think it his intereſt to interpoſe in the quarrel of the two maritime powers. The

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baron d'Isola was dispatched to the court of London, under pretence of offering his imperial majesty's mediation; though it is probable the real business was to dissuade Charles from an accommodation, as Lewis would thereby have less leisure to pursue his ambitious projects. Some attribute to this consummate politician the proposal made by Charles of opening the congress at the Hague; and, indeed, he could not have formed a more effectual measure for keeping up the resentment of both nations, and frustrating the pacific intentions of the more moderate and prudent members of either state. At length Breda was fixed upon, all parties agreeing that the conferences should be opened in this city; and thither the several parties sent their plenipotentiaries.

Congress at Breda.

The first point debated at the congress was the restitution of the two English ships, which had partly given birth to the war; and of the island of Poleron in the East Indies, which had been first violently wrested from England, then restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the present rupture. Upon this Charles insisted as an essential preliminary; but the Dutch deputies appearing determined in their refusal, he relaxed in the last article, and thought there would now occur so little difficulty, that he looked upon the peace as in a manner concluded. Full of these sentiments, and eager to appropriate to his own use the sums granted by parliament for the prosecution of the war, he ordered all his large ships to be laid up and unrigged, keeping only a small squadron of cruizers for the protection of the coasts. Of this precipitation de Wit resolved to make his advantage, retrieve his own reputation with the republic, and oblige Charles to make peace upon such conditions as should be thought requisite for the honour and security of the republic. While he cruised during the preceding year upon the English coast, he had taken care to have the mouth of the Thames exactly sounded, with a view probably of pushing his way into that river, whenever an opportunity should offer. Now he determined to execute his project, and to attend the expedition in person. France disapproved his quitting the helm of state to direct warlike operations; and the arguments urged by d'Estrades prevailed on the pensioner to substitute his brother, Cornelius de Wit, in his room, to assist de Ruyter to regulate and determine his motions. The fleet set sail from the Texel in the beginning of June, and was hardly out of sight of the coast when it was driven back by a furious tempest, in which four transports filled with soldiers perished. When the storm abated, de Ruyter again set sail with a fleet of fifty large ships, besides

The Dutch enter the river Medway.

frigates and tranſports, ſteering directly for the river Thames, at the mouth of which he arrived on the 10th of June. He began his operations with reducing Sheerneſs fort, which he took with little difficulty. Next he broke down a ſtrong boom, laid acroſs the mouth of the river Medway, and deſtroyed three guardſhips, moored within ſide for its protection. M. de Ghent, advanced in boats as far as Rocheſter, burnt and carried off a great number of ſmall veſſels, which rode in the river without apprehenſion of danger. De Ruyter cleared a paſſage through ſome veſſels which had been ſunk, by order of the duke of Albemarle, in the channel: then ſailed up as far as Upnor-caſtle, which he took and demoliſhed. His laſt exploit was the burning three ſhips of the line, in executing which he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance; and then he fell down the Medway, with intention of attempting the river Thames [b].

The ſailors, who had eſcaped the conflagration at Chatham, ſpread the alarm through London, and filled that capital. Troops immediately filed off towards Graveſend; ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich and Blackwall; platforms were raiſed in different places, and mounted with artillery; the train-bands were drawn out, and the city put into the beſt poſture of defence that circumſtances would admit. Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that, after all the preparations made, nothing could have prevented de Ruyter from pillaging and deſtroying the moſt flouriſhing city in Europe, beſides the want of a ſufficient number of boats, and of land-forces. Without theſe he found it impoſſible to ſucceed, and therefore ſet ſail for Portſmouth, which he attempted in vain to reduce. Then he directed his courſe to Torbay, where he made prize of a great number of veſſels, with which he proceeded to bombard Plymouth. This enterprize failing, he ſailed up the Channel, inſulted Harwich, gave chace to a ſquadron commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, once more entered the Thames, and overwhelmed the whole kingdom with terror and confuſion: after which glorious exploits he returned to Holland, where he was preſented by the ſtates with a rich gold cup, upon which was engraven the actions at Sheerneſs, Chatham, and Upnor-caſtle. He made a kind of triumphal entry at Dort, amidſt the acclamations of the people, the roar of cannon, and the blaze of bonfires, attended by all the magiſtrates, and ſupported by the two oldeſt burgomaſters. De Wit met with the ſame honours, and had beſides the particular thanks of the ſtates general. Nor was M. Van Ghent, the lieutenant-admiral forgot. He

[b] Id. ibid.

received

received the thanks of the ſtates, and a cup of gold, with his own exploits engraved round his arms.

The kings of England and France equally exclaimed againſt this expedition, while the Engliſh nation was fired with indignation at ſeeing itſelf expoſed to the inſult of an enemy to whom it had always given law. Charles complained that the Dutch, taking advantage of his ſecurity, ravaged his coaſts with the utmoſt barbarity, while he was treating of peace with them in a friendly manner. He alleged they had violated the faith of treaties, though in fact no armiſtice had been agreed upon. On the other hand, Lewis diſapproved of an enterprize which tended to retard the pacification. It was obvious, however, that this expedition, inſtead of retarding, ſerved actually to accelerate the pacification. The power of de Ruyter's ſquadron, the bad terms upon which the king of England ſtood with his ſubjects, and the defenceleſs ſtate in which he had left the nation by laying up all the large men of war, obliged him to ſet aſide all airs of ſuperiority, and treat with the Dutch deputies upon a footing of equality. Thus every difficulty vaniſhed, and the peace was ſigned upon the following conditions: that Acadia ſhould be yielded to the French king, who had agreed to reſtore to the Engliſh the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, and ſome other inconſiderable conqueſts he had made in the Weſt Indies: that England and Holland ſhould reciprocally retain their acquiſitions; by which means the colony of New York, in North America, remained with the former, and the iſland of Poleron, one of the Moluccas, with the latter. The rights of the flag were the moſt difficult to adjuſt: though merely titular, it was thought of more importance than even the real advantage of additional territories. France was ſo ſenſible of the conſequences of theſe honours, that ſhe now inſiſted upon being equalled with the two great maritime powers. Lewis refuſed to ſuffer his men of war to lower their top-ſails to thoſe of England. Charles pleaded his right to this mark of regard. Both were obſtinate; and, to avoid its breaking off the negociation, this article was omitted in the treaty, whence violent contentions ſome years afterwards enſued.

Peace concluded at Breda.

While France, England, and Holland were negotiating at Breda the tranquillity of Europe, Lewis was meditating the execution of a project, which, by aiming at univerſal empire, again threatened to involve Chriſtendom in the flames of war, and particularly the empire, Spain, and the United Provinces. His ambition graſped at every thing, and his power enabled him to gratify every aſpiring

wish. On the death of his father-in-law, Philip IV. he prepared to invade the Netherlands, though, before the solemnization of his marriage, he had formally renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession. His claim was examined by the clergy, and pronounced legitimate; and their decision was supported by the secular arm, and M. Turenne at the head of forty thousand men. Already Aeth, Lisle, Tournay, Courtray, Charleroi, and Oudenarde confessed his power, by receiving his garrisons; and Lewis waited only for the death of the sickly Charles II. of Spain to lay claim to the whole monarchy. Every state in Europe took the alarm. The Dutch, from the nature of their situation, were immediately exposed to his designs: they wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy, that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the soaring ambition of
A.D.1668. the French monarch. Now, when too late, the artifice of Lewis's friendship was discovered: still, however, the states imagined they could prevail on him to adhere to the moderate terms he had often promised; and that by ceding Courtray, St. Omer, Aire, and Franche Comté to France, the rest of the Netherlands might be put under the protection of the empire, England, and the republic. It was the Dutch that suggested the idea of the triple alliance, which took place soon after. The king of England, finding his credit on the wain with his subjects, willingly embraced any measure that was likely to retrieve his popularity; and no scheme promised so fair as his becoming the head of a league, formed in support of the liberties of Europe. The court of Spain too was indefatigable in her endeavours to raise a powerful confederacy against Lewis: though she entertained the highest opinion of her own strength, and the courage and ability of her forces, yet it was impossible to avoid seeing the superiority of the French, as far as could be judged from the most rapid successes.

Treaty at Aix la Chapelle.

The Spanish ambassadors represented to Holland the proximity of the danger, while they flattered England with the glory of holding the ballance of power. True policy, indeed, required that a barrier should be formed to stop the progress of Turenne; and with this view it was that the triple alliance was formed by the address of Sir William Temple, who subdued all the scruples of M. de Wit, the pensioner, with a facility that will ever bear ample testimony to the abilities of that elegant and refined statesman. At first, England and Holland were only the contracting powers; but Sweden soon acceded to the treaty as a principal. Then the confederates assumed to themselves the office

office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with respect to the Low Countries. They even pretended to take cognizance of the dispute between Spain and Portugal. The object was to restrain the power of Lewis, support the tottering Spanish monarchy, and prevent the direful consequences of a war, in which all Europe would probably be involved [a].

The next step was to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to put the army upon a respectable footing. For some years all military employments had been held by the children of burgomasters, because they were generally in the interest of the pensioner; while the old experienced officers were laid aside, on account of their attachment to the prince of Orange, under whose ancestors they had acquired all their knowlege. The bishop of Munster's late invasion convinced the people, that troops ill commanded were perfectly useless; they therefore began to clamour about the distribution of commissions, and to insist that all the old officers should be restored to their employments, and promoted, as if they had remained constantly in the service. It was with reluctance the pensioner had yielded to the necessity of the late treaty concluded against France: the blow now meditated struck deeper at his power, and tended obviously to change the scale in favour of the opposite faction. It was impossible, however, to stem the tide of popularity; he therefore determined to divide its force, and, by making it flow in different channels, weaken its influence. With this view he united all the republicans in the opinion that the chief command of the army should be conferred on a foreigner, notwithstanding this preference was offering the greatest injury to prince Maurice of Nassau, to whose valour, conduct, and fidelity, there could be no reasonable objection. After violent contentions, the command was divided among a number of officers, by which both parties were in some measure gratified.

As the triple alliance was formed merely to oblige Lewis to execute the propofals he had made to the court of Spain, of relinquishing the rights of his queen, provided the Spaniards would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the Low Countries, or in lieu of those cede to him the Franche Comté, with the towns already specified; the queen-regent of Spain kept aloof, in expectation of engaging the Dutch and the king of England in a war with Lewis, under pretence that he refused standing to the alternative which they guarantied. But

[a] Basnage, p. 789.

finding herſelf diſappointed in this hope, ſhe conſented to his retaining his conqueſts, on the ſuppoſition, that, ſhould he ever attempt to extend them, he would neceſſarily engage the enmity of the two maritime powers. This ceſſion paved the way to a congreſs, which was immediately appointed at Aix la Chapelle, where it ſoon terminated in a treaty. The Dutch ordered a pompous medal to be ſtruck, in which they arrogated to themſelves the whole honour of having given [b] peace to Europe (A). Nothing could be more abſurd than ſuch an inſtance of unneceſſary vanity, at a period too when de Wit was propoſing a new alliance to d'Eſtrades between France and the republic, jointly to oppoſe the pretenſions of his Britannic majeſty to the ſovereignty of the ocean, and to oblige his ſhips to pay the due honours to the French flag. D'Eſtrades adopted his ſentiments, and repreſented to his court, that nothing but embracing the propoſal could prevent the penſioner's being forced into the intereſt of England, however contrary to his reſolutions, and diſagreeable to his ſentiments and inclinations. How far M. de Wit was ſerious in this propoſal, can only be conjectured: perhaps he had already reaſon to ſuſpect that Charles was falling into his old biaſs of cultivating the cloſeſt union with France. Be this as it may, it is certain that Lewis payed little regard to the

Deſigns of the different powers.

[b] Le Clerc, p. 94. Hiſt. Medul. Sir William Temple's Lett. p. 79. tom. ii.

(A) This medal is preſerved by M. Le Clerc. Here Holland is repreſented by a young beautiful female figure, ſurrounded by trophies, holding in her hand a pike or javelin, the one end of which is adorned with a hat, as an emblem of Liberty, and the other with the republican arms of the United Provinces. On the reverſe is the following inſcription: "After having confirmed the laws, reformed the abuſes in religion, aſſiſted, defended, and conciliated kings, ſecured the liberty of the ocean, eſtabliſhed by valour and dint of arms a glorious peace, reſtored tranquillity to Europe, the ſtates general of the United Provinces have ordered this medal to be ſtruck, in the year 1668." This pompous inſcription gave equal offence to the kings of France and England; but what chiefly incenſed Lewis, was the inſolence of Joſhua Van Beuningen, the Dutch plenipotentiary at the congreſs. This miniſter had the weak vanity to have a medal ſtruck, in which he compared himſelf to Joſhua ſtopping the courſe of the ſun, which was the device of the French monarch. This fact we have upon the authority of the beſt French and Engliſh writers, though Le Clerc omits the medal in his curious hiſtorical collection.

ſcheme

ſcheme of the penſioner, though ſupported by all the arguments of his own ambaſſador, D'Eſtrades, could urge. On the contrary, he ſent M. Colbert de Croiſſy, brother to the celebrated miniſter of that name, his ambaſſador to the court of London, and recalled D'Eſtrades from the Hague: yet the harmony between England and Holland ſtill ſubſiſted. Sir William Temple was diſpatched to the ſtates, veſted with a higher character than he had formerly borne, not only to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the continuance of the king of England's good intentions towards the republic, but to negociate a treaty of comerce, and concert a treaty of guarantee on the plan of the late triple alliance [c].

France was quick-ſighted in diſcerning her own intereſt, and alert in purſuing it. The acquiſitions which Lewis had made in Flanders, ſerved only to inflame his ambition to poſſeſs the remainder of that valuable country, and particularly the Franche Comté; the very name of which diſtrict ſeemed to give him a kind of claim. His views were to diſſolve the triple alliance, as a neceſſary prelude to his other deſigns; and Spain, by refuſing to pay the Swediſh ſubſidy, furniſhed the means of accompliſhing this important affair. Such progreſs indeed had Colbert made at the court of London, that M. Puffendorf, the Swediſh ambaſſador at the Hague, acquainted the penſioner, as early as the month of January, 1669, that England was already changed with reſpect to all thoſe councils ſhe had formed in conjunction with Sweden and Holland, notwithſtanding the ſecret was yet in few hands; and lord Arlington confeſſed, about the ſame time, that a rumour was prevalent about court, that the Swedes were gained over to the French intereſt. This intimation was followed by a variety of circumſtances, which more plainly indicated the deſigns of his Britannic majeſty. Beſides the refuſal of a propoſal made by the ſtates of a defenſive and offenſive alliance, Sir William Temple was ſuddenly recalled; and, as if the king had ſought an opportunity of coming to a rupture, orders were given to the captain of the yacht, ſent for lady Temple, to ſail through the Dutch fleet, then in the Channel, inſiſt on the admiral's lowering his top-ſails, and continue firing upon him until all due honours ſhould be paid to the Britiſh flag. It is evident that Lewis had now fully digeſted his project to invade the Netherlands; that he had gained the king of England, whoſe neceſſities made him the penſioner of France; and that theſe inſtructions to the captain of the yacht were intended as a plauſible excuſe to

A. D. 1669.

A. D. 1670.

Alliance of England and France.

[c] Le Clerc, ibid.

the

the nation for entering upon a war equally unjuſt, unneceſſary, and imprudent. Lewis practiſed the moſt inſinuating arts to ſeduce Charles from his real intereſt, to engage him as a tool in aggrandizing the French monarchy, and blind him to the conſequences of his ambitious projects. Beſides the private ſubſidies remitted to ſupport the king of England in his extravagant pleaſures, the ducheſs of Orleans was ſent to England upon a viſit to her brother, where ſhe ſpent a fortnight in a continual round of diverſions. She was accompanied by mademoiſelle Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty, bewitching addreſs, elegant accompliſhments, and a fund of wit and vivacity ſufficient to engage a heart more inſenſible than that of Charles. This lady was carried with him to London, created ducheſs of Portſmouth, and retained in the higheſt favour during the whole courſe of his life. It was by means of this artful viſit, and the addreſs of mademoiſelle Querouaille, that Lewis firſt gained the entire aſcendant over his Britannic majeſty, and made him the inſtrument of thoſe bonds he was forging for the liberties of Europe [a].

Thus ſtood affairs when ſir George Downing, leſs beloved by the penſioner, leſs in the friendſhip of the ſtates, and the intereſt of the republic, was ſent to Holland to ſucceed ſir William Temple, and probably to complete the rupture begun by the captain of the yacht, who was committed to the Tower for not having ſufficiently aſſerted the dignity of the Britiſh crown, and reſting ſatisfied with a ſalute from the guns of the Dutch admiral. The prince of Orange's viſit to England made no alteration in the counſels of that nation; for after that event Mr. Coventry was ſent to Stockholm, to exert his utmoſt abilities in drawing off the king from the triple alliance, ſo inconſiſtent with his Britannic majeſty's engagements to Lewis. Theſe changes in the Engliſh ambaſſadors were deemed ominous by the more diſcerning. De Wit had the greateſt friendſhip for ſir William Temple; but he regarded his ſucceſſor as a mean tool of the court, a turbulent firebrand, and an implacable enemy of the republic, and was particularly jealous of his high reputation with the ſtates. Downing, indeed, on his firſt arrival, ſolemnly proteſted that the king his maſter was determined ſtrictly to adhere to every article of the triple alliance. He gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that Charles had no other deſign in the powerful armaments he was equipping, than to render himſelf reſpectable among his neighburs, and guard againſt the deſigns of the

[a] Le Clerc's Hiſt. Med. p. 93.

moſt

moſt Chriſtian king, whom he had good reaſons to diſtruſt; and indeed this was all that Charles had acknowleged to the parliament when he demanded ſupplies, and intimated his intention of taking fifty ſhips of the line into commiſſion, beſides the cruizers and the ſquadron already in the Mediterranean. Nor was Downing ſatisfied with theſe inſidious declarations; he complained of the backwardneſs of the ſtates, in fulfilling an article of the late treaty, which reſpected the colony in Surinam, and ſpecified ſome cauſes of difference between the Engliſh merchants and the Dutch Eaſt India company. The penſioner had too much penetration to be deceived by appearances; he had the beſt intelligence of the tranſactions in the Britiſh cabinet, and was well informed of every circumſtance of the negociation between the courts of France and England; he therefore conſidered every change of meaſures as a ſtep towards an approaching rupture. But he moſt dreaded the ambitious projects of France, as they threatened the United Provinces not only with all the horrors of an invaſion, but thoſe of domeſtic faction and confuſion. The ſmalleſt alarms on the ſide of Flanders, he knew would ſtir up the populace to demand the reſtitution of their former honours to the Orange family; than which nothing appeared more dreadful to the penſioner, in regard to its conſequences to public liberty, and the freedom of the republic. On the other hand, ſhould Lewis purſue his deſigns, how could the provinces provide for their own ſecurity without a military force? and how could that force be raiſed, regulated, paid, and diſciplined, while the republic was divided, and the more popular party excluded from all public employments? Under theſe embarraſſments he ſought the friendſhip of Spain; though his advances were but coldly received, until the joint views of Lewis and Charles became ſo very apparent, that the Spaniſh miniſtry were at length reduced to the neceſſity of ordering Don Emanuel de Lira, the king's ambaſſador at the Hague, to enter into a defenſive treaty with the republic. This affair was conducted by de Lira and count Monteroy with ſo great ſecrecy, that it remained for ſome time unknown to all the powers in Europe beſides the contracting parties [b]. Both de Lira and Monteroy were the declared enemies of France: the former deteſted the perfidy of her politics, the ambitious ſchemes of her miniſtry, and the inſidious methods ſhe practiſed to deſtroy the liberties of Chriſtendom, and eſtabliſh univerſal empire; the latter was the ſon of don Lewis d'Haro, and

A. D. 1671

Treaty between Spain and the republic.

[b] Sir William Temple's Letters, ibid.

conſequently

consequently no friend to measures erected upon the foundation laid by cardinal Mazarin, the implacable rival of his family.

When the treaty between Spain and the republic was divulged, ambassadors were sent from France and England to use the utmost efforts to render it void. France spoke in a high strain of authority, while the British ambassador endeavoured to sap the foundation of the alliance; but neither the artifice of the one, nor the insolence of the other, could prevail. The court of Spain ordered Lira and Monteroy to proceed in the treaty with the republic, and use every method to draw the knot of union harder, and so blend the interests of the two nations as to render them inseparable. The firmness of Spain proved extremely encouraging to the states; but it was no equivalent to the powerful league formed against them between the crowns of France and England, the elector of Cologne, and the turbulent, ambitious, enterprising, and warlike Van Galen, bishop of Munster, who embraced every opportunity of displaying his implacable animosity to the republic. Besides, the Orange faction openly espoused the claims of England, insisting that the required satisfaction should be given to his majesty, in hopes not only of warding off the impending blow from that quarter, but of cementing the two nations in a strict union of interests. On the other hand the states, under the influence of de Wit, sought to pacify the indignation of the most Christian king, who highly resented the insolence of the republic, which had broke out in various instances, subsequent to the peace at Aix la Chapelle. They made the most abject submissions; they disavowed the medals which had given so much offence; and they promised immediately to redress all his majesty's complaints, to remove from their councils every person who had incurred his displeasure, and to square their conduct entirely by his royal will. But Lewis had another object in view besides the mere gratification of revenge; and this opposite conduct of the two factions was meant not as compliment to Lewis and Charles, but calculated to destroy each other. Neither side appeared to have any thoughts of preserving the republic by a coalition, or even a suspension of their animosity, perhaps from a conviction that it was impracticable; and while the states hesitated about making those submissions to Charles which Lewis refused, the alliance was formed by which their territories were to be invaded by the troops of France, Cologne, and Munster, their commerce ruined, and their fleets destroyed by the combined squadrons of France and England. Nothing re-

State of parties in the provinces.

tarded

tarded the immediate commencement of hostilities but the indigence of Charles, who was always receiving supplies from his parliament, and always needy and distressed.

Among the schemes projected to fill his coffers, it was proposed to intercept the Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Smyrna, estimated worth two millions of money; although war was not yet declared. Sir Robert Holmes was sent on this service with a small squadron. In his voyage he fell in with Spragge, returning with his squadron from the Mediterranean; but resolving to monopolize the whole honour and profit of this action to himself, he concealed his purpose from the other British admiral, suffered him to pursue his voyage, and thereby failed in the enterprize, because his strength was too inconsiderable. Van Nes, who convoyed the merchant fleet with five men of war, no sooner descried the English flag, than he put his little squadron into an admirable posture of defence. Holmes attacked him with great fury, and the engagement was maintained the whole day with equal valour, skill, and obstinacy. The fight was renewed in the morning, and continued with the same fury until night separated the combatants. On the third day the action was again resumed; but Van Nes had taken such measures that he now got off with the loss of one man of war and four merchantmen, which, however, were sunk, and therefore useless to the enemy, who being disappointed in all their sanguine hopes, had nothing left but the dishonour of having, unsuccessfully, violated the laws of nature and nations. The Dutch exclaimed against the baseness of an action which would have disgraced one of the piratical states of Africa; and the court endeavoured to reconcile it to the public as a casual rencounter, occasioned by the obstinate refusal of the Hollanders to pay the due honours to the British flag. Holmes, however, though he was the instrument of a perfidious attempt, had too much honour to certify the court relation of the engagement: he even acknowleged that the Dutch admiral had actually lowered his topsails, and paid him the usual compliment.

A. D. 1672.

Attempt on the Smyrna fleet.

By this action the states were convinced they had nothing to expect from Charles, and that their diligence must be redoubled, in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. The seizure or confiscation of four of their East India ships corroborated these sentiments, which were soon confirmed by the king's declaration of war against the republic. It imported that nothing but absolute necessity, a regard to the liberties of his subjects and the dignity of his crown, could have driven his majesty to carry matters

England declares war.

to

to extremities; but the evaſions of the ſtates with regard to the claims of the Britiſh Eaſt India company, their refuſal to ſend home the Engliſh families ſettled at Surinam, agreeable to the treaty of Breda, their denying to pay the due honour to his flag, their ridiculing the king and people of England in arrogant medals and inſcriptions, had obliged him to uſe the power delegated to him by the Almighty, to check their inſolence and ſecure the rights and honour of his crown and kingdoms. The grounds of this declaration appeared ſo frivolous, and the conduct of this miniſtry ſo perfidious, that the whole people of England clamoured againſt the war, their ancient animoſity to the Dutch being abſorbed in their reſentments againſt the meaſures of the adminiſtration. As to the Dutch, they anſwered the king's declaration with great propriety and ſtrength of argument, refuting irrefragably almoſt every article it contained. They denied that the Engliſh families in Surinam were detained, and demonſtrated that they had refuſed to quit the colony: they affirmed, that no treaty had obliged their admirals to ſtrike ſail on their own coaſt to an Engliſh pleaſure-boat; alluding to the affair of the yatch: they aſſerted their never having countenanced any medals, pictures, or inſcriptions, reflecting upon the king or people of England: they declared it had always been their ſtudy to cultivate the friendſhip of Great Britain, to maintain their engagements, and to procure the repoſe of both nations, upon which their commerce and the very exiſtence of their republic depended. Next they painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the inſolence of Downing, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague; the intention of the Engliſh miniſtry in recalling ſir William Temple, who had engaged the affection of the ſtates, by the juſtice, honour, and openneſs of his proceedings, the iniquitous attempt upon their Smyrna fleet, and the inſidious capture and unjuſt detention of their Eaſt India ſhipping [c].

The court of Spain could not be perſuaded that England would ever come to extremities with the Dutch, upon groundleſs and at beſt but frivolous pretences. Even France could hardly depend upon the promiſes and engagements of a monarch incapable of conſtancy and perſeverance. Nor did the ſtates imagine their calamities were ſo near; all Europe, indeed, ſtood aſtoniſhed at this thunder-clap, which was the more dreadful as it was ſudden and unexpected.

Lewis now entered upon the ſcene of action, with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, that Charles ſeemed little more than

[c] Le Clerc, ubi ſupra.

the harbinger to usher in the giant. His declaration of war against the states general was published in the month of April, under the superb title of an Ordonnance by the King. His money and influence had not only drawn over the king of England to his interest, but he retained Sweden by his subsidies, and armed the other princes on the frontiers of the United Provinces against the republic. He did not condescend to specify particulars in his ordonnance: it was sufficient that the insolence of the states had incurred his displeasure, and merited chastisement. It was in this lofty style his minister de Gremonville talked to the emperor when he desired the court of Vienna might not interpose in his quarrel with the Hollanders. At other Roman catholic courts he pretended to call it a religious affair, reproaching the Dutch with the name of heretics, though he was linked in the closest alliance with a heretic monarch, and the head of the protestant church; though four hundred thousand crowns were given annually for the friendship of Sweden, which had by severe laws prohibited the residence of catholics in the kingdom. The bishop of Munster declared war against the Dutch, under pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his towns; and the elector of Cologne received a body of French troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own security.

France and the other allies declare war.

The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now to be devoted to destruction. Lewis was ready with three armies to burst like a torrent into the heart of the republic's dominions, while on her side there was no army, no general, no fortifications, no unanimity to oppose the inundation; the whole valour and power of the state consisting in her navy, upon which the pensioner had bestowed all his attention. France had no sooner veered round than de Wit lost his credit, and with some degree of reason, as enmity to the prince of Orange had certainly carried him too far in his opposition to England, and complaisance for the court of France had occasioned his extinguishing every spark of military spirit in the republic, by disbanding the greater part of the army, and filling up all commissions in the remainder with the sons and kinsmen of his own friends, raw unexperienced youths, who had never beheld the face of an enemy. His confidence in France prevented his acting with his usual vigilance and caution. Fear of giving offence, by suspicion, hindered his making preparations against the impending invasion. The populace demanded that the prince of Orange, a youth who had just attained the age of manhood, might be placed at the head of

Preparations in Holland.

of the army, if a body of twelve thouſand men, little better diſciplined than militia, merited that name. There was no reſiſting the voice of a whole nation; de Wit yielded, and reſolved to make one powerful effort by ſea, while the prince was endeavouring to augment the army, raiſe the ſpirits of the people, revive diſcipline, repair the fortifications, and provide every neceſſary for a vigorous reſiſtance. The great difficulty was to form a judgment where the ſtorm would fall, and where to direct the ſtrength of the republic, which was too inconſiderable to admit of being divided. Every thing was kept ſo cloſe in France, that not a ſyllable about the army tranſpired; no letter was ſuffered to paſs into Holland that contained the moſt diſtant hint of the intended invaſion. It was the general opinion that the king would lay ſiege to Maeſtricht; but he rather choſe to penetrate in three diviſions into the provinces, take advantage of the preſent forlorn and diſpirited condition of the enemy, and by one great effort deſtroy all preſence of mind and hope of reſiſtance. In the hiſtory of France we have ſeen with what rapidity he over-ran the Netherlands, and reduced the Dutch to the neceſſity of laying their country under water. All Europe ſtood amazed at the king's irreſiſtible progreſs, while the republic was given up for loſt, and without the ſmalleſt proſpect of deliverance. The preparations of the ſtates could not keep pace with their calamities. The auxiliaries received from Flanders were juſt ſufficient to draw complaints againſt the court of Spain, from the two allied kings, but too inconſiderable to do the republic real ſervice. Though the ſtates were negociating a treaty offenſive and defenſive at Vienna and Madrid, it was probable their fate would be determined before it could take place. They were beſides harraſſed in every ſtep by the enemy, and their applications to the elector of Brandenburg and the princes of Lunenburg it was feared would be fruſtrated by the machinations of Lewis, and the terror of the French arms [c].

In this ſituation it was hoped a bold puſh with the fleet might produce ſome favourable change. The ſhips and mariners of the republic were as numerous, her ſtores as full, and her commanders as brave and experienced as ever; it was therefore reſolved to employ them in the moſt vigorous manner for the preſervation of the laſt remains of the commonwealth. De Ruyter was accordingly ſent to ſea with ninety ſhips of war, and forty frigates and ſtore-ſhips, Cornelius de Wit acting on board as deputy from

[c] Neuville. tom. iii.

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the states. The first intention was to prevent the junction of the French and English squadrons; but this was already effected: the united fleet lay at anchor in Solebay, under the command of the duke of York, the earl of Sandwich, and the count d'Estrees, to the amount of one hundred and thirty ships of the line. The chief authority was vested in the duke of York, who imprudently affronted the earl of Sandwich, for representing that the ships lay in great disorder, exposed to the utmost danger, if attacked in that situation. He refused standing out to sea, as the earl advised; and, indeed, regarded nothing besides his pleasures, which some political English historians relate he carried, on this occasion, to unusual excess. It is certain the Dutch began the attack early in the morning, before the combined fleet could be properly ranged; several ships were forced to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole was in such confusion, that the vessels ran foul of each other. Van Ghent opposed himself to the earl of Sandwich, who led the van of the enemy; and a most dreadful action ensued, in which the Dutch admiral was killed, after having performed prodigies of valour. Sandwich sustained for a while the whole weight of the Dutch fleet, that the Duke might have time to reduce the rest of the ships into order. He destroyed a large man of war which had attempted to board him; he sunk three fire-ships before they approached near enough to grapple with his rigging, though his whole crew was almost killed or wounded: he continued to ply his artillery with unremitting ardor, until another fireship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even then he might have escaped into another vessel; but he disdained to live after the injury done to his honour by the duke of York: his ship was blown up, and the earl and every person on board were destroyed. The benefit of the disposition he had made was felt after his death: sir Joseph Jordan, his vice-admiral, still pursued the same plan of gaining the windward, and at last succeeded; by which means he was enabled to come to the assistance of the duke of York, who was hotly engaged with de Ruyter. Now the engagement was so close for above two hours, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared it was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. Both sides fought like men accustomed to dispute the empire of the ocean. The duke and de Ruyter each shifted their flags twice; but the duke did not return afterwards to the engagement. Night came on, the battle was drawn, victory was claimed by the English and Dutch; but it belonged to the latter, if we may

judge by conſequences; for de Ruyter, without interruption, convoyed a prodigious fleet of merchantmen ſafe into the Texel, and overflowed his country with wealth on the one ſide, while it ſunk under the preſſure of misfortunes on the other (A).

A diſputed victory, however, could not ſerve the purpoſes of de Wit, as affairs were then circumſtanced. He had no proſpect of ſtanding his ground, and fruſtrating the views of the young prince of Orange, except by ſome ſignal ſucceſs and deciſive blow on the ocean. To have failed in this, was to him equivalent to a total defeat, as he knew it would be impoſſible to put the fleet again to ſea with ſufficient expedition, to remedy the miſchief that aroſe from the preſent diſappointment. He ſaw the French king extending his conqueſts on all ſides, three provinces wholly ſubdued, and Lewis exerciſing not only the power of a conqueror, but the authority of a ſovereign; changing conſtitutions, enacting laws, publiſhing edicts, creating magiſtrates, receiving homage, and, in a word, transferring to himſelf the allegiance due only to the majeſty of the ſtates general. Believing longer reſiſtance fruitleſs, and perhaps dreading more to become vaſſals to the prince of Orange than tributaries to France, the Louveſtein faction determined, as the laſt reſource, to appeaſe by ſupplications the power they were unable to withſtand. Accordingly deputies were diſpatched to Lewis and Charles, with hopes at leaſt of breaking their union, if they ſhould fail in ſubduing their reſentment. On the arrival of de Groot at the French court, his propoſals were demanded; but he anſwered, he was come to know the king's pleaſure, his maſters deeming it more reſpectful to receive than to offer conditions. He was told, however, that Lewis expected propoſals, in which the ſtates ſhould conſider all that his majeſty had already conquered as his own, and make allowances for the farther progreſs of his arms during the remainder of the campaign. With this anſwer the deputy returned to the Hague, and was immediately ſent back with full powers to treat and conclude a peace on the beſt terms that could be

They implore peace.

(A) Some French writers allege, that d'Eſtrees was hotly engaged with his whole ſquadron of thirty ſhips, with the diviſion of Fluſhing, whoſe fire he ſuſtained with the utmoſt reſolution and valour. The truth is, only a few French ſhips were engaged, and in all probability the count had orders to keep aloof, that the two maritime powers might deſtroy each other. Voltaire confeſſes as much (1).

(1) Daniel, tom. v. p. 115. Volt. Siec. tom. i. p. 143.

obtained.

obtained. After repeated conferences, Louvois gave the deputy a plan of pacification, or rather the pretenſions of the king his maſter, upon their ſubmitting to which he was ready to return to his former amity with the republic. Though the apprehenſions of the ſtates were ſo extravagant as to offer that every thing ſhould be ſurrendered to the conqueror, provided their liberty, religion, and ſovereign power could be preſerved; though they offered to cede the whole frontier, and defray the expences of the war, yet this was inſufficient. Lewis demanded that the commodities of France ſhould be imported free of duty into all the provinces; that the ſtates ſhould permit the free exerciſe of the Catholic religion, ſhare the churches between them and the Proteſtants, and appoint regular ſalaries for the Romiſh prieſts; that they ſhould cede not only all the frontier towns, but Schenk, Nimeguen, Knotzemburg, part of Guelderland, the iſlands of Bommel and Voorn, and the forts of St. Andrew, Louveſtein, and Crevecœur; in a word, that they ſhould make him as completely maſter of all the provinces, as if they had already been conquered by the ſword: he requeſted moreover, that they ſhould pay an immenſe ſum of money to indemnify his expences; ſend a yearly embaſſy to Paris with a golden medal, confeſſing the ſubjection of the republic, and that to the king ſhe owed the preſervation of that liberty which his anceſtors had enabled her to acquire. Finally, that in the ſpace of ten days the ſtates ſhould ſignify their aſſent to theſe inſolent propoſals, in which caſe he would withdraw his forces [a]. Here it is remarkable that not the leaſt mention was made of England: we ſhall ſee how that court ſeemed to be wholly directed by the will and pleaſure of Lewis.

The deputies ſent to England were met at Graveſend, forbid entering London, and conveyed directly to Hampton-court, where they met with a very harſh reception. There they were kept in a kind of honourable confinement, until the pleaſure of Lewis ſhould be known, and whether they were to be favoured with an audience, or upon what terms it might be proper to treat of an accommodation. Biſhop Burnet intimates, that the deputies gave lord Arlington to underſtand that the ſtates were diſpoſed to advance the prince of Orange to the dignity of ſtadtholder, and all the other offices poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, as was plain from their giving him the entire command of the army. They requeſted that his majeſty would appoint plenipotentiaries to treat jointly of a peace with the

Propoſals made by the kings.

[a] Voltaire Siecle, Neuville, ibid.

French monarch; and their petition was granted, merely becauſe Charles was at a loſs in what manner to act ſingly, before he had his inſtructions from Lewis. The duke of Buckingham and lord Arlington were accordingly nominated to attend the French king, who was at that time with his whole court at Utrecht. It would ſeem, however, that though Charles did not chuſe to treat ſeparately of a peace, that he felt uneaſineſs at the rapid progreſs of his ally, and at the high ſtrain of authority in which he talked; that he foreſaw the entire conqueſt of the provinces would be a formidable acceſſion of power to Lewis, who might forget his engagements, and think it his intereſt to have the king of England dependent on his ſubjects. Beſides, Charles ſhewed an inclination to ſhare in the ſpoils of the republic. Holland was in ſuch a ſituation, that he doubted not of procuring whatever conditions he ſhould think fit to preſcribe. His demands were exorbitant. In concert with the court of France, the plenipotentiaries delivered the following preliminaries to the Dutch deputies: That the ſtates ſhould do honour to the Britiſh flag, without limitation; that whole fleets ſhould ſtrike their colours, and lower their topſails, to any ſingle king's ſhip in the Britiſh ſeas, or on the coaſts of Holland; that his majeſty's ſubjects at Surinam ſhould have liberty to quit the colony, on the terms preſcribed by the treaty of Breda; that all the king's enemies and calumniators ſhould for ever be baniſhed the republic; that the prince of Orange and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy, by hereditary right, the dignities of captain and admiral-general, and of ſtadtholder of the United Provinces, in as ample a manner as they had ever been held by his anceſtors; that a million ſterling ſhould be paid to the king, to indemnify the charges of the war, as well as ten thouſand pounds annually, merely for liberty to fiſh in the Britiſh ſeas; that a treaty of commerce ſhould immediately be ſet on foot, wherein all his majeſty's claims, reſpecting the affairs of India, ſhould be acknowleged, without contradiction; and that the iſles of Valcheren, Cadſant, Goree, and Voorn, with the town and caſtle of Sluys, and their dependencies, ſhould be put into the king of England's hands, by way of ſecurity for the performance of the ſeveral articles of this treaty [b].

Grievous as theſe terms were, to the prince of Orange alone it was owing they were not accepted. He had infuſed ſuch a ſpirit into the people, that on him depended the alternative of embracing or rejecting the propoſals.

[b] Rapin, Smollet, Temple, &c.

Nor

Nor were the allied kings ignorant of his importance. They addreſſed themſelves chiefly to him; they knew his ambition, and they plied him on that ſide with all the batteries in their power, fully convinced that, in the end, he would yield to the temptation. The ſovereignty of the provinces was preſented to his view, to dazzle his eyes with the luſtre of the object; but William's ambition aſpired higher. Eager to become the ſaviour of his country, he ſpurned the thoughts of trampling on her liberties, at a time when ſhe moſt wanted his aſſiſtance; he deſpiſed owing his elevation to tyrants, and ſacrificing his honour and integrity to the petty reward of a tributary ſovereignty. He called to mind the unhappy fate of the duke of Lorraine: the example was recent, ſtriking, and ſufficient to deter any inferior prince from relying upon the friendſhip, the equity, or the gratitude of a powerful monarch, whoſe ambition graſped at ſubjecting all the neighbouring powers. Full of theſe heroic ſentiments, he declared he would defend the liberties of his country, or periſh in the laſt dyke. The ſpirit of the prince infuſed life and vigour into his party; and he took this opportunity of inflaming the paſſions of the populace againſt the penſioner and his brother, who had now become the objects of hatred and execration, on account of their adherence to France. To this, and the ſubjection in which the houſe of Orange was kept, were all the misfortunes of the commonwealth attributed. In their moſt proſperous condition the vulgar panted for a ſtadtholder, with the glitter of whoſe authority they were dazzled: in adverſity, they knew no other relief than from an application to the deſcendants of thoſe heroes who had by perſeverance, valour, and magnanimity, reſcued the ſtate from the inſolent dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, and eſtabliſhed religion and liberty on a ſolid baſis.

Tumult at the Hague, in which the de Wits are maſſacred.

The penſioner de Wit was deemed the ſource of the ſtrong tide of public calamity, that now flowed with a violence ſufficient to overwhelm the conſtitution. He inherited no titles, no royal blood, from his anceſtors; his nobility aroſe ſolely from merit, inflexible virtue, and vaſt abilities: but he was ſubject to the frailties of humanity. His ſtaunch republican principles, and oppoſition to the aſpiring views of the houſe of Orange, obliged him to fall into an extreme equally dangerous to his country. His enmity to the king of England and the prince his nephew threw him into the arms of Lewis, by whom he was now deſerted and betrayed. In the full luſtre of proſperity, the penſioner was envied and admired; in his decline he was loaded with the execrations of a people, who placed to his

account every circumſtance of the calamity under which they now groaned. Actuated by theſe prejudices the provinces fell into the moſt violent ferment: the dregs of the people buoyed up to the ſurface, and dictated to their maſters. The ſtates were diſregarded, the whole hope of the public centered in the houſe of Orange, and the univerſal cry was a ſtadtholder. Every voice demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged upon oath never to acknowlege the prince of Orange as governor-general, or to veſt him with the dignities poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. The two brothers, John and Cornelius, ſtill continued to oppoſe the repeal from motives of true patriotiſm; they ſaw the madneſs of the people, and apprehended that, in the tranſports of their zeal for the prince, they might diſpoſe of their liberty, and, by one act of indiſcretion, afford matter of perpetual inquietude. At length the populace broke through all reſtraint. At Dort, where Cornelius de Wit was ancient burgomaſter, the citizens ran to arms, invited the prince of Orange to that place, and forced the magiſtrates to inveſt him with all the dignities belonging to his family. The ſame ſcene was acted at Rotterdam, Amſterdam, the Hague, Middleburg, and, in general, through all the provinces. Nor did the popular fury ſtop here; they purged the public offices of all diſagreeable perſons, called upon the prince to fill the vacancies, introduced into the magiſtracy all the adherents of his family, and inſiſted that their own deputies ſhould have ſeats in the adminiſtration, contrary to the fundamental laws of the conſtitution. At Amſterdam the populace were in continual tumults. At Dort the pictures and ſtatues, erected in honour of Cornelius de Wit, were pulled down and broken. Their rage againſt both the brothers were inexpreſſible; but it ſeems to have riſen to the greateſt height againſt Cornelius, who had firſt refuſed to ſign the inſtrument whereby the prince was elevated to the ſtadtholderſhip. John de Wit had, between reſentment and deſpair, reſigned the office of penſioner, after having been aſſaulted by four ruffians, and left for dead in the ſtreet. The gallant de Ruyter was attacked in the ſame manner at Amſterdam: Cornelius de Wit was beſet in his own houſe, and, being confined to his bed, was, with the utmoſt difficulty, protected by his ſervants. This zealous patriot was accuſed, by an infamous barber, of having offered him thirty-two thouſand guilders for attempting the life of the prince of Orange. The charge was improbable and abſurd; but the times favoured the accuſer, and prevented the magiſtrates from doing juſtice to the accuſed. So ſtrong was the tide of

of faction, that the judges, intimidated by menaces, were forced againſt their conviction, to condemn him to the torture, to confiſcate his eſtate, diveſt him of his dignities and employments, and ſentence him to perpetual baniſhment. His conſtancy never ſhrunk under the moſt excruciating pains, which he bore with unſhaken fortitude, proteſting his innocence, and repeating that beautiful ode of Horace, beginning with "Juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum." His brother the penſioner, not only countenanced him through the whole ſcene, wiped away his tears, and conſoled him in his adverſity, but determined to ſhare his misfortunes, by accompanying him in his exile[a]. While he was viſiting him in priſon, the deluded multitude aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, broke open the priſon-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embrued their ſavage hands in the blood of thoſe ſons of liberty, who had merited ſo well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the moſt inhuman indignity.

The elevation of the prince of Orange was almoſt an immediate conſequence of the tragical end of his two greateſt enemies. He was promoted, with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy on the ſide of the people, to the whole adminiſtration of Holland and Zealand. Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overyſſel, were in the hands of the enemy; and the young prince, John Caſimir of Naſſau, now under the guardianſhip of his mother, had already been in poſſeſſion of the government of Friſeland and Groningen. But the inſolence of the populace did not ſubſide with this favourable change of meaſures. Their proſperity rather increaſed their arrogance. At Amſterdam the following demands were poſted up on the exchange: that the colonels, captains, and other officers of the burgomaſters, be immediately caſhiered, and their commiſſions be given to ſuch perſons as the prince-ſtadtholder ſhall judge worthy: that henceforward none of the burgomaſters ſhall be appointed directors of the Eaſt India company, and that thoſe who at preſent enjoy that office be caſhiered: that an account of all money received and expended be laid before the burghers: that all the privileges of the burghers, reſpecting the liberty of fiſhing round the towns, be confirmed: that thoſe who refuſe to accede to theſe conditions, ſhall be treated in the ſame manner as the de Wits were at the Hague: and that, whoever ſhall preſume to pull down this writing, may expect immediate capital puniſhment.

[a] Baſnage Introduct. Le Clerc, p. 93. Gazette Amſter. No. 104.

In a word, the power of the nobility was every where the object of jealouſy; and the great deſign ſeems to have been, to ſhare the government between the ſtadtholder and the populace. Whatever demands were made by the people, the prince immediately granted. All authority was veſted in his highneſs, the ſtates were ſcarce ever named, the legiſlative and executive power were wholly at his mercy, and the conſtitution ſeemed entirely unhinged.

The ſtadtholder encourages the ſtates to proſecute the war.

The firſt good effect which this change of meaſures produced, was the putting an immediate ſtop to the treaty with France. At an extraordinary aſſembly of the ſtates, aſſembled merely for the ſake of form, the young ſtadtholder repreſented, in a ſpeech of three hours, the pernicious conſequences of accepting the terms propoſed by Lewis: he encouraged them to hope, that valour and perſeverance would be able to triumph over all difficulties, and yet reſcue their liberties: he demonſtrated the poſſibility of raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies for the enormous expence of the war; and concluded with obſerving, that too great a price could not be paid for the ſecurity of religion and liberty. His knowlege was ſo extenſive, his judgment ſo ſolid, his arguments ſo irrefragable, his calculations ſo clear, and his nervous manner ſo animating, that the ſtates appeared at the ſame time aſtoniſhed and convinced. New ſpirits ſeemed to flow through every department of the government; all were inſpired with courage and hope from the intrepidity and cool valour of the young ſtadtholder: that grief and deſpondency which had long clouded every face, were now diſpelled before the radiance of this riſing ſun: they recovered the faculty of recollection, which ſeemed to be buried under their misfortunes, and all began to exert themſelves with vigour in defence of their country. Wiſe deliberations paved the way to vigorous reſolutions; the propoſals of the two kings were rejected, the deputies recalled, and every neceſſary diſpoſition was made for defending themſelves to the laſt extremity. It was even reſolved, rather than ſubmit, to tranſport themſelves, their families, and effects to the Eaſt Indies, where the diligence and providence of this republic would appear to have ſecured a retreat againſt the greateſt calamities.

A. D. 1673. By this time ſeveral of the neighbouring powers, alarmed at the rapidity of the French conqueſts, began to arm for the protection of the republic; and the prince of Orange had made ſurpriſing efforts to aſſemble an army capable of taking the field. His firſt attempt was on Naerden; but the vigilance of mareſchal Luxemburg rendered it unſucceſsful. Still, however, the chief hopes of Holland centered

ed in the Engliſh parliament, which, it was believed, would thwart the king's inclinations, oblige him to break off from Lewis, and purſue the real intereſt of the nation. This expectation, though well founded, proved vain, as was ſoon perceived by the new levies made in England, and the vaſt armament ſent to ſea under the conduct of prince Rupert, the earl of Oſſory, and ſir Edward Spragge, who immediately joined the French ſquadron commanded by d'Etrees. It was now that the project was formed of invading Zealand. A conſiderable body of land-forces were put on board the fleet, and ſuch diſpoſitions made as threatened the republic with unavoidable deſtruction. Never did any plan bid fairer for ſucceſs. The Dutch fleet was not yet put to ſea; the prince of Orange could make no detachment from his little army, already greatly inferior to the enemy; the coaſt was covered with the ſhips of the invaders, and nothing appeared to give them any interruption; when a tempeſt came on, which drove the enemy from the ſhore, and forced them, in a ſhattered condition, to ſhelter themſelves in their own ports. Nor was this all; the ſame ſtorm which had removed danger, brought the moſt ſeaſonable relief to the provinces. In the abſence of the combined ſquadrons a large fleet of India merchant-ſhips, richly laden, entered the Texel, and added nerves to all their meaſures of defence. Luxemburg was on his march over the ice to attack Amſterdam and the Hague, when a ſudden thaw had almoſt ruined himſelf and his army. To proceed was impoſſible; to return was attended with a thouſand difficulties, had the Dutch officer of a fort ſtood firm, and diſcharged his duty: but his cowardice opened the way to the ſafety of Luxemburg, who was equally aſtoniſhed at the conduct of his daſtardly enemy, and his own good fortune. Theſe are events which the republic has cauſe to remember with gratitude and admiration [b].

De Ruyter was ſent to ſea with a powerful fleet in queſt of the Engliſh, whom he found on the coaſt of Holland, under the command of prince Rupert. Before the action the French ſquadron had joined the prince; but de Ruyter was not deterred from his purpoſe. He made the ſignal to attack, bore down with the moſt undaunted reſolution, and maintained an obſtinate bloody engagement with his uſual intrepidity and conduct. The fleets parted before victory declared in favour of either ſide; though both claimed an advantage. They put into their ports to refit, and ſoon appeared again, with intention to finiſh the diſ-

[b] Volt. Siecle.

puta

pute more decisively. On the 14th of June they met a second time off Flushing, and began to cannonade with great fury; but were prevented from coming to a general engagement by tempestuous weather. Prince Rupert was, indeed, supposed to have been averse to the war, and, for that reason, less eager to exert himself than usual, agreeable to his impetuous courage and well-known ardour. De Ruyter would have come to an engagement; but the prince, being destitute of many necessaries, had retired into port. He was no sooner supplied than he again appeared on the coast of Holland, and was attacked by de Ruyter and Van Tromp, now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the stadtholder, who laboured to unite all parties in the service of their country. The action was scarce begun when each of the Dutch admirals singled out the commanders of the combined fleet. De Ruyter opposed himself to the prince, Van Tromp engaged sir Edward Spragge, and rear-admiral Bonkert attacked d'Etrees, the French admiral. Never did greater emulation appear between the officers of the different nations: all fought with that regulated ardour, and determined courage, which distinguish true military genius. Bronkert shot a-head of the French division, separated prince Rupert from the division of sir John Chichely, and closed him between two fires; de Ruyter plying him with fury on the one side, while the rear-admiral attacked him on the other. Though quite surrounded, Rupert fought with undaunted valour and presence of mind, which seemed to rise with the danger. After several desperate efforts he at length extricated himself, and, joining Chichely, bore down to the assistance of Spragge, who was almost overpowered by Van Tromp. He had shifted his flag from the Royal Prince, in which he had fought until the ship was beat to pieces with the enemy's shot. He then engaged in the St. George, and fought her while she could swim; but going in the pinnace to shift his flag on board a fresh ship, he was sunk by a cannon-ball[b], after having gained the esteem and admiration of all men by his gallant behaviour. Van Tromp had been in much the same situation: he had twice shifted his flag after his ships had been disabled, and at last bore so hard on the earl of Offory, who succeeded Spragge, that he forced him to retire. English writers, however, allege, that had the French obeyed prince Rupert's signal to engage, when he put the Dutch fleet in confusion by his fireships, the victory would have been undisputed. This, however, is conjecture; and all

Sea-fights between the English and Dutch.

[b] Le Clerc, p. 93. Volt. cap 19. Smollet, book vii. cap. 2.

that

that we know for certain is, that, finding himself extremely roughly handled, he collected his straggled ships, and hauled off to the English coast. De Ruyter was greatly caressed for his conduct; the stadtholder wrote him a letter of thanks with his own hand, though he had been the inveterate enemy of his family, and the fast friend of the pensioner de Wit. Happily, indeed, the spirit of party seemed now extinguished, and all men united in the common defence of their country.

Every thing began to take a turn favourable to Holland. Spain renewed her alliance with the states, was raising an army, and upon the point of coming to a rupture with France. The emperor had sent the famous Montecuculi into the field to oppose his great rival Turenne. The elector of Brandenburgh was at the head of a body of troops, making a diversion in favour of the republic: the prince of Orange took Naerdin, and, by a series of masterly motions and judicious encampments, left all the French generals behind him, joined the imperialists, and invested and reduced Bonne in the space of a few days. The bishop of Munster had been driven out of Groningen, and several places in the electorate of Cologne, and forced to receive Dutch garrisons; in consequence of which Lewis was forced to abandon all his conquests, and withdraw his army from the provinces, the communication being cut off with France. Immediately upon this event the king of Sweden, seeing the parties grow more equal, and Europe likely to be involved in a tedious ruinous war, offered his mediation, and pleaded so heartily for peace, that a congress was opened at Cologne. The Dutch were no longer under the necessity of abjectly imploring compassion. They refused listening to terms, unless the two kings would recede from the insolent conditions they had before prescribed; they sunk in their own offers, and their ambassadors now again began to assume a more firm and elevated tone, and greater dignity of carriage. The French endeavoured to protract the negociation; but, at last, finding themselves greatly embarrassed, they retired from Cologne with their allies, on pretence of the violence offered to the count of Furstenburg, plenipotentiary for the elector of Cologne, now apprehended by an order of the court of Vienna, as a subject of the empire who had betrayed his country.

Though the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Hanover had suffered themselves to be seduced from the interests of Europe, the one signing a neutrality with the court of France, the other suffering his troops to enter into the pay of the two kings; yet still Holland was sufficiently supported

Conditions of the treaty with Spain.

supported not to be discouraged. The treaties with Spain and the empire were full, explicit, and favourable as could be desired: there every measure of defence was stipulated, and a variety of offensive schemes concerted. In a treaty with Spain, the first seven articles provided for a reciprocal guarantee and mutual assistance, in case either party should be attacked. The proportion, time, manner, and other circumstances of such mutual aid, were likewise specified. In the three next articles it was provided, that no peace should be concluded by either contracting party, without the consent of the other; and also, that no engagements should be formed that were not perfectly consistent with the present treaty. In the eleventh and twelfth articles, the emperor and certain other powers were invited to accede to the alliance; and provision was made for the due observance of the treaty of Munster, the guarantee of the treaty of Aix, and the triple league, when the war with his Britannic majesty should be terminated. In the thirteenth article, the king of Spain promised not only to co-operate with the states general in their endeavours to procure an equitable peace; but engaged, should their proposals be rejected, to declare open war against France, and that his governor-general should in the mean time contrive to assist the prince of Orange with all the strength of the Spanish Netherlands. In the fifteenth article it was stipulated, that no peace should be negociated without full restitution made of all towns, cities, and countries, which had or might be taken from the states; the republic, on the other hand, entering into the same engagements, until all that had been taken from Spain since the peace of the Pyrenees should be restored. By the eighteenth article, the states engaged to surrender the town of Maestricht, territory of Usenhove, and all they possessed beyond the Meuse, to his majesty, together with their pretensions to the villages of redemption. By the nineteenth article, the treaty was to subsist for the space of twenty years, and the ratifications to be exchanged in two months.

It was likewise agreed, that if the means of pacification, proposed by his catholic majesty, should prove fruitless, his majesty should then declare war against the king of Great Britain, in the same manner as against his most Christian majesty. Nevertheless, to shew his good inclinations towards his Britannic majesty, the states general were required to make one last effort to bring the king to a peace, offering him such conditions as must appear reasonable [c].

[c] Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 97.

Such

Such was the treaty by which Spain and Holland became again united in the ſame cauſe, after they had been at variance and open war for near the ſpace of a century. In conſequence of this treaty, to which the emperor immediately acceded, the two courts of Vienna and Madrid denounced war againſt France, and became the avowed protectors of the republic, which they had, during the preceding campaign, aſſiſted with their forces. It was likewiſe to the peremptorineſs of this treaty, and the determined reſolution of the catholic king, that the ſtates owed the peace ſoon after concluded with Great Britain. The parliament, and the nation in general, exclaimed againſt the ruinous meaſures ſupported by the Engliſh miniſters. They were incenſed at the conduct of the French admiral, who never engaged heartily in any of the naval engagements. They attributed the unproſperous iſſue of the laſt action to the artifice of d'Eſtrees, who paid no regard to prince Rupert's ſignal. They clearly penetrated into the deſigns of the French monarch, and determined, by refuſing the ſupplies, to force the court to an accommodation with the United Provinces. But firſt it was reſolved to wait the event of an enterprize formed by the earl of Oſſory upon Helvoetſluys. As this ſcheme came to nothing, the Dutch commiſſioners and the Spaniſh ambaſſador renewed their application to detach England from France, and they ſucceeded. As this was a matter of the higheſt importance, the ſtates did not ſcruple writing a ſubmiſſive letter to Charles, and impowering the marquis de Freſno to conclude peace upon terms nearly ſimilar to thoſe recited in the treaty between Spain and the republic. Charles, finding it would be impoſſible to ſupport the war without the conſent of his parliament, yielded to the inclinations of his people, and the ſolicitations of the Spaniſh miniſter. He made a virtue of neceſſity, communicated the propoſals ſent him by the ſtates to the two houſes of parliament, and demanded their advice. Their ſentiments were well known: they exhorted his majeſty to put an end to the war. Accordingly the marquis de Freſno was referred to ſir William Temple, and at three meetings the whole affair was finiſhed. The treaty of Breda, and the commercial treaty in 1668, formed the baſis of the preſent pacification. Little more was added, than that the ſtates ſhould compliment the king's flag, whether in fleets or ſingle veſſels; and that they ſhould pay a ſum of money to defray the king's expences.

A.D. 1674.

Peace with England.

Though Charles had negociated the peace with Holland in a clandeſtine manner, the French king's pride was by this

this time ſo mortified, that he did not reſent the ill uſage received from his ally. On the contrary, he readily accepted the mediation offered by Charles, from whom he had reaſon to expect ſome partiality and indulgence, as he obliged the Engliſh monarch with an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds. Charles made the offer to qualify his deſertion, and Lewis accepted it, as the moſt rational means of warding againſt the danger that threatened his crown from a cloud of enemies combined to retrench his power. But the ſame reaſons that induced him to reliſh the propoſed mediation, rendered the overtures from the Britiſh king diſtaſteful to the emperor, Spain, and Holland, who ſcrupled not avowing, that the court of England retained the ſame attachments it formerly had to the French king's intereſt, though the king's immediate neceſſities had obliged him to accommodate matters with the ſtates general.

While the mediation was in ſuſpence, the prince of Orange took the field with a numerous army, and tried every ſtratagem of war to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; we have ſeen the progreſs of this campaign, and the manner in which William of Orange expoſed a wing of his army at Seneffe, of which the vigilant Condé did not fail taking advantage [b]. The conduct of both generals was ſuch as engaged their mutual eſteem; both claimed the victory, and neither had a right to any more than the glory of deſerving it. The rencounter, however, was deciſive in one reſpect; it fruſtrated the ſcheme of the confederates to carry the war into the heart of France. It likewiſe facilitated the operations of the enemy in another quarter, and enabled the French to penetrate into Franche Compté, which they ſoon reduced. Turenne was ſuperior to the allies in Alſace; he defeated the duke of Lorraine and Caprara at Zitzheim; attacked and routed a body of Germans at Mulhauſen; drove the elector of Brandenburg from Colmar; obtained a victory over him at Turkheim; and at length forced the enemy to repaſs the Rhine, and abandon their deſign of invading the king's frontiers.

Theſe ſucceſſes did not prevent the king of England from perſiſting in the offers of his mediation, or animate Lewis to proſecute the war, could reaſonable terms be obtained. The ſtates general themſelves were diſpoſed to accommodate matters; but the courts of Vienna and Madrid had formed ambitious projects of humbling the pride of Lewis. The ſtadtholder too was inflamed with the deſire of mili-

[b] Vide Hiſt. of France.

tary

tary glory, and he puſhed his reſentment to France ſo far, that the penſioner Fagel acknowleged, it would not be poſſible to convince him of the propriety of concluding a peace, before he had ſettled the ballance of Europe, on ſuch a footing, as would for many years check the elevation of the French monarch. Animoſity, ambition, and policy, united to confirm William in thoſe ſentiments, and we find he had already ſketched the general plan of that grand alliance, which afterwards took effect, when he was king of Great Britain. Actuated by theſe principles, he carefully avoided all conference with the Engliſh miniſters during the campaign, and at laſt told them, until France received further mortifications, nothing ſalutary to the peace of Europe could flow from a negociation. In the ſecond conference, he explained that maxim which had afterwards coſt England and Holland ſuch an immenſity of blood and treaſure, that it was the intereſt of both to ſet bounds to the power of France; whence he took occaſion to urge, that the king ſhould actually embark in the alliance, in order to convince Lewis, that he had the ſame views with the other confederates; namely, the ſecurity of the repoſe of Europe, and not a mere temporary pacification. The prince was the more encouraged to purſue his deſign, as the elector of Brandenburg had again broke with the French king, and joined his troops, amounting to eighteen thouſand men, to the confederate army. Yet was this reinforcement ſcarce ſufficient to ballance the inconveniences ariſing from diſſenſions among the generals, and troops of different princes, ſince the battle of Zintzheim. The Lunenburghers had openly condemned the conduct of the imperialiſts in this action; for ſeveral hours they ſingly ſuſtained the whole weight of the enemy, they had ſuffered extremely, and were with reaſon loud in their complaints. The Brandenburghers embraced their cauſe againſt the imperialiſts; a diverſity of intereſts produced a diverſity of opinions; councils only created confuſion, and every tranſaction was as perfectly known by Turenne as if he had been preſent. However, upon the whole, the campaign proved fortunate to the allies. Montecuculi again reſumed the command, oppoſed himſelf to Turenne, reduced all things to order, diſplayed the moſt extenſive capacity, held the ſcale equal for a time, and, upon the unfortunate death of his great rival, ſuddenly turned it in favour of the confederates, and then reſigned the command.

A.D.1675.

It was during the receſs from military operations, that the ſovereignty of Guelderland had been offered the prince of Orange, under the ancient title of duke, which it was pretended

Congreſs appointed at Nimeguen.

pretended had been formerly in his family. This affair occaſioned various conjectures. Thoſe who had no opinion of William's patriotiſm, and attributed whatever appeared great in his character to ambition, alleged that he was himſelf the main ſpring in the intrigue, and had by divers means influenced the ſtates of Guelderland to make the propoſal. His friends and admirers were of contrary ſentiments. They inſiſted that the motion proceeded from gratitude, and that the reward was no more than was due to a hero, who had ſo bravely driven a powerful enemy out of the country, and reſcued almoſt beyond probability the liberties of the United Provinces. William wiſely deliberated on the offer, and ſubmitted it to the ſtates of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. The laſt temporiſed, and were for his accepting it; the ſecond were as poſitive, in diſſuading him from being dazzled with a title which would afford his enemies a handle to aſperſe his character, and ſtain real patriotiſm with the infamous blot of hypocriſy. Before Holland came to any reſolution, the prince thought fit to decline an honour which would have coſt more than it was worth by diminiſhing his popularity, while it increaſed his power, and added to his dignities. What ingratiated him particularly with the ſtates of Utrecht, was his conduct in that province, upon his firſt reſolution after he had been elevated to the ſtadtholderſhip. In order to reform abuſes, and ſettle the government upon the ancient principles of the conſtitution, he convened an aſſembly of the provincial ſtates. Here it was determined, that new members ſhould be elected to compoſe the body of the nobility and the magiſtracy. The prince delivered a plan he had drawn up, for the better government of the provinces: it was examined, approved, and put in execution. In conſequence of theſe meaſures, the old conſtitution was revived, agreeable to which the provincial government was veſted in three diſtinct ſocieties, the counſellors elect, the body of the nobility, and the deputies of the towns and cities. The judicious behaviour of the prince of Orange upon this occaſion rendered him the darling of the people, and gave riſe to the motion of rendering the ſtadtholderſhip hereditary in the heirs male of his body. The Louveſtein faction was now wholly ſuppreſſed, and there ſcarce was heard a murmur againſt a propoſal in which the gratitude of the people, and the intereſt of the republic, appeared intereſted. The inſtrument for this proviſion was made out, and the example was followed by ſome of the other provinces.

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The calamities of war, which had almoſt depopulated the empire and the Netherlands, excited the compaſſion of divers princes, who laboured to eſtabliſh a negociation. In this none was ſo hearty as the king of England, for the reaſons we have mentioned, rather than from any regard to the intereſts of Europe. His mediation at laſt operated ſo powerfully, that the contending parties all agreed to ſend plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, where a congreſs was appointed about the beginning of the year. It was obvious, however, A.D.1676. that the courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Berlin, would willingly have protracted the time, in expectation of obtaining ſuch advantages as would induce the French monarch to acquieſce in more moderate conditions than they could expect in his preſent ſituation. The ſtates general, likewiſe influenced by the ſtadtholder, did not expreſs that forwardneſs for a negociation which became their former profeſſions. Hence it was that the armies on both ſides took the field, and military operations were puſhed with vigour, while the miniſters were treating about peace in the cabinet. Lewis appeared early at the head of numerous forces, and reduced Condé, Aire, and Bouchain. The prince of Orange retaliated, by laying ſiege to Maeſtricht, which he puſhed with the utmoſt impetuoſity, until the judicious motions of the enemy, and the ſcarcity of forage, obliged him to abandon the enterprize. With this event ended the campaign in the Netherlands, when immediately the eyes of all Europe were again turned upon the congreſs at Nimeguen [d].

The Spaniards were averſe to peace, from a full conviction that the court of England could not long remain blind to the intereſts of Europe. They perſuaded themſelves, that rather than ſee Lewis in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands, Charles would join the confederates. On the other hand, the French monarch was bent upon dividing the allies, and concluding a ſeparate peace with Holland. Charles aſſiſted in this deſign, and the ſtates general lent an ear to the propoſal; but the ſtadtholder of himſelf refuſed to enter upon a meaſure which might have given the confederates a fair handle to complain that they were betrayed by the republic, in whoſe defence they engaged in the quarrel. Perhaps ambition and revenge, as ſome writers aſſert, might have ſome influence with the prince; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that his ſentiments are founded upon juſtice and generoſity. Beſides, he perceived that the Engliſh nation in general deteſted their

[d] Le Clerc, p. 99.

sovereign's attachment to France; and that the people were now highly inflamed by the indiscriminate depredations of the French privateers, who made no distinction between Dutch and English merchant ships, and regarded as lawful prizes whatever fell in their way. In fact, the prince was extremely popular in England. The ill humour of the English was increased by an indignity put on the flag by a French squadron, which refused the compliment to captain Herbert of the Cambridge. The tame conduct of Charles, who contented himself with demanding satisfaction by a letter, farther incensed the people, and at last the house of commons exhorted the king to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the French monarch.

Another circumstance likewise contributed to prevent the separate peace between France and Holland: so successfully had the French ministry laboured in establishing the navy, that France might now be regarded as one of the principal maritime powers in Europe. One of the first remarkable instances of the strength and spirit of her navy, appeared off the coast of Sicily. Messina had lately revolted from the Spaniards, and the duke de Vivonne was sent with a squadron to support the citizens in their rebellion. This incident occasioned the junction of the Spanish and Dutch fleets, who set sail to oppose Vivonne. On the 7th of January they fell in with the enemy, consisting of twenty-two men of war, six fire-ships, and several bomb-ketches. The engagement began next morning, before which time the wind freshened, and the sea rolled so high, that the Spanish galleys were forced to put into Lipari. De Ruyter however did not decline the combat. He bore down upon the enemy, began the action early, and sustained it with admirable constancy to five in the evening, when the French found means to withdraw, and accomplish their designs of succouring Messina. De Ruyter then separated himself from the Spaniards, and repaired to Leghorn; where, upon his arrival, he found an order to continue co-operating with the catholic king's squadron, which produced a second junction of the fleets, and a resolution to lay siege to Augusta by sea and land. This was undertaken under the direction of the Spanish viceroy. Three days after the place was invested, the French squadron quitted the port of Messina, for the relief of the besieged. The fleets were nearly equal in strength, and the action was maintained with all the fire which might be expected from combatants, one determined to gain, and the other resolved not to lose the

empire

empire of the ocean. The Spaniards fired at too great a distance, and did little execution; de Ruyter with his division supported the brunt of the engagement, broke the French line, gave chace for an hour, and obtained the honour of a victory, when he was wounded in the heel by a shot from the stern-chace of a French ship. A fever ensued, by which this gallant officer was carried off in the space of a week, to the irreparable loss of his country. He yielded his last breath in Syracuse, lamented as the ornament of Holland, esteemed by all Europe, and recorded by the ablest pens as an example for posterity, of valour, conduct, integrity, and patriotism. This event contributed to render the prince of Orange strenuous against concluding a peace until France should be humbled. He saw Lewis aspiring after maritime power, which of consequence would ruin the commerce of the republic, upon which depended her grandeur and riches; and he hoped to combine England with Holland in the design of destroying his marine, while the confederate land-forces were contracting his frontiers, and limiting his ambition on the side of Germany and the Netherlands.

The event which soon followed justified the prince's zealous enmity to the house of Bourbon, and his dread of the rising naval power of France. After the late action, the combined fleets of Spain and Holland proceeded from Syracuse to Palermo, where they were pursued by the duke de Vivonne. The allies appeared without the mole drawn up in a line, composed of twenty-seven men of war, nineteen gallies, and four fire-ships. The mole was on their left, the bastions of the town on the right, and the fortress of Castel Mare composed the center. This disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Quesne, the greatest genius of his age, ventured to attack them in this situation, with a squadron scarce equal in strength or numbers. The action began with great vigour, and was bravely sustained on both sides, when the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent their fire-ships among the allies, obliged them to cut their cables, and run a-ground, an expedient which, however, rather accelerated their misfortunes. In a word, twelve capital ships of war were burnt or blown up into the air. Five thousand men perished on this occasion; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, Lewis became master of the Mediterranean, and justly claimed the empire of the ocean [c]. We have thrown these facts together,

[c] Le Clerc, p. 102, 103. Smollett, lib. vii. passim.

though they happened at different periods, to give the reader a more distinct view of the policy by which the prince of Orange was influenced in his opposition in the negociations of a separate peace.

A.D. 1678. William had great reason to suspect that the king of England would at length find himself under the necessity of declaring against Lewis. The nation in general expressed the utmost aversion to the measures of the administration, and the house of commons addressed his majesty to break off his connections with the court of France. Some of the leading persons in the kingdom were in the prince's interest, and negociating a marriage between him and the princess Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York. The earl of Denbigh, by the suggestions of sir William Temple, first proposed the match to the king and the prince. At first the king was averse to it, then neutral, and at last became well disposed to the alliance, in hopes it might engage William to favour his designs, and listen to the separate peace proposed by the French monarch. The prince always relished the prospect, because he imagined it would engage the English the more strongly to espouse his interest, and enter into his views, with respect to the war. It was from this consideration he accepted the invitation his majesty had given him of visiting England, as soon as the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in the month of October, and, after various difficulties, celebrated his nuptials with the princess: after which he entered upon conferences for a plan of pacification with the duke of York, the earl Denbigh, and sir William Temple. Now it was agreed that Lewis should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and the duke of Lorrain; that there should be a reciprocal restitution between France and Holland; and that Spain should have certain terms specified. This point the prince gained, that Charles solemnly engaged to renounce all connection with Lewis, and openly to espouse the confederate cause, should he refuse to accept of the conditions concerted in this general plan of pacification. All these projects, however, had almost been disconcerted by the king's unsteadiness, who was cajoled by the French court to forget all he had promised to his people, and the prince of Orange. It was the earnest wish of Charles to be set above the necessity of applying to his parliament for money, and Lewis artfully turned those inclinations to his own advantage, by granting him a yearly subsidy to a considerable amount. To dazzle the eyes of Europe, he concluded a defensive alliance with Holland; but this neither satisfied the prince of Orange

nor

nor the commons. Both inſiſted that he would denounce war againſt France, unleſs Lewis ſhould accept the plan drawn up by the prince of Orange and the Engliſh miniſtry.

While the king was thus involved with his parliament, and the republic in ſuſpence whether ſhe was to rely on the good offices of England, in liſtening to the propoſals made by France, the armies took the field with the ſame views as in the preceding campaign, of obtaining ſome advantage which might give the negociators a turn in their favour. The military operations of this year have already been related in the hiſtory of France: we ſhall only obſerve, in this place, that towards the cloſe of the ſeaſon, the ſtates general came to a reſolution of accepting peace for themſelves and the Spaniards, provided certain towns ſhould be ceded to the latter, and ample reſtitution made to the former. Juſt as the treaty was on the point of being ſigned, Lewis's tergiverſation had almoſt broke up the congreſs. He refuſed making the required ceſſion to Spain, unleſs certain advantages, not mentioned before, were previouſly granted to Sweden. This difficulty was at length got over by the firmneſs of the ſtates; the treaty was concluded; the frontier of the United Provinces was ſecured, the tranquillity of the republic eſtabliſhed, and in a few months all Europe enjoyed the benefit of a pacification. Such was the iſſue of a war, which had brought the United Provinces to the verge of deſperation, and almoſt eſtabliſhed the French monarch in that univerſal empire, after which he eagerly aſpired (A).

Peace of Nimeguen.

(A) We have declined giving the particulars of this treaty, as they have already been related in the hiſtory of France. Our intention is no more than to convey a juſt idea of the policy of the republic.

SECT. XII.

Comprehending the Affairs of the Republic from the Peace of Nimeguen, to the general Treaty of Pacification at Ryswick.

The Dutch dispute about the honours due to their ambassadors.

AN embassy, sent to France by the republic immediately after the peace had been signed at Nimeguen, gave birth to certain disputes about the honours due to the representatives of their high mightinesses, who seemed already to have forgot, that arrogance, pride, and insolent inscriptions and devices, had occasioned all their late calamities. Because the king's guards were not drawn up in the court of the Louvre, with drums beating and colours flying, as the ambassadors passed, they refused proceeding to the audience, though Lewis was expecting them, until they should be received with the same honours as the last embassy sent by the republic. They were told, that the compliment which they now demanded was never paid, except to the ministers of emperors and kings; and though it happened to the former ambassadors, it was merely the effect of chance, as the guards were relieving when they passed. This assertion was denied by the ambassadors, who proved, by the registers of former ministers, that the compliment had been paid, and not only to the republic of the United Provinces, but to Venice and the duke of Savoy, and cantons of Switzerland. At last this affair was adjusted to their entire satisfaction, and the ambassadors were introduced with all the honours of shew and respect they required.

Lewis had his designs in this condescension. He was labouring a defensive treaty with the states, and had given instructions for that effect to his ambassador at the Hague, the count d'Avaux. To this Mr. Sidney, the English envoy, opposed himself, declaring, in positive terms, that his majesty should regard this treaty as a league against Great Britain, and a resolution to disturb again the peace of Europe. A whole year had passed in negociating the point, and France had made no progress, the states contenting themselves with general expressions of esteem and regard for his majesty. Enraged at the disappointment, Lewis ordered d'Avaux to have recourse to menaces, where solicitation and intreated had failed. An attempt was made to awake the ancient terrors of the republic, by a thundering memorial delivered to the states of the ambassador. He represented

presented the king's astonishment and displeasure at the ambiguous artful conduct of the states, his resolution to wait only a few days for their answer, and afterwards, not only to drop mentioning the subject, but to refuse all proposals relative to the defensive alliance, so beneficial to both nations. He added, that if they neglected embracing this opportunity of securing his majesty's friendship, they must expect he would alter his conduct, and turn circumstances to the best advantages for his own subjects, and the advancement of the commercial interests of his kingdom. Mr. Sidney perceived the drift of d'Avaux's memorial, and resolved to frustrate its effects by a memorial in behalf of his Britannic majesty, which was presented next day to the states of Holland. This piece was drawn up by a masterly pen, and produced the consequence proposed. The states rejected the French proposals, and ordered their deputies to declare their sentiments to the states general, from whom the count d'Avaux was to receive his answer. Before their high mightinesses could be prevailed upon to communicate the resolution of the states of Holland, a great number of libels were dispersed by the friends of France and England, and it again appeared that the Louvestein faction, always attached to the French monarch, was not yet wholly subdued. The hydra-faction again reared its head, and the opposition to England arose solely from a desire of thwarting the views of the prince of Orange. The defensive treaty proposed became the subject of all conversation, upon which every man expressed himself agreeable to his connections, interests, or prejudices. The provincial states were divided; those of Friseland and Groningen were for accepting the French proposals; Holland remained fixed in the refusal; some of the other provinces proposed a neutrality; and this at length proved the opinion of the states general, who communicated their resolution in the most delicate terms to the French ambassador, assuring him of their sincere desire to cultivate and deserve the friendship of the most christian king, and their full determination religiously to adhere to the peace of Nimeguen.

They refuse the alliance proposed by Lewis.

A.D. 1680.

Notwithstanding these protestations, they extremely resented the demand which the French king made of the arrears due upon the contributions raised in the last war in the territory of Boisleduc, the barony of Breda, and other parts of the dominions of the republic. Yet with this they were forced to comply, as the king threatened military execution. Indeed it was observable, that scarce were the bonfires which had been lighted for the late pacification extinguished, before a disposition to a fresh war began to shew

itself. The courts of Versailles and Madrid entered into disputes about the title of the duke of Burgundy; these paved the way to altercations upon a variety of other subjects, in consequence of which the envoy extraordinary of Spain at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states general, containing a long list of the infractions of which his catholic majesty demanded redress. The states sent an order to their ambassadors at the court of France, to use their utmost endeavours in composing matters, and preventing points of mere punctilios from laying the foundation of another war, which might disturb the peace of all Europe. Spain at length yielded to the firm resolution of Lewis, and produced a temporary agreement between the two courts, by ceding the title of Burgundy. The court of Madrid, nevertheless, endeavoured to fortify itself by the alliance of the republic, which was eagerly solicited on the one part, and as cautiously avoided on the other, from an apprehension of giving umbrage to the French monarch.

While the states were using their good offices to terminate all differences among their neighbours, they did not neglect their own affairs. For some years they had been in a state of hostility with the pyratical states of Barbary, though no transaction worth regarding had occurred. That the states were at war, could only be known by petty depredations, and the seizure of some Dutch merchantmen. However, it was thought convenient to negociate a peace with the Algerines, which was signed in the course of the preceding year. This did not prevent the dey of Algiers from annoying the Dutch commerce, when he could do it to his own advantage; he had taken several ships since the publication of the treaty, and was full as dangerous under the mask of friendship as when he professed open enmity. The Dutch commissaries complained of these infractions, and the dey alleged that the treaty had not been ratified, because he had not received the present of cannon which the states promised. At last the expected present arrived at Algiers, was received with great demonstrations of joy, and the ratification of the treaty was published by sound of trumpet and the firing of cannon, the dey solemnly declaring that he would strictly observe the peace with their high mightinesses [z].

A.D. 1681. The court of Spain had for some time been soliciting England to conclude a defensive treaty. His catholic majesty perceived that Lewis had little regard to the treaty of Nimeguen, and the subsequent agreement about the title of

[z] Suite de Hist. de M. de la Neuville, par Anonym. p. 28. et seq.

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Burgundy; he was therefore deſirous of fortifying himſelf by alliances. Charles, during the civil broils in his kingdom, liſtened patiently to his propoſals; but he no ſooner found himſelf at liberty to conſult his own inclinations than he dropped all correſpondence with Spain, and renewed his connections with the French monarch. Lewis, notwithſtanding his late diſappointment, and the rough checks he ſuſtained in the proſecution of his plan of univerſal monarchy, had not yet wholly abandoned that deſign. After the peace of Nimeguen, when other powers had diſbanded their armies, he kept a numerous body of forces in pay, dictated to the neighbouring ſtates, and inſolently erected chambers at Metz and Briſac, for enquiring into titles, and reſuming ſuch territories as had ever belonged to his new conqueſts. The authority he aſſumed was extravagant. He ſummoned ſovereign princes to appear before his chambers, and occaſionally iſſued decrees, expelling them from their dominions, in caſe they diſobeyed his imperial mandate. He ſeized upon Caſſal, and the free town of Straſburgh; demanded Aloſt of the Spaniards, and in conſequence of their refuſal to cede that place, reduced Luxemburgh. This violence incenſed the catholic king to ſuch a degree, that he declared war againſt France, without reflecting on his inability to ſupport it, and had the mortification to ſee all the Spaniſh Netherlands over-run without oppoſition. Lewis's conduct alarmed all Europe, and in particular the ſtates general, whoſe vicinity to the Spaniſh Netherlands made them peculiarly intereſted. It was this conſideration which ſuggeſted the idea of a treaty with Sweden for the guaranty of the peace of Nimeguen. As Great Britain was likewiſe deeply concerned in the object of this treaty, M. Van Buiningen was ſent to invite the king to accede to the new alliance. He made the ſtrongeſt remonſtrances, to which the king liſtened attentively, but to little purpoſe; for though conferences were appointed to negociate the affair, he ſtill adhered to the intereſt of Lewis, and in the end declined the propoſed treaty.

A defenſive treaty between the ſtates and Sweden.

The treaty of guaranty concluded between Sweden and the republic was not at all reliſhed by Lewis, who ordered his miniſter at the Hague to preſent divers memorials upon the ſubject, to the ſtates general. In theſe he declared, that he regarded this alliance as an aſſociation injurious to himſelf, and the means of kindling a new war, perhaps more fatal in its conſequences than the former. The ſtates vindicated their conduct, by alleging, that as his majeſty had repeatedly acknowleged the republic, he muſt neceſſarily allow them the privilege of contracting what alliances ſhe might think proper, which was the eſſential and diſtinguiſhing

ing prerogative of liberty. The object of the treaty, they affirmed, was to secure the freedom of Europe, and preserve the repose of the republic, as well as of all the neighbouring powers. In a word, they offered to present the count d'Avaux with a copy of the convention; and defended themselves with so much candour and force of argument, that Lewis appeared satisfied. An unfortunate accident however happened, which had almost been attended with the most serious consequences, and an open rupture. A lieutenant and nine dragoons, of the garrison of Ypres, had orders from the king to seize a Frenchman, who had taken refuge in Amsterdam, and been admitted a burgess by the title of the count de Sardam. His reasons for withdrawing from the French dominions were not known; but it was the business of the states to prevent an infraction of their liberties. The king's officer and his party were therefore arrested at Rotterdam, and sent prisoners to the Hague. Several memorials were presented by d'Avaux to procure the release of the prisoners, or at least a suspension of the proceedings against them, which were actually begun. He alleged they were the king's subjects, waiting at Rotterdam for a conveyance into the French dominions; but this excuse not answering his purpose, he threw off the mask, and declared they had acted by the king his master's directions. The states pretended great astonishment at this confession; and perceiving the consequence of dissembling in a point that so nearly affected the liberty of the state, they acquainted the ambassador, that as the trespass was committed in the provinces of Holland and Friseland, he must apply to the states of those provinces for redress. He did so, and obtained no satisfaction. He was told, that surrendering the criminals would be founding a precedent for every prince in Europe, to violate the privileges of the provinces; and that if they complied with the king's request, the same compliance would be expected by other potentates, who might claim an equal right to their regard. In a word, they gave him to understand, that the proceedings must go on, and the prisoners be either condemned, or acquitted legally. The process was carried on accordingly, the officer solemnly condemned to be beheaded, and the dragoons to labour in the dykes for the space of ten years. The lieutenant was conducted to the place of execution, scaffolds were erected, a hearse, covered with black cloth, attended the criminal; he was brought to the block, and there pardoned and sent back, with his party, to his garrison. By this steadiness of conduct the states asserted their liberties, without giving just cause of complaint to the most christian king. D'Avaux at first talked loud, and denounced the king's vengeance;

The states of Holland condemn a French officer to death.

but

but he was in the end forced to acknowlege that the equity and firm resolution of the Hollanders were equally commendable.

Mean time the emperor perceiving that Lewis's design was, gradually to despoil him of all his dominions in Alsace, desired to be admitted into the guaranty-treaty lately executed between the court of Stockholm and the states general. He, at the same time, formed an alliance with the circles of Franconia and the Upper Rhine, in order that he might have an army on that river, if necessity required. Already he had brought a body of troops from his hereditary dominions, the command of which was given to prince Waldeck, now created a prince of the empire. The states were not displeased with these motions, which intimated a resolution to oppose the ambitious designs of the French monarch. They were particularly pleasing to the prince of Orange, who, besides his general enmity to France, had now personal causes of complaint against Lewis. That monarch could not avoid resenting the zeal with which the prince of Orange espoused the liberties of Europe, and combated his ambition. He saw that his vigilance thwarted all his measures, and penetrated into his most secret projects, before they were well formed. Though inconsiderable in point of territory and power, he regarded the prince as the most formidable of his enemies, because he directed the counsels of the republic, and had great influence all over the empire, as well as in Spain and Great Britain. It was this which inspired him with the pitiful revenge of attacking the principality of Orange, hemmed in by his dominions, and environed by Provence, it was not possible to make the haughty soul of William stoop to concessions, or to warp his integrity by touching him on the side of his ambition, though that was his predominant passion; but it was in Lewis's power to punish his obstinacy, and hurl down vengeance on the heads of an innocent people, for the crimes of their sovereign.

The king of France oppresses the inhabitants of the principality of Orange.

While the negociation for a defensive treaty was in agitation, the wrongs, damages, and oppressions which his highness had sustained, either by the connivance or direction of the French monarch, were often recommended by his friends to the consideration of the states general, to be discussed previously to the expected treaty. D'Avaux however had the address to have the motion set aside, under pretence that his claims would require more time in adjusting than was allowed for the conclusion of the treaty. When the duchy of Luxemburgh was invaded by the French troops, the commanding officer had exposed to sale, by sound of trumpet, all the lands, furniture, and effects of the

A.D. 1682. the prince of Orange, as having been adjudged to him by a formal decree of the states of the country. It was of the losses he sustained that the prince desired to be indemnified; but as the defensive treaty came to nothing, he was forced to refer his pretensions to a more seasonable opportunity. Lewis, not satisfied with denying the prince justice, had recourse to farther violences. He obliged the magistrates of the town of Orange to expel all the French scholars from their college, and the French artizans out of their city. He sent two regiments of dragoons to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, until they had levelled a wall built as a defence against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. As these arbitrary proceedings were exclaimed against at every court in Europe, he was at no loss to colour them over with specious pretexts. He spirited up the prince of Condé to lay claim to the whole principality, in quality of administrator to the duke de Longueville. To preserve all the appearances of justice, he cited the prince, by the title of messire William count de Nassau, living at the Hague in Holland, to appear before his privy council The provinces of Zealand, Holland, and Utrecht, were unanimous in the prince's defence. They represented the affair to the states, who mentioned it to the count d'Avaux; but this minister having no instructions upon that head, M. Heinsius was sent to solicit the prince's affairs at Paris, where he resided above a year to no effect.

The revival of the Louvestein faction.

It was the chief business of d'Avaux at the Hague, to rear up an opposition to the power of the stadtholder, and cherish the remains of the Louvestein faction. In pursuing this scheme, he proved successfully beyond probability, considering the depressed state of the opposite party a few years before, and the vast popularity and power of the prince of Orange. The first trial of the strength of the faction was made on the refusal of the Spaniards to cede Alost, and the invasion of the ten provinces, that ensued. The prince, alarmed at the danger which threatened the frontiers of the republic, convened an extraordinrry meeting of the states, and, in concert with the pensionary Fagel, the Spanish resident, and the council of state, left no expedient untried to procure a levy of sixteen thousand men, to augment the forces of the republic. The states declined the request, under pretence of the necessity of consulting the provinces, which was only an artifice of the French faction, to gain time for starting such objections, or raising such an opposition as should utterly disconcert the prince's design. At the next meeting of the states this motive became apparent. Several of the deputies were instructed to

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give their negative to the motion. The city of Amſterdam was at the head of the oppoſition; and after violent debates, which laſted for eight hours, the prince had the mortification to find that his intereſt and credit were on the decline; for the ſtates ſeparated without coming to any deciſion. Even after the marſhal de Humieres had overrun the Netherlands, the oppoſition to the levies ſtill continued; and it was evident, that the faction apprehended more dreadful conſequences from the power of the ſtadtholder, than from the ambition of the French monarch. In hopes of flattering and cajoling the proud city of Amſterdam into his ſentiments, the prince, at the head of a ſolemn deputation, waited upon the magiſtrates; but though he was received with reſpect, his errand proved fruitleſs. Amſterdam not only poſitively declared againſt the levies, but was ſupported in this reſolution by Leyden, Delft, Scheidam, the Brille, and other towns.

Diſappointed in all his projects, the prince ventured upon a reſolution, deſtructive of the liberty of the towns, and the very baſis of the union of Utrecht. Finding he could not carry his point in the conſtitutional method, by the conſent of every individual city, he determined that a plurality of voices ſhould be ſufficient authority. So raſh a meaſure, dictated by paſſion, was of the utmoſt ſervice to his enemies. It gave them a fair opportunity of exclaiming againſt his ambition; it rendered their cauſe popular, and furniſhed them with the patriot ſide of the diſpute. Grafting oppoſition upon public ſpirit, they now proved, that upon no emergency the liberties of the conſtitution ought to be infringed; that whoever attempts it muſt be an enemy to his country, and that he muſt have deeper deſigns than thoſe which appear to the eye of the public. They maintained, that by ruſhing into the war kindled between the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, they ſhould plunge themſelves into greater calamities than thoſe they pretended to remove. In proof of this poſition they alledged, that the French miniſter had already offered a plan of pacification, which Spain ought to accept, and was in no condition to refuſe, even though ſupported by the republic. There was little hope, they affirmed, of the concurrence of any other power, without which no better conditions could be obtained at the cloſe of a ruinous war, than were now offered before its commencement. There was no dependance, they aſſerted, on the promiſes of the German princes; and as to the electors of Saxony and Bavaria, Spain had no title to expect their interpoſition, as they had not guarantied the treaty of Nimeguen. The emperor was A.D. 1683.

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fully employed in oppoſing the Turks; Sweden had hitherto declined interfering; and as to the king of England, if he had any rule of conduct at all, it was to eſpouſe the intereſts of the French monarch. In a word, they urged, that it was better to accept the propoſals now offered, than rouſe the indignation of France, by making uſeleſs levies, which would produce no other effect, than lodging power in the hands of the ambitious, laying heavy duties on trade, and raiſing enemies to the republic[h].

Notwithſtanding the plauſible plea urged by the city of Amſterdam, and the heads of the French faction, the prince ſtill inſiſted, and indeed ſeemed to carry his point, that the plurality of voices in this inſtance, where the ſafety of the ſtate was endangered by the infatuated oppoſition of party-prejudice, ſhould be held of equal authority with the unanimity required by the conſtitution. This was certainly ſo daring a treſpaſs on the conſtitution of the provinces, as could not fail of exciting violent commotions. All blazed out ſuddenly into a flame; yet the prince of Orange purſued his deſign with that cool, determined reſolution, which he probably would have maintained had his country been laid in aſhes. He obtained both a majority of the cities and likewiſe of the provinces. Zealand, Friſeland, and Holland, firmly oppoſed him; but the former was at length gained over to the ſtadtholder's meaſures: yet would neither Friſeland nor Groningen ſo much as admit of a deputation to convince them, that they ought to yield to the ſenſe of a majority. As to the city of Amſterdam, it carried matters ſo high, as not only to enter a proteſt againſt the levy in queſtion; but to declare that ſhe could never regard this reſolution as an act of the ſtates of Holland, becauſe it was not authoriſed agreeable to the fundamental principles of the government, by unanimous conſent: ſhe therefore declared her intention not to contribute to the expences of the levy.

In the midſt of theſe diſſenſions, the Spaniſh envoy preſented a memorial, urging the ſtates to declare againſt France; in conſequence of which the ſtates ſent a deputation to the count d'Avaux, propoſing a ſuſpenſion of arms for four months. This taking no effect, the prince of Orange thought the opportunity now offered for accelerating the motions of the ſtates, and humbling the city of Amſterdam. In concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, he had intercepted ſome diſpatches from the French ambaſſador to his court, in which he acquaints his majeſty with the methods

[h] Scept. Anonym. p. 54. Le Clerc, p. 115.

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he had practiſed to influence the magiſtrates of the city, and the ſums expended in corrupting the deputies. Theſe letters were produced in a full aſſembly of the ſtates, the prince moving that two of the deputies chiefly concerned ſhould withdraw before they were read. He then declared, that they contained a clandeſtine correſpondence between M. d'Avaux and the city of Amſterdam, inconſiſtent with the honour, the liberty, and the ſafety of the republic. Upon this declaration they were read aloud, and produced ſuch an effect, that the ſtates ordered copies to be tranſmitted to all the cities in the provinces, and the papers of the whole deputation to be ſealed up, until the ſenſe of the ſtates general ſhould be conſulted. The ſtream of popularity now took a different channel. The people clamoured againſt the magiſtrates of the city; the French ambaſſador preſented a memorial to the ſtates general, renewing his maſter's former propoſals of peace; but little regard was paid to overtures which were uſed as an artifice to ward off an enquiry. The prince, the penſionary, and the council, urged the neceſſity of new levies with more vehemence than ever, and they left no means untried of procuring the ſubmiſſion to an act of the majority, as the principles of the conſtitution required to the act of the whole body.

With reſpect to the letters read in the aſſembly, they were vindicated by the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, who alledged, that the cypher was miſinterpreted, and that the deputies had acted entirely by their direction. They then demanded the papers belonging to the deputation, which had been ſeized, and ſecurity for their deputies to attend the public ſervice. They ſent circular letters to all the cities of the union, complaining of the affront put upon their deputies; and to excite the ferment, M. d'Avaux inſiſted upon the reſtitution of his letters, the intercepting of which was an infraction of the law of nations, and the rights of ambaſſadors. William adhered to the charge with his uſual ſtability. Inſtead of reſtoring the papers, he inſiſted upon an inquiry, which however he could not accompliſh, as the privileges of all the deputies were intereſted in the event. At the ſame time he purſued the main object of the levies, and procured a farther ſupply of horſe and foot for the ſervice of his catholic majeſty: his own guards were ſpecified in the number of auxiliaries, and he had given out that he ſhould take the field in perſon, when the ſtates of Groningen and Friſeland objected to the vote of augmentation, becauſe their deputies were abſent. They therefore inſiſted upon recalling the troops, and recommended, that all poſſible means ſhould be uſed, to diſpoſe the A.D. 1684.

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the court of Spain to accept of the propoſals made by the French, by which a dangerous war would be prevented, and the frontiers of the republic preſerved. William, however, carried all before him. The reinforcement ſent to the marquis de Grana amounted to fourteen thouſand horſe and foot: the ſtates ſignified, in their anſwer to the remonſtrances of Friſeland and Groningen, that they could not recal this reinforcement; the laſt diviſion of the prince's guards were on their march to Flanders; his own field-equipage was in readineſs; and the day was appointed for his ſetting out to co-operate with the Spaniſh general in the conduct of the campaign; when a menacing memorial from d'Avaux, expreſſed in a ſtile of authority, ſhook the reſolution of the ſtates, diffuſed a panic through every department of the republic, and, in deſpite of the ſtadtholder's utmoſt efforts, put a ſtop to all vigorous proceedings. D'Avaux's memorial was oppoſed by a counter-memorial from the Spaniſh envoy, in which he put on a great ſhew of magnanimity, that operated but little on the minds of the ſtates, as it was unſupported with the requiſite power. A reſolution was therefore taken to treat with the French miniſter on the propoſals made in his former memorials. But d'Avaux now refuſed to ſtand by thoſe conditions. He alledged, that circumſtances were changed, that the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch government had obliged the king to enter upon new meaſures, and that his majeſty was determined not to deviate in the ſmalleſt degree from the propoſals he now delivered. The ſtates ſhewed their inclination to accept any terms. They were intimidated by menaces, ſtruck with the power of Lewis, and incapable of being wound up by the ſpirited remonſtrances of the prince of Orange, to the neceſſary pitch of reſolution. Friſeland and Groningen beſides continued in their oppoſition to the levies, and the city of Amſterdam poſitively refuſed contributing to the ſupport of the forces. Conferences were at length opened with d'Avaux, and his terms accepted, upon which orders were ſent to the troops in Flanders to deſiſt from all hoſtilities [1].

The French faction having gained this great point, determined to ſubject the prince of Orange to ſtill greater mortifications. As ſoon as the treaty with France had paſſed the uſual forms, the ſtates came to a reſolution to diſband all the forces raiſed to aſſiſt Spain, conſiſting of one thouſand four hundred and forty-ſix horſe, and nine thouſand and forty-two foot. The magiſtrates of Amſterdam puſhed

[1] Le Clerc. tom. ii. p. 123.

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their animosity so far, as to invite prince Casimir of Nassau and his court to their city, with intention to confer upon him the stadtholdership, in the room of his cousin the prince of Orange. This project, however, was baffled by the harmony subsisting between the two princes; and the magistrates determined to compensate their disappointment by some other method of revenge, no less signal and mortifying. Their deputies were instructed to propose in the assembly of the states, that enquiry might be made into the state of the navy; that the fleet should be augmented; that the army should be farther reduced; that the pay of the officers and soldiers should be diminished, and the money issued for repairing fortifications and other public services, should be frugally managed, and the accounts accurately examined. These proposals were directly pointed against the power and authority of the stadtholder; but they had such an appearance of patriotism that they could not be openly opposed. Yet as they affected the interest of such a number of individuals, it was no difficult matter for the prince, without appearing in the dispute, to parry the thrust made at his prerogative, and procure a negative in the assembly. Thus Lewis again revived the dissensions of Holland, roused a faction which had for some time lain dormant, and once more gained such influence in the republic, as enabled him to keep up the ball of contention, prevent all vigorous resolutions, maintain the provinces in a kind of subjection, and limit the authority of the stadtholder.

A.D. 1685. *State of the republic with respect to Great Britain.*

The events of this year afforded a prospect to the stadtholder of a closer connection with England. His father-in-law, the duke of York, succeeded to the crown, and it was expected he would have exerted his influence with the French monarch, to procure justice to the prince, with respect to his principality and other territories, oppressed, impoverished, and seized by Lewis. He was fully apprised of all the grievances of which William had casually and fruitlessly fought redress. The marshal de Lorges came ambassador from Versailles, to compliment him on his accession; he had the fairest occasion of doing his son eminent service, but he refrained, and displayed a coldness which was soon after improved into invincible hatred. All the Dutch writers, contrary to the testimony of English historians, assert, that both the prince and the republic took every method of cultivating the friendship of James, and that his highness proceeded so far, upon the king's accession, as to intimate to the duke of Monmouth, then residing at the Hague, that he might look out for another asylum. Yet did these

tenders of friendſhip produce no return; on the contrary, James was reſerved, indifferent, and civil, to the prince and the ſtates general. To the former he ſhewed ſome remains of the diſlike he expreſſed to the marriage of the princeſs his daughter; and to the latter, his bigotted averſion to the liberty, the religion, and the national character of the Hollanders. Yet he affected complying with the temper of the nation, by declaring, that he would maintain the ballance of Europe with the ſteady hand of juſtice, and treat upon a level with the proud Lewis le Grand. His embaſſy however to the court of Rome afforded a bad prognoſtic, and became the ſubject of uneaſineſs, not only to the ſtates general, the prince of Orange, and all the proteſtant princes and powers, but even to catholics who wiſhed well to Great Britain, and foreſaw that the king's bigotry would ſubject him to the counſels of the pontiff, and connect him more cloſely with the houſe of Bourbon. Ronquillo, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, is ſaid to have intimated his apprehenſions upon this head, by which he gave great offence to the Engliſh monarch.

Though the duke of Monmouth had retired to Bruſſels, in conſequence of the hint given him by the prince of Orange, great numbers of malecontents ſtill reſided in Holland, particularly the earl of Argyle, who was making the utmoſt preparations to return in a hoſtile manner to his native country, and continually ſtimulating Monmouth to thoſe ambitious projects, which he was on the point of relinquiſhing. Skelton, the Engliſh miniſter, had notice of what was tranſacting. Accordingly he preſented a memorial to the ſtates, deſiring the perſons of the refugees might be ſeized, and the veſſels freighted for conveying arms and ammunition to Great Britain ſtopped in the harbours, which he ſpecified. He gave in a liſt of names obnoxious to the government; and the ſtates ſeemed willing to ſhew the utmoſt reſpect to the court of London, but without violating the laws of hoſpitality. They ordered the ſearch required to be made, after having hinted to the malecontents the neceſſity of withdrawing themſelves and their effects. This conduct has been urged by Engliſh writers as a proof, that the Dutch government connived at the intended invaſion; though, if we conſider the artifices by which the diſaffected ſubjects of Great Britain procured their arms, ammunition, and money, the protection afforded to all ſtrangers, by the fundamental laws of the conſtitution, the late diſpute with the French king upon a ſubject of a ſimilar nature, and a variety of other circumſtances, it will appear evident, that the ſtates were far from giving them any encouragement, and that

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they did all in their power to oblige the king of England, consistently with their honour, the principles of their government, and the humanity due to the unfortunate. They sent copies of his memorials, and of his list, to all the towns and cities of the seven provinces, commanding the magistrates to make diligent search after the persons pointed at, and to oblige them to quit the territories of the republic. That the malecontents were actually embarked for Scotland before these orders were issued, was certainly one of the first public causes of discontent between the two nations. James alleged, that the states had assisted in stirring up rebellion among his subjects; and, to shew his resentment, he encouraged the Algerines to declare war afresh against the United Provinces.

King James excites the Algerines to a war with the republic.

However solid and sincere the late peace concluded between their high mightinesses, and the states of Algiers, might appear, the great commerce of Holland in the Mediterranean, together with the suggestions of the court of London, were too powerful temptations to be resisted by a barbarous and lawless people. They therefore first began their piracies, and to sanctify those robberies with the name of justice, they published a declaration of war, in which were specified a variety of grievances, real or pretended, though they had never previously demanded redress. An incredible number of vessels fell into their hands, the crews of which were confined, the cargoes taken out, and the ships abandoned to the fury of the winds and waves, with perhaps one or two of the more helpless hands on board. It reflected but little honour upon James, that while every Christian port in Europe was shut against those violators of equity, order, and the laws of society, they were in a manner protected in England. They had leave to sculk in the creeks and harbours on the English coast, to lie in wait for their prey, to retire thither when pursued, to sell their prizes, and to supply themselves with every necessary. This at least is the allegation of foreign writers, nor do we find it refuted, upon credible authority, by the apologizers of the errors of that unfortunate monarch. On the other hand, the states, by way of reprisal, altered their conduct, and now extended their protection to all the declared enemies of the king and government. They fled in crouds, to take shelter under the wing of the republic, and the states thought themselves justified, in pursuing the dictates of humanity and hospitality, while they at the same time obtained their revenge. Sir Robert Peyton was among the number of the English refugees. He was highly obnoxious to the court, and screened himself against the king's re-

ſentment by a timely retreat to Amſterdam. James formed a deſign of ſeizing this exile by open violence, knowing the reſolution of the ſtates not to ſurrender him in conſequence of remonſtrances. Certain natives of Great Britain, who held commiſſions in the Dutch army, were employed in this outrage, on the laws of the commonwealth; and Skelton the envoy conducted the attempt in perſon. Peyton was ſeized; but he was reſcued by the populace, who committed to priſon the officers who had thus unjuſtifiably treſpaſſed upon the conſtitution. The ſtates remonſtrated to the court of London, and in ſuch lively terms, that the king thought proper to diſavow all knowlege of the violence; however, when a proceſs was formed againſt the criminals, when the laws were likely to take place, and their lives were in danger, James interpoſed, and requeſted that their puniſhment might be referred to him, and that as they were ſubjects of Great Britain, they might be tried by the laws of their country. On this occaſion the ſtates ſhewed their reſpect for the king; they even paid him more deference than they had ſhewed for Lewis the Great, in the zenith of his power and glory. The French king's officer was condemned, and brought on the ſcaffold; the Engliſh offenders, though in the ſervice of the ſtates, were ſent over to England, in hopes the king would have at leaſt not countenanced them; but they were diſappointed. James not only pardoned, but preferred the criminals to a higher rank in the army than they before enjoyed.

A.D.1686. Beſides theſe cauſes of mutual diſcontent, James enlarged the breach by a revival of the ancient diſputes between the Engliſh and Dutch Eaſt India companies, with reſpect to the trade of both nations to Bantam, which the Dutch, by a revolution effected in the government of that country, had artfully monopolized. The Engliſh company indeed had preſented a petition to the king, praying his interpoſition, and ſhewing the injury ſuſtained by their commerce, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Hollanders in that quarter. They ſpecified a number of violences committed by the Dutch, under the ſanction of the young king of Bantam's name; they demonſtrated their deſign of excluding all Europeans from that trade; they expected his majeſty to procure them juſtice, reparation of their loſſes, and ſecurity for their future commerce. James mentioned the affair to the Dutch ambaſſador, and he denied the charge; upon which inſtructions were ſent to the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, to repreſent the complaints of the company to the ſtates general. This ſtep produced confer-

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ences between the commissioners of the two companies. From the king's so warmly patronising the India company, and other circumstances, it was inferred at the Hague, that he wanted the opportunity of coming to an open rupture with the republic.

State of affairs between France and Holland.

While the states kept a strict eye on all the occurrences that passed in England, they were not neglectful of the conduct of France. They endeavoured so to conduct themselves, with respect to the court of Versailles, as to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, and the repose of Europe. They suppressed all emotion at the inhumanity shown to the French protestants, and the cruelties committed in the principality of Orange. They winked at many other acts of Lewis's despotism, out of dread of his power; yet with all their caution, a slight accident had almost embroiled them with that monarch. Two Dutch men of war, going to Villa Nova to wood and water, fell in with a French squadron of eight men of war, commanded by the duke de Mortemar. The French admiral required certain honours to be paid to the king's flag, to grant which the Dutch captains were not authorised. On their refusal, the duke fired a broadside, and an action ensued, which lasted for five hours. One of the Dutch captains perceiving the superiority of the enemy, sheered off, the other bravely maintained the engagement, was killed, and his ship taken, after he had made the French admiral pay dear for his victory. Immediately the count d'Avaux presented a memorial to the states general, demanding satisfaction for the insult offered to the king's flag. He alleged, contrary to all probability, that the Dutch were the aggressors, and confirmed his allegations with such menaces, as determined the states to send an embassy to Versailles, to put an end to the affair in the best manner possible. Notwithstanding justice and equity were on their side, it was found necessary to make concessions, and procure the restitution of their ship, by mean submission. While she was making acknowlegements to Lewis, and imploring his pardon for presuming to stand in her own defence, she at the same time afforded refuge to the ingenious, diligent artisans, driven out of his dominions, and persecuted on account of their religion; she was establishing new manufactures upon the ruins of the French industry, and rendering the liberty of her constitution useful to the extension of her commerce. Hitherto the Dutch traded wholly with the commodities of other countries; now they tried to raise a foundation for trade among themselves, and they succeeded by dint

of perseverance. They imported a breed of cattle from Jutland, and the northern kingdoms, which they fattened and exported to the neighbouring countries. They erected a variety of hard-ware manufactories, chiefly with a view to their East and West India colonies, and in a short time they became the most distinguished of any people in Europe, for a happy knack in making toys and baubles, for which they found a rapid sale, not only among the barbarians of Asia, Africa, and America, but also in all the civilized nations of Europe.

The jealousy between England and Holland encreases.

The jealousy between the states and Great Britain in the mean time daily increased; and it was considerably augmented by the share the prince of Orange had in the famous league of Augsburg, which was supposed to operate so powerfully on the subsequent revolution in England; though we must confess we cannot discover by what means it acquired any influence in this event. The states took the alarm at
A.D.1687. the king's assembling his forces, issuing out commissions for repairing and augmenting his navy, assigning a stated annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds to be issued quarterly out of the treasury for defraying the expences of the marine, and holding a powerful squadron in continual readiness. They suspected, from these formidable preparations, that some great blow was meditated; and their writers allege, that the priests who swarmed about the king's person, and were presumed to be entirely acquainted with the secrets of his cabinet, insinuated, that the stroke was levelled against the republic, and that the French monarch would join his weight, to render it decisive. If we may credit the testimony of bishop Burnet [e], this suspicion was not wholly without foundation. However this may be, James certainly had not laid aside the appearance of friendship for the republic. His envoy, Skelton, was recalled from the Hague, and succeeded by the marquis d'Abbeville, vested with the powers of envoy extraordinary. At his first public audience, this minister gave the states the strongest assurances of the king his master's regard for the republic, and firm resolution inviolably to observe all treaties concluded with the states since his accession. He endeavoured to dissipate all the apprehensions they had too rashly entertained, from the malicious suggestions of persons disaffected to his majesty's person and government; and he concluded with solemn protestations, that the preparations which gave birth to their fears, had no other object than the preservation of the repose of Europe, and the defence

[e] History of his own Times, p. 638. fol.

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of the Britiſh dominions. In his private negociation with the prince of Orange, he aſſured his highneſs, that the king had no deſign of injuring him and the princeſs in their right of ſucceſſion to his crown, in caſe of failure of direct male iſſue. Other matters were likewiſe treated of, in a variety of conferences which the Britiſh miniſter had with the prince; but as they have no relation to the general affairs of the republic, we ſhall omit them. Sufficient it is, to obſerve, that a reſolution was taken of ſending M. Dykveldt, in quality of envoy, to the court of London, with inſtructions to expoſtulate boldly with the king, upon the meaſures he was purſuing at home and abroad, and to effect a better underſtanding between him and the ſtadtholder. Before the departure of this miniſter, Abbeville had preſented two memorials, one upon the ſubject of the India commerce; and another, requiring, that doctor Burnet, an Engliſh clergyman, afterwards raiſed to the ſee of Saliſbury, might be baniſhed the territory of the ſtate.

The negociations in England and Holland turned upon the abolition of the penal laws, and the repeal of the teſt-act, to which the king wanted the prince of Orange's conſent, who was now conſidered as preſumptive heir to the crown, in right of his princeſs; but William did not ſeem inclinable to yield any of the liberties of the proteſtant religion. He even declared poſitively, that he could not carry his reſpect to the king ſo far as to ſacrifice his religion to his inclination to oblige his father-in-law. This firmneſs determined the king to have recourſe to violent meaſures. He made freſh levies, augmented his fleet, recalled by proclamation all the Engliſh ſeamen in foreign ſervice, and by a letter to the ſtates general, demanded the ſix Britiſh regiments in their ſervice, a demand with which he was ſenſible the ſtates would not, and could not, comply. A civil anſwer however was returned; in which his majeſty was given to underſtand, that no treaties, conventions, or articles, between the two nations, authoriſed their ſending back the Britiſh troops, eſpecially at ſo critical a conjuncture, unleſs the kingdom ſhould be attacked by ſome foreign enemy. The arguments which the ſtates urged in apology for their refuſal were indeed forcible and irrefragable; but we can by no means agree with their writers, that the prince of Orange had no hand in procuring this reſolution. If we may credit them, he had at this time no eye to the crown of England, becauſe the queen was now declared pregnant; though we have the expreſs teſtimony of all the Engliſh hiſtorians, that Dykveldt had private inſtructions from the prince, to treat clandeſtinely A.D. 1688.

with the English malecontents, and that he executed his commission with equal secresy and success. Bishop Burnet, who then resided at the prince's court, acknowleges that previous to Dykveldt's departure, he held frequent conferences with the prince and princess upon the affairs of England, the discontents of the English nation, the danger which threatened the protestant religion, and the other preliminaries to a revolution. Indeed the great concourse of the nobility and gentlemen of distinction at the prince's court, the correspondence he kept up in England, and the invitations which he laboured to procure from that country, are stronger proofs of his ambition and policy than of his filial duty, his sincerity, or even his attachment to religion, which is often used as a cloak, by princes, to cover designs not authorised either by religion or morality [f].

Preparations to invade England.

At this time the vacancy of the episcopal see of Cologne, for which prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstenberg, were candidates, furnished the states general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The pretensions formed by the most christian king justified this measure; and the augmentation of the English navy afforded them a specious handle for putting their marine in a posture of defence. Both were admirable masks for the prince of Orange, at this time making preparations to invade England. He had an interview in Westphalia with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Lunenburgh, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of so much consequence to the interests of religion and liberty, that they engaged for the protection of Holland during his expedition to England. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped, and such a number of transports freighted, as would serve for the accommodation of twelve thousand land forces. France and England were alarmed at these preparations, but neither could penetrate into the object in view. The count d'Avaux, however, received instructions to present a memorial to the states, expressing the king's astonishment at the mighty preparations they were making, by sea and land, especially at a season of the year when the augmentation of the marine intimated some extraordinary enterprize. The marquis d'Abeville, in the name of his Britannic majesty, supported this memorial by another, in which he insisted on his right of demanding the object of so extraordinary an armament. This remonstrance was followed by a second memorial from

[f] Smollett, lib. vii. cap. 4.

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the French ambaſſador, in which he declared, that the intimate friendſhip ſubſiſting between the king his maſter and the king of England, would oblige him not only to aſſiſt that monarch, ſhould he be attacked, but alſo to regard the firſt act of hoſtility againſt England, as a manifeſt violation of the peace, and a direct, formal deſign of coming to a rupture with France. To this memorial, which entirely conſiſted of menaces, and a declaration of Lewis's purpoſes, the ſtates returned no anſwer: and with reſpect to d'Abbeville's remonſtrances, they contented themſelves with replying, that the preparations in England rendered it neceſſary for the republic to be upon their guard, eſpecially as every power in Europe was buſied in raiſing forces. Beſides, they demanded an explanation of the treaty between France and England, in which the ſtates thought themſelves particularly intereſted [g].

Upon any other occaſion, ſo rough an anſwer would probably have produced a declaration of war: it now only drew another memorial from the Engliſh miniſter, and an aſſurance, that his majeſty was ready to co-operate with the ſtates in preſerving the repoſe of Europe, and enforcing the treaty of Nimeguen. It was evident that James at length perceived his danger. He now betrayed ſymptoms of fear, and proceeded ſo far as to expreſs his deſire of contracting an alliance with the republic, which was diſregarded, from a conviction that he was ſecretly in the intereſt of France, and actually in treaty with Lewis. The truth is, the ſtates were ſo ſenſible of the weight it would give the republic in the ſcale of Europe, to have the prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain, that they puſhed this meaſure with the utmoſt vigour.

The firſt direct confeſſion of the deſtination of the armament proceeded from the penſionary Fagel, who frankly owned to the marquis d'Abbeville, that the prince of Orange, in conſequence of an invitation from the Engliſh nobility, was determined to aſſiſt them in re-eſtabliſhing the ancient conſtitution, which the king had entirely altered ſince his acceſſion. Soon after the ſtates publiſhed their reaſons for aſſiſting the prince with troops and ſhipping; and this declaration was followed by a manifeſto, drawn up by the prince of Orange, explaining the motives by which he was actuated to undertake the intended expedition to England. Here he enumerated the grievances of the Engliſh nation, recapitulated the fruitleſs attempts which had been made for procuring redreſs, touched upon the ſuppoſed impoſture

[g] Traité de Neuville, chap. xvii.

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in the birth of the prince of Wales; and profeſſed his own and the princeſs's regard for the Engliſh nation, and for the liberties and the religion of the people. Having thus paved the way to a meaſure which could not but produce a rupture with France, the prince took his leave of the ſtates, and embarking on the 19th day of October, ſailed out a few leagues, when a ſtorm aroſe, which ſcattered the ſhips in ſuch a manner, that they were forced to put back, and a whole week elapſed before they could reaſſemble at the place of rendezvous. A ſecond time the prince ſet ſail, had a favourable paſſage, arrived ſafe in England, and was joyfully received as the deliverer of the nation [h].

The prince of Orange arrives in England.

The ſucceſs of this expedition extremely harraſſed the court of Verſailles. Lewis had already laid an embargo upon all the Dutch ſhipping in his ports, by which meaſure he violated an article of the treaty of Nimeguen, framed expreſsly for the mutual ſecurity of the commerce of France and Holland. What was ſtill a greater violation of the law of nations, the ſhips crews were forced by threats to enter into the king's ſervice, by which means he manned a great number of men of war with little trouble. In apology for this conduct, Lewis urged the reſolution ſaid to be paſſed in the ſtates to prohibit the importation of French manufactures, though his majeſty had by an edict expreſsly forbid the importation into his dominions of Dutch herrings, and other commodities. His armies were already committing hoſtilities in Germany, and the dauphin commanded in perſon at the ſiege of Phillipſburgh. It was not the intereſt of Lewis to multiply his enemies; but he ſaw that the prince of Orange's ſucceſs in England would neceſſarily engage the Dutch to enter into the confederacy againſt him; it was therefore his buſineſs to anticipate their deſigns, and attack them before they could be aſſiſted by the prince of Orange, and probably by the whole ſtrength of the Engliſh nation. With this view he declared war againſt the republic, on pretence that their high mightineſſes manifeſted, by their formidable preparations, their intention of breaking the treaty, and co-operating with the princes engaged in a league to oppoſe the elevation of the cardinal Furſtenberg to the electorate of Cologne. It was no ſurprize to the ſtates to ſee this declaration; it was expected, and ſoon anſwered by a counter-declaration, in which the aſſertion of the French monarch was refuted, and all the incroachments, violations, arbitrary proceedings, and oppreſſions committed by the court of Verſailles ſince the peace of

A. D. 1689.

The king of France declares war againſt the republic.

[h] Ibid. cap. 19. Le Clerc, p. 184.

Nime-

Nimeguen, were clearly enumerated. They demonſtrated, that ambition, and the luſt of conqueſt, were the cauſes of the invaſion of the provinces in the year 1672: that neceſſity alone, and the valour of the prince of Orange, had forced Lewis to make peace with the republic in 1678, only to recover freſh vigour, and as it would now appear, to involve Europe again in the flames of war, from which however, if he attended to his real intereſt, he could not expect to be a gainer. They urged, that the king paid no regard to general or particular treaties; that he loaded the Dutch commerce with every kind of impoſition, and had actually put an entire ſtop to ſome branches of trade, expreſsly regulated in a late treaty of commerce. Nothing could diſplay in ſtronger colours his arrogance and injuſtice than his ſeizing all the Dutch ſhips in his ports, and obliging the mariners to ſerve in his navy, without any other ſhadow of excuſe for ſo flagrant a violence than the republic's charging French commodities with the ſame incumbrances to which their own were ſubjected in the king's dominions. They affirmed that all his aſſurances, by ſolemn embaſſies, were only ſnares to lull the neighbouring ſtates into ſecurity; his treaties of peace, neceſſary ſteps towards renewing the war; his word, his honour, and his faith, proſtituted to the purpoſes of ambition and the rage of conqueſt: in a word, that his whole conduct was a ſeries of ſhuffling, tergiverſation, tyranny, oppreſſion, and perfidy. *The Dutch anſwer the declaration.*

Nothing could be more keen, animated, and ſarcaſtic, than the terms in which this declaration was couched. The ſtates were ſenſible they could expect no favour from Lewis, and they determined to rouſe the ſpirits of the people by this proof of their own courage, and evident detection of the artifices of the French monarch. Their frontiers were covered by a powerful army, conducted by prince Waldeck, and compoſed of the troops of Brandenburg, Lunenburg, Heſſe Caſſel, and other German ſtates, joined to the forces of the republic. They were oppoſed by the marſhal de Humieres, and both armies were encamped on oppoſite banks of the Sambre. The prince repeatedly offered battle, which was conſtantly declined by the marſhal, who was ſtrongly entrenched, and watching every opportunity of taking the enemy at a diſadvantage.

The whole preceding year had been conſumed in preparations, encampments, ſtratagems, and endeavours to bring on a deciſive action. Spain, Germany, and Savoy, now delared againſt France; but Lewis had ſent ſuch numerous armies into the field as were ſufficient to make head againſt all his enemies. His ſtrength ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as they multiplied, and he was never ſo formidable

as when he combated singly more than half the powers of Europe. Luxemburg succeeded de Humieres in the command; and Waldeck soon experienced, in the plains of Fleuris, the valour and capacity of the new general, who was the pupil, the friend, and the admirer of the illustrious Condé. The confederates were defeated after a violent conflict; about six thousand prisoners were made; all the cannon taken; and prince Waldeck reduced to the necessity of acting defensively for the remainder of the campaign [1].

A.D. 1690.

The battle of Fleuris.

Notwithstanding the Dutch were defeated at Fleuris, the troops behaved with uncommon intrepidity, and prince Waldeck performed all that could be expected from consummate abilities Luxemburg did justice to both, and confessed that never was victory more obstinately contested, or a retreat more formidable than that of the Dutch infantry, whom he extolled above the Spanish infantry at Rocroi. It was now the endeavour of the states to reinforce their army with all possible expedition, and to restore the spirit of the troops by rewarding their valour. A sum of money was distributed among the infantry, and the highest praises were bestowed upon their conduct. The regiments which had suffered most were relieved by fresh troops drawn out of garrison, the elector of Brandenburg with a body of forces joined the army, and such vigorous measures were taken as prevented Luxemburgh drawing any advantage from his victory.

England and Holland were now united in the strictest bonds of alliance, though the disturbances in Ireland prevented king William from embarking deeply in the affairs of the continent. To execute the great scheme proposed of humbling Lewis, it was necessary first to establish himself firmly upon his new throne, and cut off all hope from the unfortunate James of ever recovering his dominions. The Dutch and English fleets were lying at St. Helen's, when advice arrived that the French squadron had entered the Channel. On the 23d of July the admirals weighed anchor, having express orders to fight the enemy, notwithstanding their great inferiority. The French fleet amounted to one hundred and nineteen sail, eighty of which were of the line, while the combined squadrons did not exceed fifty-six ships of the line, besides frigates. The van was led by the Dutch squadron, formed into three divisions, under the admirals Evertzen, Callenberg, and Vander Putten. Lord Torrington, the English admiral, com-

A sea-fight, in which the Dutch are roughly handled.

[1] Le Clerc, p. 138.

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manded in the center. Off Beachy-Head they came up with the enemy, and the Dutch began the engagement with the French van, led by the famous Chateau Renaud, who sustained the attack with great intrepidity, but was at last put in disorder, after a sharp action, which continued for three hours. He was however supported by another division of the French squadron, and the battle again renewed with the utmost vigour. As the English division lay at a considerable distance, the Hollanders were surrounded. Torrington endeavoured to extricate them, but with so much caution, that, perceiving their safety depended upon their own courage, the Dutch made one violent effort, and happily broke through the enemy. It appears from the loss sustained, that the Dutch bore the whole burden of this engagement. Three of their ships were sunk, and an equal number stranded on the coast of Sussex, to which they set fire, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. Besides, they had several gallant officers killed, particularly the rear-admirals Dick and Brockel, and captain Nordet, with a multitude of inferior officers and seamen. Next day the French came up with captain Varden Yoes, in a sixty gun ship, which was disabled by the loss of her masts in the preceding action, and took him, after a desperate resistance. In a word, it was universally acknowledged, that the Hollanders fought with the utmost skill and intrepidity, and that had they been properly seconded, the enemy must have yielded the victory. So sensible were the states of the gallant behaviour of the admirals, that they received them with the highest respect, continued them in the command, and issued orders for repairing and augmenting the fleet with all possible dispatch; yet was it some mortification to see two states who had lately disputed the empire of the ocean, now foiled by an upstart maritime power, reared in the space of a few years by the care, vigilance, and genius of Colbert[k].

King William presides at the grand congress at the Hague.

It was now expected the war on the continent would assume a favourable aspect. King William, by the battle of Boyne, had defeated the designs of the French monarch and the unfortunate king James in Ireland. He crossed the seas to preside at the congress at the Hague, the most splendid and numerous that had ever appeared. His public entrance into the Hague was magnificent; his arrival diffused vigour through the provinces; he was considered as the head of the league forming against Lewis for the defence of public liberty; and the personal qualities of the prince of

[k] Suite de Neuville, chap. vi. tom. ii.

Orange

Orange received additional luſtre from the Britiſh diadem. Nothing could exceed the joy and reverence with which he was received by the ſtates, to whom he paid his firſt compliments. In a ſtudied ſpeech, his majeſty acquainted them with the ſucceſs of his endeavours to ſecure the liberty and religion of the people of Great Britain. He explained the ſtate of affairs in Ireland. He acquainted them with his reſolution to oppoſe in perſon all the enemies of the republic, to proſecute the war with vigour, and to employ the whole ſtrength of his new dominions in curbing the inſolence of France, and procuring an equitable, honourable, and ſolid peace for Europe.

Having diſpatched matters with the ſtates general, the ſtates of Holland, and the council of ſtate, William, in the next place, turned his attention to the buſineſs of the congreſs, which was compoſed of a great number of ſovereign princes, and the plenipotentiaries of all the powers engaged in the grand alliance. He opened the conferences with a laboured, ſpirited harangue, recommending vigour and unanimity. The congreſs immediately proceeded to adjuſt the proportions of money and troops which each of the parties engaged to furniſh. The whole exceeded two hundred thouſand men, of whom the republic furniſhed thirty-five thouſand. Next, the operations of the campaign were concerted; every article of the alliance was fully explained; the conditions upon which peace would be accepted were clearly determined; and the whole confederacy was formed agreeable to that plan which William had delineated in his own mind, when he was no more than prince of Orange and ſtadtholder of Holland[1].

A.D.1691. While William was thus exerting himſelf, the French monarch, perceiving he ſhould be deprived of the advantages he expected from the preceding campaign, was taking vigorous meaſures for continuing the courſe of his victories, which would infallibly at length tire out the confederates, and produce thoſe ſolid benefits which he propoſed, by making his chief puſh on the ſide of the Netherlands. He hoped to diſconcert all the projects of his enemies by ſtriking ſome ſignal blow, which ſhould decide the fate of the war, before the allies could be ready to take the field. He relied much upon the dilatory proceedings, the tedious deliberations, and the diſſenſions which would probably ariſe in ſo heterogeneous a league, compoſed of ſuch a variety of members, connected only, as he imagined, by one tie, that of their general animoſity to France. His

[1] Id. ibid.

deſign

deſign was to attack Mons, and thereby open the gates of Bruſſels, Antwerp, and Liege. In a word, he perceived that as yet the allies had neither troops nor magazines formed, equal to their mighty ſchemes; and it was upon theſe circumſtances he founded his ſanguine expectations. Beſides, Lewis had prodigious magazines upon the frontiers; and his army was cantoned in ſuch a manner as to be aſſembled at the ſhorteſt notice. Hence he doubted not of being able to ſhake the credit of king William, and detach from the confederacy ſome of the allies, by ſhewing them that the perſon they regarded as a hero, and their deliverer, was unable to protect them. It was with this view that the French troops were put in motion in the month of February, and that Mons was inveſted before the allies had thought of taking the field. All William's endeavours could not relieve the beſieged: they ſurrendered, and Lewis thus ſhewed his contempt of the grand confederacy. A medal was ſtruck at Paris, repreſenting a town beſieged, with an army looking on, and the following explanatory inſcription, "Amat victoria taſtes;" alluding to king William, who lay with his whole army at Halle, a ſpectator of Luxemburg's triumph. Scarce any thing farther was attempted during the campaign. Lewis returned to Paris, and William ſet out for England.

Diſputes between Denmark and Holland.

Notwithſtanding it was the mutual intereſt of Denmark and the republic to live on terms of amity, a variety of cauſes aroſe to diſturb their friendſhip, and produce a rupture. Denmark, ſenſible that ſhe commanded the trade of the Baltic, by means of the Sound, frequently made uſe of that circumſtance to augment her revenue. She arbitrarily, and contrary to the faith of treaties, impoſed new duties upon all merchandize paſſing through the Sound. The cuſtoms paid by Dutch veſſels was rated by treaty; but theſe did not ſatisfy the Daniſh monarch. Without giving the ſtates any previous intimation, he demanded an additional duty; and being refuſed, he ſeized upon twenty-four merchant ſhips in the port of Copenhagen. So groſs a violation of all the treaties ſubſiſting between the nations, alarmed the Dutch: they ſent an ambaſſador to Denmark, and his ſpirited remonſtrances brought the northern monarch to reaſon. Conferences were held, the Dutch ſhips reſtored, the quarrel was compromiſed, and the trade of the provinces eſtabliſhed upon the uſual footing [m].

This year William, as chief of the confederates, ſuſtained freſh mortifications. In the preceding campaign he was A D. 1692.

[m] Suit. de Hiſt. de Neuville, chap. xiii. liv. ii.

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an eye-witness to the triumph of Lewis, in the reduction of Mons. It was now his fortune to erect new trophies to Luxemburg, by the fruitless attempt he made, at the head of a powerful army, to raise the siege of Namur. The loss of this city, and of the bloody battle that ensued at Steinkirk, though they detracted nothing from the reputation of the king of Great Britain, proved extremely irksome to the states general, who beheld the Netherlands gradually falling into the enemy's hands, in despite of their utmost efforts. The feeble condition indeed of the Spanish provinces, obliged William to decline the offer of them made by Spain, and recommend the elector of Bavaria to the government, which however proved but a faint security. To preserve the residue of the Netherlands under the dominion of Spain, and prevent the exorbitant growth of France, by the addition of the ten provinces, were evidently the objects of the grand alliance. Hitherto all attempts to regain what had been lost proved fruitless. France was every day adding to her conquests: it was necessary therefore to redouble their efforts to oppose her. All the powers engaged in the confederacy were sensible of the necessity of the most vigorous measures; but each shifted the burthen from its own shoulders. The emperor's favourite point was the making conquests on the side of Hungary: the German princes nearest danger, could act only under the protection of the whole empire; and those more remote did not care to engage in the war, without a valuable consideration. The Swiss cantons studied only to convert their neutrality to the best advantage. Spain seemed on the decline; her usual strength and vigour were vanished, and she relied entirely upon the maritime powers for her defence and security; England and Holland indeed, of all the confederates, kept up to their engagements. They made up all deficiencies; and William blended indiscriminately the duties of a British monarch and a Dutch stadtholder. As the king over a great commercial people, he could not wholly abstract himself from the affairs of the continent; as the stadtholder of Holland, he was immediately interested in checking the progress of Lewis's conquests. But, unfortunately for his new subjects, he made no difference between the relative concern of the one nation, and the fundamental necessary interest of the other, in the safety of the Netherlands. Great Britain contributed more towards the war than the republic; yet could not that island expect an additional foot of territory by the most fortunate issue, though the people were accumulating debts, and laying the

State of affairs in the Netherlands.

foun-

foundation of that enormous ſtructure of public credit afterwards reared up, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe.

The French king did not confine himſelf to the efforts made by his generals in Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy; he projected a ſcheme which would have proved deciſive, had it ſucceeded: this was a deſcent upon England, the meaſures for which had been ſo admirably concerted, that king James looked upon himſelf as already reſtored to his throne. As Lewis made no ſecret of the intended expedition, nothing was omitted by the queen of England, who was regent in the king's abſence, to fruſtrate its effects; and the ſtates general heartily co-operated with her majeſty, ordering a powerful ſquadron immediately to join the Engliſh admiral, though they yet ſmarted under the ſevere blow received in the laſt ſea-engagement. On this junction the combined fleet amounted to eighty-eight ſail, near double the number of Tourville's ſquadron, who was then waiting at La Hogue for that of Toulon, commanded by M. d'Etres. To the poſitive orders received from the French court to fight the Engliſh, before they ſhould be joined by the Dutch fleet, may be attributed the miſcarriage of this grand armament, which would otherwiſe have at leaſt anſwered Lewis's purpoſe of making a powerful diverſion. In hope that the junction of the fleets of England and Holland had not yet taken place, Tourville ſet ſail, and encountered the enemy off Cape Barfleur on the 29th of May. The allies were deſcried in three diviſions; admiral Allemonde, with the Dutch ſhips, leading the van; admiral Ruſſel, with the Engliſh red ſquadron, compoſing the center; and Sir John Aſhly, with the Engliſh blue ſquadron, being ſtationed in the rear. The engagement began between d'Amfreville, who led the French van, and Allemonde. The former bore down upon the Dutch, and made a very furious attack, which was ſuſtained with unſhaken firmneſs. Tourville engaged the red ſquadron, and here the action was equally hot and furious. The rear diviſions of both ſides came up to ſupport the centres, by which the battle became general, as far as the ſituation of the combined fleet would admit; for a calm that enſued prevented Ruſſel's cloſing the line. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt vigour and impetuoſity for ſome hours, until ſo thick a fog aroſe as obliged the combatants to ſeparate. This receſs was, however, but of ſhort duration: the fog was diſpelled, and Tourville was ſeen profiting by the opportunity to withdraw from an engagement to which he found himſelf unequal. Rear-admiral Shovel had the addreſs to gain the windward, and ſeparate Tourville's diviſion from the ſqua-

The French fleet defeated.

dron deſtined to ſupport him under Pannatier; by which means the engagement was again renewed, and the French admiral incloſed between two fires. After incredible efforts, Tourville broke through the enemy, and eſcaped a purſuit by the ſeaſonable interpoſition of night. The fleets, however, were ſo ſcattered, that they could not get clear of the allies by the next morning. They kept the windward, which prevented his making the next day for La Hogue; but declined renewing the engagement. On the third day ſome of the diviſions on both ſides came to an action, in which the French were worſted. Several other rencounters happened, which always proved favourable to the confederates. At length, Tourville's ſquadron was entirely defeated and diſperſed. By the deſtruction of ſixteen capital ſhips, including thoſe burnt in La Hogue by Rooke and Allemonde, a fatal blow was given to the marine of France, and the deſcent on England wholly fruſtrated [b].

A.D. 1693. Though the marine of France languiſhed, in conſequence of the fatal defeat at La Hogue, Lewis made the moſt ſpirited efforts to reſtore its ſtrength and vigour. Animated by diſappointment, that monarch, fruitful in reſources, ordered all the ſhips in his ports to be equipped. All hands were ſet to work in building new veſſels. Before the month of June, a fleet as numerous as the former, but manned with perſons who had ſcarce ever beheld a ſhip, put to ſea under Tourville, who was kept in the command, notwithſtanding the French nation was exaſperated at his conduct in the laſt action. The intention of this armament was to intercept a large fleet of Engliſh and Dutch merchant ſhips, outward-bound for Spain and Portugal. Sir Geogre Rooke, and rear-admiral Vandergoes were appointed to eſcort this fleet, with a ſquadron compoſed of thirteen Engliſh and eight Dutch men of war. On the 23d, turning Cape Vincent, they deſcried the French ſquadron; and the two men of war in the van exchanged a few broadſides with the enemy, after which they ſlackened ſail, and waited for the remainder of the convoy. A calm prevented Tourville's coming up, and the van of his fleet did not chuſe to run the hazard of entering deeply into an engagement, before they had a proſpect of being ſupported. For four days the two fleets were in ſight, without coming to action: at laſt an opportunity offered to begin the attack, which Tourville embraced with great alacrity. His great ſuperiority rendered the event almoſt certain; and Sir George

[b] Id. ibid. Voltaire Siecle, tom. i. Smollett, Ralph, and the Engliſh Hiſtorians.

Rooke

Rooke was so sensible of the impossibility of saving the fleet under his convoy, by the utmost diversion he could make, that he endeavoured to decline the battle, and make the first harbours he could on the coasts of Spain and Portugal. The enemy, however, came up with the sternmost ships, where they were gallantly received by three Dutch men of war, who fought with astonishing resolution, and for some time employed the whole strength of the French admiral. After they were surrounded, they obstinately refused to strike, until the greater part of the fleet under their convoy had got into the ports of Cadiz and Gibraltar. At last the Dutch ships were taken, and with them about thirty merchant-ships; most of which Tourville either burnt or sunk, after having taken out their cargoes. Tourville is justly censured for not dividing his strength, by which he could have prevented the possibility of an escape; and Sir George Rooke is perhaps no less blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant-fleet an opportunity of escaping. Both the French and confederates were displeased; the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Tourville, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of Cadiz; but such prudent measures had been taken, as disconcerted his project. He had no better success in another attempt he made to cut the merchant-ships out of the bay of Gibraltar. Two frigates and several armed boats were employed in this enterprize; but the gallantry of the Dutch and English sailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and sent fireships among the enemy, by which means seven Danish, four English, two Genoese, and six Dutch merchant-ships were destroyed. Thus ended an expedition unfortunately indeed to the allies, as well as to some neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to France.

The French destroy a number of English and Dutch merchant-ships.

In the mean time the campaign in Flanders went on with great vigour. The battle of Landen was lost by the allies, and the king of England's reputation was somewhat diminished for not avoiding an action, when even a victory could have produced no solid advantage, and he could scarcely hope not to be defeated. France magnified her triumph, and the allies concealed their disgrace. Charleroi surrendered to Luxemburg, and this was almost the only fruit of a victory dearly purchased, and highly celebrated. It was now that the confederates, and in particular the states general, began to complain of the conduct of the Swiss cantons, who had engaged to observe an exact neutrality. The reduction of Namur, and the victories at Steinkirk and Neerwinde or Landen, were attributed to

Altercation between the Swiss cantons and the allies.

the valour of their troops in the service of France. The states alleged, that hiring out their forces to Lewis was contrary to the neutrality they professed, and an actual hostility against the allies. Besides, by the treaty of Milan, the cantons engaged that their troops in the French pay should only be employed in the defence of towns, of which Lewis was possessed in the year 1663. In consideration of this engagement, Spain and the empire had paid them a subsidy, which was doubled at the approach of the present war, when they renewed their engagements not to act offensively. In all the late actions it appeared there had been near thirty battalions of Swiss infantry, who had fought with the same desperate fury and animosity, as if the cantons had been at actual war with the confederates. The courts of Vienna and Madrid now joined the states general in remonstrances upon this conduct, so contrary to the intention of treaties, and the faith of solemn engagements. The most spirited memorials were presented and disregarded. The emperor and catholic king expressed their resentment, not only by stopping the subsidies, but by cutting off all communication between Switzerland and their Italian dominions. In particular, they forbad their subjects to sell corn to the Swiss, which prohibition, upon account of the scarcity then reigning in France, put the cantons to great necessity; but even this could not prevail on them to withdraw their forces, and renounce their engagements with Lewis, who buoyed them up with lofty promises, and encouraged them by some real advantages. They even declared to the envoys of Spain and the empire, and to the deputies of Holland, that they would lay themselves under no restraint, though at the same time they had no intention of giving offence to the allies. At last the affair was discussed at a diet at Baden. Expedients were proposed; but they proved insufficient and unsatisfactory to all parties. Yet the interposition of the protestant cantons, and the resolution formed by several of the catholic divisions of this republic, influenced the emperor and king of Spain to remove the prohibition respecting grain, and again to open the communication between Switzerland and their dominions [c].

While the confederates were endeavouring to weaken the common enemy, by gaining over some of the best troops in the French army, an occasional congress sat at Cologne, composed of ambassadors from England, Holland, the emperor, the electors of Treves, Cologne, Brandenburg, Bavaria,

[c] Suite de Hist. de Neuville, tom. ii. p. 8.

Saxony,

Saxony, and Palatine, the landgrave of Heſſe, and biſhop of Munſter. The deſign of this congreſs was to reconcile all the jarring intereſts of the confederates, to determine the different proportions of expence, and to accelerate all the previous ſteps to opening the campaign. Unhappily, contentions aroſe about the chief command of the army on the Rhine, which could not fail of prejudicing the intereſt of the confederacy, and proving as ſerviceable to France as if an actual ally had been gained. Nor was France more fortunate in this particular than ſucceſsful in the intrigues carried on at the Porte, to retard the pacification in treaty between the emperor and the grand ſignor. Such influence and credit had the French ambaſſador acquired in the divan, that Heemſkirk, the Dutch envoy, could neither obtain an audience, nor an anſwer to the propoſals which he had delivered in writing to the vizir. It is true, he was treated with great reſpect, and the denial of his requeſt palliated by apologies and pretences of the neceſſity of waiting until the arrival of lord Paget, who was expected upon an embaſſy from England; but it was evident, on that nobleman's appearance at court, that the allies had nothing to expect. The vizir expreſſed the ſame backwardneſs to a negociation: at laſt he threw off the maſque, and began openly to make preparations for opening the campaign.

The Dutch envoy is refuſed an audience at Conſtantinople.

Lewis was thus ſweeping all before him in the cabinet and the field, when the two maritime powers were preparing to wipe off the diſgrace their fleet had lately ſuſtained, and to repair the loſs by ſome ſtroke, which ſhould at leaſt weaken the enemy, if it ſhould contribute nothing to their own emolument. The diligence employed in equipping a fleet in England and Holland attracted the eyes of all Europe. It was obvious, that they were ſtimulated by reſentment; and it ſoon appeared where the ſtroke was aimed, by the arrival of the combined fleet before St. Malo's. This however formed only a part of the ſcheme concerted by the allies. No more than twelve ſhips of the line, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, were ſent to bombard this place. About the middle of November, the ſquadron anchored before Quince fort: three of the bomb veſſels, with a number of brigantines and well-boats, bore down and anchored within half a mile of the town. They continued firing for five hours, and were then obliged to tow off from an apprehenſion of being grounded. For ſeveral ſubſequent days they continued to throw in bombs, with frequent intermiſſions, and at length, under favour of a briſk gale, a dark night, and a ſtrong tide, they ſent in a prodigious fireſhip of three hundred tons burthen, which

St. Malo's bombarded.

would probably have reduced the town to aſhes, had ſhe not, happily for the inhabitants, ſtruck upon a rock, upon which the engineer ſet fire to the train. The exploſion was dreadful; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round, and unroofed three hundred houeſs. The curtain towards the ſea was broke down, and had there been a ſufficient number of land forces on board the ſquadron, the town might eaſily have been taken by ſtorm [d]. Such was the iſſue of the expedition to St. Malo's, which ſtruck a panic into the inhabitants of the whole coaſt of France, and convinced the French king of the power and ſpirit of the two maritime allies, though it produced no other conſequence.

A.D. 1694. The winter produced overtures for a peace. Lewis had reduced cities, gained battles, and diſperſed fleets; yet in the midſt of victory and triumph, he wiſhed for an accommodation upon terms not injurious to his honour. Already he had diſperſed at the courts of the German princes, a manifeſto profeſſing his pacific ſentiments, and propoſing conditions of peace to the emperor. Theſe propoſals, though advantageous to the imperial court, were rejected: however, not diſcouraged with one repulſe, Lewis applied himſelf to the king of Great Britain and the ſtates general, by means of the Daniſh envoys at London and the Hague, who preſented memorials with a project for a general peace. To the ſtates were repreſented the particular advantages they would derive from accepting the propoſals. A barrier was offered that ſhould remove all inquietude and cauſe of apprehenſion in the United Provinces. Mons and Namur it was intended ſhould be ceded to Spain, Charleroi demoliſhed, the town and citadel of Huy reſtored to the biſhop of Liege, and Dinant and Bouillon indemnified, by uniting to the biſhoprick ſuch a portion of the duchy of Luxemburg, as ſhould be aſſigned by arbiters. The Daniſh envoy added, that the ſtates general ought to be ſatisfied with the power of obtaining ſuch important reſtitutions, and of terminating to ſo much advantage a war in which the allies could not poſſibly think they had been very fortunate. He likewiſe took it upon him to declare, that the moſt chriſtian king would make no attempts to extend his dominions on the ſide of the Netherlands, and that from his preſent pacific diſpoſition ſuch farther conditions would be granted as ſhould be found juſt and equitable. Neither the king nor the ſtates choſe to enter upon negociations, without the concurrence of the other allies, and the emperor had

[d] Lives of the Admirals, vol. iii.

not

not only rejected the proposals, but sent prince Lewis of Baden to England, to keep the English steady to their engagements. He took the Hague in his way, had an audience of the states, to whom he warmly represented the necessity of continuing the war, and dispelled all doubts which might arise about the expediency of trying the fortune of another campaign. In truth, king William had not yet satiated his revenge. Every general action had proved unfortunate; and he panted after an opportunity of wiping off the disgrace of so many defeats. The states were entirely led by his opinion, and that party which had strenuously opposed the price of Orange, resigned itself entirely to the direction of the king of Great Britain; such influence had he acquired since his accession to that throne.

Denmark, finding her mediation rejected, determined to convert this circumstance to her own advantage. The states general, she was sensible, would be so deeply engaged in war, as to be in no condition to attend to the minute affairs of commerce. The opportunity for renewing the old disputes about the duties of the Sound was favourable. His Danish majesty, therefore, without paying any regard to the late accommodation, or the neutrality professed, began first to intimate his intentions by avowedly assisting the French monarch. In this conduct the Swedes concurred with him; both had carried on a prodigious commerce with France during the war; they even became the purveyors of that kingdom for corn, naval stores, and all the commodities of the North. The allies connived, while there remained hopes of inducing those powers to accede to the confederacy. So far England and the allies in general were concerned; but Holland had complaints of a private nature, in which the Dutch commerce alone was interested. His Danish majesty had ordered the ancient duties of the Sound to be exacted from all Dutch shipping, and on their refusal they were seized and brought to Copenhagen. These concurring circumstances determined the states to come to extremities, and the king of England joined issue with them about the expediency of making reprizals, and punishing the northern powers for a breach of treaty and professed neutrality. It was resolved to make both the kings of Denmark and Sweden sensible, that notwithstanding the maritime powers were engaged in an important war, they had strength and courage enough to resent the insults of neutral states. Accordingly the commanders of the English and Dutch men of war and privateers had instructions to stop, examine, and seize all Danish or Swedish shipping bound to French ports, or laden with such commodities as seemed de-

Fresh disputes between Denmark and Holland.

ſtined for the markets of that kingdom. The orders were punctually obſerved; ſeveral ſhips were taken, but none condemned, as the experiment was made only to intimidate the northern powers, and not with a view of coming to an open rupture. The Dutch went farther. They ſtopped in different ports of Holland to the amount of twenty-four Daniſh ſhips, of which they gave notice to the Daniſh envoy, declaring they ſhould be detained, until reſtitution was made of the Dutch ſhips at Copenhagen, and the owners amply indemnified for all the loſſes they might have ſuſtained by their detention. A conduct ſo ſpirited ſoon produced the expected effect. Sweden not only avoided making repriſals, but even joined her mediation to the emperor's, in reconciling the king of Denmark and the republic. In conſequence of this mediation, the ſhips were mutually reſtored, the treaties concerning the duties of the Sound renewed, and all things placed on the former footing [e].

In general the operations of this campaign proved more fortunate to the allies, than any of the preceding. Several places had been recovered from the enemy, no battle was loſt, and the French king ſuffered more by the death of marſhal Luxemburg, than if half his army had periſhed: beſides, the coaſts of his kingdom were kept in perpetual alarm by the ſquadrons of England and Holland. By theſe means a great number of troops were kept ſtationed towards the coaſts, and a conſiderable revulſion was made from that ſtrength which Lewis would otherwiſe have exerted in the Netherlands. Breſt was bombarded by the combined fleets; Dieppe afterwards met with the ſame fate, and more than half the town was laid in aſhes; adverſe winds probably ſaved it from total deſtruction. Having finiſhed this buſineſs, the allied fleet proceeded to Havre de Grace, where they began bombarding with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a few hours the town was on fire, and before they quitted their ſtation, the citadel almoſt demoliſhed; in a word, an univerſal panic ſeized the inhabitants of the coaſt; the innocent induſtrious ſubjects were puniſhed for the ambition of the ſovereign; and a method of waging war was now adopted by civilized nations, which would be regarded with horror by the moſt barbarous.

Sea fight between the French and Dutch fleets.

While the grand armament was thus employed in deſolating the enemy's country, a Dutch ſquadron of eight men of war, under the conduct of Hidde de Vries, fell in with the famous du Bart, and his ſquadron of ſeven ſhips of the

[e] Le Clerc, p. 142.

fine

line and three frigates. The Dutch admiral had a considerable fleet under his convoy, and would, if possible, have declined an engagement; but du Bart pursued, overtook and attacked him between the Meuse and the Texel. The dispute proved obstinate. Du Bart fought with his usual intrepidity; he boarded de Vries, and though vigourously sustained was repulsed with loss. Had the Dutch captains supported their admiral, the Frenchman would have found himself roughly handled; but the terror of du Bart's name kept them aloof, while de Vries, covered with wounds, was singly engaged. The event was unfortunate; he was taken prisoner, and great part of the merchant fleet under his care fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the return of the squadron to Holland, all the captains were cashiered, and the states consoled for their loss by news from the East Indies, that Pondicherry had surrendered to the governor-general of Batavia, with all the artillery, stores, and merchandize belonging to the French company. Upon the whole, the confederates had greatly the advantage by sea this season. Besides the incidents we have mentioned, they relieved Barcelona, blocked up Tourville, and bombarded Dunkirk and Calais.

Religious disputes in Holland.

Towards the close of this year, the theological controversies which had so long disturbed the provinces were now again revived. King William, before his accession to the throne of England, had silenced some rising disputes, by his authority as stadtholder. He was now again forced to interpose, and it was at his request that the states of Holland and Friseland published an ordonnance, on the 18th day of September, for the preservation of the peace of the reformed church, and the tranquillity of the provinces. By this regulation, it was ordained that all doctors, professors, and lecturers in divinity, together with the clergy of the reformed church of Holland and Friseland, should conform in all their writings, preachings, and lectures, to the formulary contained in the catechism, confession, and canons of the national synod of Dordrecht; and that they should live in the utmost cordiality, charity, and brotherly affection, without dispute, discussion, or controversy upon points already settled by the church. That with respect to certain difficult matters left undetermined by the national synod, these they were ordered not to touch upon, or explain any otherwise than was authorized by the scriptures, and the general sense of the synod of Dordrecht. That they should introduce into their writings, sermons, lectures, or public courses of every kind, no uncommon axioms, no disputed principles, no novel opinions or doctrines; in a word,

word, they were ordered to abſtain from whatever could raiſe doubts, create ſchiſms or diviſions among the people; and if through inadvertence any of them ſhould have given room for diſputation, they were required to retract, or explain what they had advanced, agreeable to the eſtabliſhed faith. All profeſſors were farther prohibited from encouraging their pupils to apply philoſophy to the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion. They were ordered to confine this kind of reaſoning to matters purely philoſophical, and not to examine by the light of reaſon, what was intended by the Author of our Being to exceed reaſon. Upon the whole, the paſtors of the church were fervently requeſted to be vigilant over their flocks, and to cultivate ſobriety, decency, good order, and devotion among all ranks and degrees of the people. The ordonnance had a good effect, and ſuppreſſed, in the birth, controverſies which might in time have created much trouble to the government [f].

A.D. 1695. The operations of the ſucceeding campaign retrieved the reputation of king William; but it ought to be remembered, that mareſchal Luxemburg was now dead, and the command of the army given to Villeroi, a general neither equal to the mareſchal in capacity nor experience. Namur, defended by Boufflers, at the head of a numerous garriſon, and covered by a formidable army, ſurrendered to king William; and the French king, in revenge, ordered Bruſſels to be bombarded. This ſtep was followed by the bombardment of Calais, and ſome attempts upon other ſea-ports on the coaſts of France. But theſe ſucceſſes, though they inſpired the allies, weakened Lewis, and drew the war nearer an iſſue, produced no immediate advantage. The ſtates general had proſecuted the war with vigour, in hope of obtaining ſuch a peace as would compenſate for the expence and trouble of ſupporting large armies and fleets. It was expected that every campaign would be the laſt, and this hope encouraged the people to ſubmit to the heavy taxes with which they were loaded. Their frequent diſappointment irritated them, and in all the provinces they began to exclaim loudly againſt meaſures calculated only to oppreſs the induſtrious ſubject, and ruin commerce. A new tax laid upon burials, by the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, was highly reſented by the populace; though the intention was to aboliſh a pernicious cuſtom that prevailed in almoſt all the towns of the United Provinces, of giving public entertainments, of feaſting, and rioting, upon occaſions where decency required the moſt ſolemn conduct and ſtrict temperance. No ſooner was the

Inſurrection at Amſterdam.

[f] Suite de Hiſt. de Neuville, tom. ii. p. 44.

reſolu-

resolution of the magistrates known, than some evil-disposed persons excited a popular tumult, by persuading the vulgar, that all who were unable to pay the tax must be buried with such marks of ignominy as would render infamous the memory of the deceased, and add insult to poverty. Every thing was done to correct this prejudice; but the mob continually increased. The whole rabble of Amsterdam, foreigners and natives, assembled to oppose the regulation; and there were not wanting several substantial citizens who regarded the new tax as unjust and iniquitous. The mob threatened to set fire to the city; all was in confusion; shops were shut up, and every kind of business was at a stand. It was difficult to apply remedies to so desperate a disease: the military force in the city was insufficient to disperse so vast a concourse. The seditious people were emboldened by the defenceless condition of the magistracy: they flew to the house of M. Boreel, one of the principal persons in the city, forced open the doors, poured in like a torrent, pillaged, destroyed, and threw into the canal his elegant and rich furniture. By this time captain Spaaroggee had collected a body of soldiers, with which he hastened to the defence of Boreel's house. He fired upon the mob; but was attacked with such fury, that he was forced to retreat to his own house. Thither the mob pursued him, destroyed all before them, and committed every violence of which an incensed brutal populace is capable. Happily for Amsterdam, night came on before they could proceed to farther business: this determined them to postpone the work until next morning; and in the mean time every man retired quietly to his own dwelling, as if nothing had passed. By day-light, placards were fixed up in all public places, giving notice, that the tax which had given so much offence, should not take place. Orders were likewise issued for all the burghers and soldiers to assemble under arms. Endeavours were also made to mount a few companies of horse, which were composed of all the young gentlemen in the city, persons of distinction in public offices, and rich merchants. These precautions, however, did not prevent the rabble from assembling, and attacking in a body the house of Kirby, the English consul, who they alleged had suggested the idea of a tax upon burials. Here they were repulsed with great vigour; upon which they turned their indignation against a Jew, distinguished by the name of the rich Pinto. To this resolution Amsterdam probably owed its safety. In an instant the whole Jewish quarter was in arms for the defence of their prodigious wealth, which they had amassed with indefatigable industry. To them the

A.D. 1696.

burghers

burghers joined themſelves, both marching in good order againſt the ſeditious, who, ſtruck with the formidable appearance of glittering arms, began to diſperſe. Some were ſeized, loaded with rich plunder, and immediately hanged; examples which produced ſuch an effect, that in the ſpace of a few minutes the ſtreets were entirely cleared, and the city reſtored to its former tranquillity. However, it was thought adviſable to remove all cauſe of freſh inſurrections, and to annul the edict paſſed for levying the new impoſition. The whole affair ended with the public promiſe of a great reward to whoever ſhould diſcover the authors of this ſedition. It was ſhrewdly ſuſpected that ſome perſons who were enemies to the magiſtracy, had excited the people, but proofs never appeared to juſtify the ſuſpicions.

The French ſucceſsful by ſea.

Nothing conſiderable this year was performed in the Netherlands, and as to the naval operations, they were equally unimportant. The only incident that merits notice is the misfortune of a fleet of Dutch merchant-ſhips homeward bound from Portugal, which fell in with du Bart's ſquadron of privateers. The merchant fleet, amounting to two hundred ſail, was under the convoy of five frigates, who were attacked by the enemy's largeſt ſhips, while the others were dealing deſtruction among the trading veſſels, thirty of which they had taken. The frigates defended themſelves vigorouſly, but were at laſt overpowered, one only eſcaping. Scarce was the action finiſhed when the victorious du Bart deſcried a ſquadron of Dutch men of war, upon which he ſet fire to all his captures, after having unloaded the moſt valuable effects, and taken all the crews priſoners, and made the beſt ſail he could out of the reach of danger.

About the cloſe of the year the duke of Savoy detached himſelf from the confederates, acccepted of the terms propoſed by Lewis, and thus paved the way for a general pacification. The duke went farther; he not only made peace with France, but joined his troops to the forces of that kingdom, a circumſtance which enabled Lewis to reinforce his army in the Netherlands with ſeveral regiments drawn from Italy. Probably this defection of an uſeful ally proved fortunate to the confederates, as it inclined them to liſten to the conditions propoſed by the French monarch, who declared that he had now ſuſtained a war ſingly againſt all Europe for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, with no other view than to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Chriſtendom on a more ſolid baſis. The king of England ſaw the difficulties that would

[d] Suite de Hiſt. de Neuville, tom. ii. p. 142.

ariſe

ariſe in procuring the ſupplies for continuing the war; the ſtates general were not deaf to the clamours of the provinces againſt the burthen of taxes; both were ſenſible of the miſchiefs to be apprehended from Poland, ſhould the French intereſt prevail at the enſuing election; and the confederates in general were aware of the danger that other powers might follow the example of Savoy, and enter into a ſeparate peace. It became now a very ſerious queſtion, whether the criſis was not arrived that rendered it highly expedient to ſheathe the ſword? France appeared forward for an accommodation, and even went ſo far as to demand paſſports for M. Callieres to go to Holland to lay the baſis of a general pacification.

Negociations of peace.

With the king of England's approbation the ſtates had granted the paſſports required, and M. Dykeveldt was appointed to confer with the ambaſſador. M. Callieres had been inſtructed to grant all that was demanded by the imperial court, reſpecting the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen. This particular M. Dykeveldt reported to the deputies appointed for foreign affairs, who tranſmitted it to the ſtates general. After mature deliberation the ſtates declared, that as the French monarch had made the conceſſions required by the court of Vienna, matters were now in ſuch a ſituation, that, in concert with their allies, the offered mediation of Sweden might be accepted. A tranſcript of their reſolutions was ſent to the different courts of Europe; but it ſoon appeared, that neither the emperor nor the catholic king were ſatisfied that the conditions offered by France were either ſatisfactory or explicit. Yet were the Spaniards forced to ſign a treaty of neutrality for Italy, whereby Lewis was ſet at liberty to employ all his ſtrength in Germany and the Netherlands.

This was the ſituation of affairs during the winter, and every thing indicated a peace; yet did all the parties reſolve to treat ſword in hand. In the ſpring the uſual rivalſhip aroſe, who ſhould firſt commence hoſtilities; and the Dutch were earlier in their preparations this year than any of the preceding: however, as the whole allied army was not aſſembled, no conſiderable enterprize was undertaken. The French would likewiſe ſeem to have given their chief attention to naval expeditions, and attempts to ruin the commerce of the maritime powers. This ſpring their cruizers had been extremely ſucceſsful. A ſmall ſquadron ſet ſail from Dunkirk in the month of February, encountered a fleet of Dutch and Engliſh merchant-ſhips off Oſtend, and made prize of fourteen veſſels, moſt of which belonged to Holland. Three weeks after another fleet of Dutch merchant-

A D. 1697.

chant-ſhips, under the convoy of three men of war, commanded by admiral Waſſenaar, fell in with a French ſquadron in the bay of Biſcay. The enemy were greatly ſuperior in ſtrength; but Waſſenaar fought with great gallantry, and defended himſelf until he was mortally wounded, and his ſhip ſhattered in pieces, when the next in command ſtruck. The fate of the admiral determined the fortune of the whole fleet, the two other men of war made but a ſhort reſiſtance, and with them were taken twelve rich merchant-ſhips, laden with wool, cotton, hides, and other valuable commodites [h].

This was the laſt act of hoſtility that paſſed between France and Holland. As early as the month of February all the allied powers, Spain excepted, had agreed to accept the mediation of Sweden, which was accordingly notified in form to the Swediſh miniſter at the Hague. By the ninth day of May the congreſs was opened at Ryſwick, when France propoſed by way of preliminaries, that the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen ſhould form the baſis of the preſent negociation; that Straſburg ſhould be reſtored to the emperor in the ſame condition as before the war; that Luxemburg ſhould be reſtored to Spain, together with Mons, Charleroi, and all the places in Catalonia, taken ſince the peace of Nimeguen; that the city and citadel of Dunkirk ſhould be ceded to the biſhop of Liege; that reſtitution ſhould be made to the other allies of all conqueſts ſince the peace of Nimeguen; that Lorrain ſhould be reſtored, agreeable to the conditions of the ſaid pacification. In a word, after tedious conferences the treaty was at length ſigned, and peace reſtored to Europe, upon conditions equally glorious and advantageous to the allies, and ſo unpopular in France, that the plenipotentiaries dared not for ſome time to appear in public.

Congreſs at Ryſwick.

The peace of Ryſwick was productive of the famous partition treaties, in which France, England, and Holland, engaged to diſmember the Spaniſh monarchy, upon the death of Charles II. of Spain, which was ſuppoſed to be at no great diſtance. What ſhare the ſtates general had in that tranſaction, as well as in the war that enſued, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, we have ſpecified in the hiſtories of France, and the empire, and therefore, to avoid unneceſſary repetition, we ſhall here conclude the Hiſtory of the United Provinces.

[h] Id. ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVI.

History of the Kingdom of Denmark.

SECT. I.

Containing the Geography of Denmark; the Laws, Religion, Manners, and other Particulars which characterize the present State of that Kingdom.

Name of Denmark.

IT is agreed upon all hands, that the kingdom of Denmark is one of the most ancient monarchies in Europe. A series of kings, either fabulous or true, may be traced in the Danish historians from the year 1038 before the birth of our Saviour; that is, for the space of two thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years.

How this part of Scandinavia, formerly called Cimbrica Chersonesus, acquired the name of Denmark, is a point greatly disputed among antiquarians, and still as doubtful as the etymology of most other names. Some believe the Danes to be the progeny of the ancient Danai; and many of their kings have boasted of their having sprung in a direct line from Antenor. Others affirm, that they are the descendants of the ancient Dabi, a people of Scythia, who, by an easy corruption, came in progress of time to be called Dani, and the country Dani-mark, or the Land of the Dani; *marc*, or *mark*, signifying *a country* in several of the dialects of the Teutonic. But the most probable opinion is that of Saxo-Grammaticus, the most ancient and best Danish historian. According to him the Danes are so called from Dan, the son of Humble, the first founder of the Danish monarchy; and Denmark, compounded of Dan and Marc, that is, the country of Dan [a]; which etymology we shall retain, without launching out into an ocean of criticism and conjecture (A).

[a] Saxo-Gram. Hist. Dan. p. 1. Vell. apud Pontan. p. 637. Polydor. Virg. ibid. Pontan. p. 939. cum multis aliis. Jo. Suaning. Ripen. Prolegom. p. 10.

(A) Such of our readers, however, as have a taste for this species of critical knowlege, may thoroughly indulge their appetite by consulting the learned John Isaac Pontanus, in his Chorographica Daniæ Descriptio, page 639.

Before

Geographical description of Denmark and Norway.

Before we enter upon the history of Denmark, we shall first give a short sketch of the country; the genius and character of the people; the nature of the soil, and produce of the countries under the dominion of the king of Denmark; the forces and revenues of the kingdom; the laws, government, religion, and manners of the country. If we consider only the extent of dominion, the king of Denmark may justly be reputed one of the greatest princes of Europe. He is intitled king of Denmark and Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, duke of Slesvick, Holstein, Stormar, and Dithmarsh, earl of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst; all which countries he actually possesses, except a moiety of the duchy of Slesvick, belonging to the duke of Holstein Gottorp. Denmark, including Holstein, in which the king has an undivided moiety, is bounded by the sea called Categate, towards the north; by the Baltic on the east; by the river Elbe, which separates it from Bremen, on the south; and by the duchy of Saxe Lawenburg towards the south-east; extending from 54 deg. 40 min. to 58 deg. 20 min. north latitude.

The kingdom of Norway, separated from Denmark by the Categate, includes a space of about 11 degrees in length; that is, from 59 to near 71 deg. north latitude, being bounded by the ocean towards the north and west; by the kingdom of Sweden and Swedish Lapland on the east; and by the Categate to the south. It is a long narrow country, enclosed on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by the high barren mountains called Dofrine, which divide it from Sweden; most geographers reckoning it about eight hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth [b].

Previous to the war with Sweden, which ended in the year 1660, the provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking, belonged to the crown of Denmark. They were wrested from it by the famous Charles Gustavus, and could never since, notwithstanding frequent attempts, be recovered, though the richest provinces belonging to his Danish majesty. Thus Denmark, at present, is on every side circumscribed by the sea, except a neck of land about three Danish miles over, by which it joins to Holstein.

The general division of Denmark into provinces.

The dominions of the king of Denmark are generally divided into six grand districts or provinces, viz. Denmark, properly so called, comprehending the islands of Zealand,

[b] If. Pontan. Chorogr. p. 648. Busching. Geogr. Molesworth's Account of Denmark, p. 3.

Funen,

Funen, Langland, Laaland, Falstria, Mona, Samsoe, Arroe, Bornholm, Anhout, Lessaw, and that part of the continent called North Jutland. 2dly, The duchy of Sleswick, or South Jutland. 3dly, The duchy of Holstein. 4thly, The earldoms of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. 5thly, The kingdom of Norway: and, 6thly, Iceland, with the islands lying in the northern seas. Of this large tract, Jutland, in extent and fertility, is the most considerable division; though the islands have the advantage in point of situation, and especially Zealand, in which stands Copenhagen, the capital of the Danish dominions, and the residence of the princes.

Island of Zealand.

This island is nearly of a circular form, measuring about sixty leagues in circumference. The channel called the Sound, divides it from Schonen; the strait called the Great Belt, from the island of Funen: and from the islands Mona, Falstria, and Laaland, it is separated by a narrow channel to the southward. Its fertility is not extraordinary, though it produces a sufficient quantity of rye for the consumption of the inhabitants, but no other sort of grain. The face of the country is prettily diversified with hills, woods, and lakes; but in all Zealand there is not one river, and only a very few brooks sufficient to turn a mill. With hardly any meadows, it produces great abundance of hay; all the grass springing up on the borders of corn fields, and banks of lakes and brooks, short, but sweet and nourishing. The lakes are well stocked with fish; the cattle small, and generally lean; a circumstance owing to their being kept within door for at least eight months in the year. In general the climate is but indifferent, especially near the capital, where, from the low situation the air is rendered unwholesome by thick fogs; nevertheless, the natives are very little subject to pulmonary complaints. The atmosphere is said to be purified by the great consumption of beech wood in firing, the only sort of timber found in any quantity in Zealand. Here, as well as in almost all the other parts of Denmark, are only two seasons of the year, winter and summer; for from the extremity of cold, the air immediately changes to an almost insupportable heat, and suffocating gross warm atmosphere, by which myriads of flies and vermin are generated [c].

Copenhagen the capital.

Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the latitude of 56 deg. 2 min. north latitude, and 12 deg. 53 min. longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. This city is neither very large nor ancient, though the pre-

[c] Cf. Pontan. Chorogr. Dan. p. 723, 724. Pompon. Mela. cap. vi. Crantzii Descrip. Man. Balt. p. 124. Molesworth, ubi supra.

cise date of its foundation is disputed. Its advantageous situation for trade, and the excellency of its harbour, are not to be surpassed; and were Copenhagen a free port, there is no doubt but it would soon become the emporium of the commerce into the Baltic. The harbour is surrounded by the fortifications of the town, and the entrance is so narrow, that only one ship can enter at a time; besides which, it is shut up in the night by a strong boom, defended on the one side by the cannon of the citadel, and on the other by a strong blockhouse, well mounted with heavy artillery. The whole haven, containing five hundred sail of large ships, is enclosed by a wooden gallery, close to which every ship has her appointed station; a circumstance that adds greatly to the beauty and conveniency of the scene, than which nothing can be more rich and regular, when a number of shipping happen to lie in port. Copenhagen makes a magnificent appearance at a distance, being about a geographical mile and a half in circumference. It contains four royal castles, ten parish, and nine other churches, a considerable number of magnificent edifices, public and private, four thousand burghers' houses, eleven markets, areas, or squares, one hundred and eighty-six streets, and one hundred thousand inhabitants [d]. The city is strong both by nature and art; the situation being marshy, deep canals cut all round, and the fortifications executed agreeable to the best modern improvements; yet the works are chiefly composed of turf and earth. Among the public buildings are the exchange, the arsenal, and observatory, erected by order of that excellent prince Christian IV. to whom almost all the decorations of Copenhagen are owing. What adds greatly to the conveniency of the city, is the contiguity of the little island of Finack, or rather Amack, joined to it by a bridge; whence the markets of Copenhagen are plentifully supplied with fowl, beef, mutton, venison, corn, and culinary vegetables, all of which Amack produces in the utmost abundance [e].

Jutland. Jutland, the country of the ancient Jutes, called Cimbri by the Romans, and their country, including Slesvick and Holstein, Cimbrica Chersonesus, is bounded by the German ocean on the west and north, by the Baltic on the east, and by the duchy of Slesvick on the south. This large country is divided into the provinces of Aalburg, Wiburg, Arhusen, and Ripen; the first of which is sometimes called Burglaw [f]. Aalburg is situated in the most northern part of Jutland, and comprehends a space from

Province of Aalburg.

[d] Busching. Geograph. [e] Pontan. ibid. Molesworth, ubi supra. [f] Vid. Pontanus Chorogr. p. 359.

the

the north-east to the south-west of about one hundred and fifty miles; some writers say one hundred and thirty, and forty miles in breadth. It contains thirteen bailiwicks, one hundred and sixty parishes, and five very considerable towns, called Aalburg, Nykopping, Tysted, Seeby, and Schagen.

Duchy of Slesswick.

The duchy of Slesswick, or South Jutland, is the joint-property of the king of Denmark and duke of Holstein. It is above sixty miles in length, forty-five in breadth, and contains the towns of Slesswick, Gottorp, Ekrenford or Ekelford, Fredericstadt, Tonningen, Husum, Flensburg, Glucsburg, Haderslebeu, Tonderen, Lhom-Closter, Sunderburg, and Nordburg, whence the duke of Holstein Nordburg takes his title. In most towns and bailiages both princes have a separate and distinct authority and jurisdiction, particularly in the bailiages of Hader, Sleben, Ripen, Flensburg, the territory of Christianpris, the islands of Roam and Mandoa, and the west side of the island of Foer, all which are subject, without participation, to the king of Denmark; whereas the bailiages of Gottorp, Husum, Tonderen, &c. belong exclusively to the duke of Holstein. In Gottorp stands the noble palace of the duke of Holstein, situated in the middle of a lake to the westward of the city of Slesswick. This is esteemed, by all good judges, one of the finest buildings of the North, and has the advantage of a large well laid-out garden, adorned with fountains, cascades, and every thing that can render the abode delightful.

Palace of Gottorp.

Duchy of Holstein.

As to the duchy of Holstein, it is divided in the same manner as Slesswick, between the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein. It is a fief of the empire, and the king of Denmark is, for that reason, classed among the German princes; whereas Slesswick is absolutely a fief of the crown of Denmark. This duchy extends about a hundred miles in length from east to west, and nearly half as much from north to south, including Dithmarsh within these limits; and even Wagerland and Stormar, though the country properly called Holstein, consists chiefly of the inland parts, lying between Jutland and Stormar. The chief towns included within this district are, 1st, Kiel Chilonum, a place of considerable trade, a good harbour, and strong citadel, rich, and populous for this country. An university was founded here in 1669; and here also is held the annual assembly of the states of Holstein. 2dly, Rensburg, or Reinalsburg, esteemed the strongest fortress in the whole duchy, being almost wholly enclosed by the river Eyder. 3dly, Wilster, a neat well-built town. 4thly, Itzehoa, situated on the river Stoor; and 5thly, Newmunster

ſter, at the mouth of the ſame river. Some years ſince there aroſe a diſpute between the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, and the king of Denmark, as likewiſe a prince of the empire, about the lordſhip of Steinhorſt. The former inſiſted, that it belonged to his duchy of Lawenburg; and the latter, that it formed a part of the Daniſh Holſtein. The difference was amicably compromiſed, his Daniſh majeſty relinquiſhing all right to the ſaid lordſhip, on receiving from the king of Great Britain the ſum of ſeventy thouſand crowns, as an equivalent.

Produce of Denmark. In dominions ſo far extended and divided by ſeas, as thoſe of Denmark, the nature of the ſoil muſt be various. A fourth part of the iſland of Zealand is laid out in royal foreſts, filled with ſtags, wild boars, and other game, reſerved entirely for the king's uſe.

The iſland of Funen produces corn and wood ſufficient for the purpoſes of the natives; however, the only article for exportation it affords, conſiſts of a few horſes. On the contrary, Laaland is a fine country, producing abundance of wheat, with which it ſupplies moſt part of the Daniſh dominions in ſmall quantities; for this is a kind of bread but little uſed by the Danes.

The iſlands of Falſtria, Langland, and Mona, all afford corn ſufficient for the conſumption of the natives. Jutland abounds in cattle, and is not deficient in corn. The horſes and hogs of the country are excellent. The duchy of Sleſwick is ſo abundant in corn, cattle, and horſes, that the inhabitants diſpoſe of a conſiderable quantity of horſes to their neighbours. Holſtein likewiſe is a pleaſant, fruitful country. Oldenburg abounds in a breed of horſes, much eſteemed for their beautiful cream colour. In a word, the dominions of his Daniſh majeſty afford the inhabitants moſt of the conveniencies of life, though they furniſh but few articles of luxury or commerce.

Perſons and dreſs of the Danes. As to the perſons of the Danes, they are in general tall, robuſt, and well made; their features and complexion good, and their hair of a flaxen, yellow, or red colour, in curling and adorning which they take infinite pains. Both men and women affect to imitate the French dreſs in the ſummer, though in winter, like the other northern nations, they wrap themſelves up in furs and wool, keeping themſelves always neat in their linen, ſhifting often, and affecting a genteel appearance.

Manner of living. The vulgar live chiefly on rye bread, ſalt-fiſh, ſtock-fiſh, roots, and bad cheeſe; but the tables of perſons of condition are plentifully covered with a variety of diſhes. Gluttony and drunkenneſs are, indeed, the vices to which a Dane is moſt addicted. The coldneſs of the climate

mate firſt introduced the drinking of ſtrong ſpirits, and cuſtom has carried it to exceſs. The men are fond of ſtrong liquors, and the women do not refuſe them. A friend, whether male or female, no ſooner enters a houſe than brandy is preſented; and the ſame cordial goes liberally round at table. The women, indeed, retire ſoon after dinner, but the men generally ſit till they are completely intoxicated.

It is a general obſervation, that Denmark has produced but few great geniuſes either in the arts or ſciences; that they neither excel in imitation nor invention; are neither good mechanics, nor deeply ſkilled in ſpeculative learning; yet prodigies in every ſpecies of knowlege have appeared in Denmark. It has produced one remarkable aſtronomer, more than one profound critic, and ſeveral very valuable hiſtorians, however low the taſte for polite learning may have ſunk at preſent. It is true the vulgar in general read and write; the clergy uſually talk impure Latin, and the gentry cannot be called illiterate; but this mediocrity is the ſummit of their ambition [g].

The character of the people exactly tallies with their erudition; they are no more emulous of excelling in virtue than in knowlege. Moleſworth obſerves, that the common people are a poor mean-ſpirited daſtardly race, totally degenerated from the warlike diſpoſition of their anceſtors; equally addicted to fraud themſelves, and ſuſpicious of it in others. Puffendorf ſays of the nobility and gentry, "that they have loſt much of their ancient glory; at preſent they ſeek rather to enjoy their revenues in eaſe and luxury than to toil for military fame [h]; and it is even the intereſt of the court that the nobility ſhould neglect the exerciſe of arms, which once rendered them ſo formidable to their kings, and the nation ſo reſpected by all her neighbours. If once their military ſpirit was rouſed, it would probably be attended with efforts for the recovery of their liberties. *Character.*

Before the government was made hereditary, and abſolute in the preſent royal family, in the year 1660, the nobility or gentry lived in great ſplendor and affluence. Their country-ſeats were magnificent, and their hoſpitality unbounded: they ſpent moſt of their time and revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were conſidered as ſo many princes. When the ſtates were annually convened, they met their ſovereign with retinues as numerous

[g] Moleſworth, cap. vii. [h] Puffendorf, Hiſt. Univ. tom. iv. p. 180.

and brilliant as his own; they frequently eat at the ſame table with him; their ſuffrages were of the greateſt weight in all public debates; for the commons were generally directed by them, becauſe upon them was their dependence. Now they are fallen from that height of inſolence and power, their condition is low, and they diminiſh daily in number and credit [i]. They retreat into ſome obſcure corner, as if to conceal the diſgrace they have brought upon themſelves by the want of firmneſs in the defence of their privileges. They are all ambitious of procuring employments, civil or military, at court; theſe indeed being neceſſary to ſecure to their families a competent ſubſiſtence, and ſkreen their eſtates from the exorbitant exactions of the public collectors. Few of them, however, can expect to be provided for in this manner, as civil employments are neither numerous nor valuable, and as ſtrangers are generally choſen into public offices in preference to the natives; the court truſting more to the fidelity of foreigners, on whom it beſtows fortunes, than to the poſterity of thoſe whoſe fortunes and liberties it has ruined. It is farther remarkable, that in the diſpoſal of poſts and offices, ſuch as are of ordinary birth and fortunes are always preferred to the more ancient and wealthy nobility. Here the moſt lucrative and honourable poſts are filled by men of the loweſt ſtation and education; not that they have aſcended to them by dint of merit, but that they are found the beſt executors of the will of abſolute power and deſpotiſm. Another advantage which the court finds in the promotion of ſuch perſons, is, that if they have grown wealthy by extortion, and clamours are raiſed loud againſt them, they can eaſily be reduced to their primitive condition, and the revenue increaſed by their confiſcation, without creating diſcontents among the nobility, on account of kindred, alliance, or friendſhip. Thus, in ſome reſpects, the policy of the court of Denmark reſembles the arbitrary meaſures of the Porte; they both permit their officers to oppreſs the people, in order to fatten on the ſpoils of the nation, without incurring the odium of being the immediate inſtruments of the public miſery [k].

The policy of the court in the diſpoſal of offices.

Expences in equipages, retinues, and fine cloaths, amount no where to ſuch a pitch of extravagance, in proportion to the income, as in Copenhagen [l]. Nothing can be more true than that parſimony is not only the cauſe, but the effect of riches; for, in general, the more wealth a

[i] Lord Moleſworth's Account of Denmark, chap. viii. [k] Puffendorf, tom. iv. ibid. Moleſworth, ibid. [l] Id. ibid.

man

man has, the more does he labour to acquire. But in Denmark the courtier never thinks of realizing his money; inſtead of buying eſtates, he remits his caſh to the banks of Amſterdam and Hamburg. The gentleman ſpends in his pleaſures the fortune which might become dangerous, by gaining him the reputation of riches. The merchant and burgher live upon credit, there being few of either worth one hundred thouſand rixdollars. As to the peaſant, he no ſooner finds himſelf in poſſeſſion of a rixdollar, than he ſquanders it upon brandy, to prevent his landlord's ſeizing upon it. In a word, oppreſſion and arbitrary ſway beget diſtruſt and doubts about the ſecurity of property; doubts beget profuſion, men chuſing to ſquander on their pleaſures what they apprehend may excite the rapaciouſneſs of their ſuperiors; and this profuſion is the legitimate parent of that univerſal indolence, poverty, and deſpondence, which ſo ſtrongly characterize the miſerable inhabitants of Denmark. We ſpeak of what the country was in the beginning of the laſt reign, in conſequence of the nature of their government; for though the excellent diſpoſition, and mild adminiſtration of Chriſtiern VI. and Frederic V. alleviated the miſeries of the people, they by no means altered the fundamental principles of the preſent conſtitution. Before their time, the trading towns and villages, Copenhagen excepted, were falling into ruin and decay; boroughs, which had lent their king conſiderable ſums of money upon emergencies, were, in lord Moleſworth's days, unable to raiſe a hundred rixdollars (B).

The peaſants ſold with the lands.

The peaſants are as abſolute ſlaves as the negroes of our colonies in the Weſt Indies, with this difference, that they are worſe fed. They and their poſterity are unalterably fixed to the land in which they were born; the landholders eſtimating their wealth by their ſtock of boors. If an eſtate be ſold, the peaſants are likewiſe transferred with it, like wood, houſes, and cattle.

The hardſhips they undergo from having the troops quartered upon them;

The quartering and paying the king's troops is another grievance no leſs oppreſſive than the former, to which the miſerable peaſant is ſubject; and a third, is the obligation they are under of furniſhing the king, the royal family,

(B) This nobleman relates, that when he reſided in Denmark the collectors of the poll-tax were forced to accept of old feather-beds, braſs and pewter pans, and houſhold furniture, inſtead of money, from the once wealthy inhabitants of Kiog, though this little town ſupplied Chriſtiern IV. with the ſum of two hundred thouſand rixdollars, upon a notice ſo ſhort as twenty-four hours. Vide cap. viii.

and supplying the king and court with horses and waggons in their progress.

their attendants, baggage, and furniture, with horses and travelling waggons, whenever they undertake a progress to Jutland, or Holstein, or even through Zealand, to any of the royal country houses.

Before the fatal revolution in 1660, there was hardly a family in Denmark that was not in possession of a piece of plate, besides silver spoons, gold rings, and other conveniencies and ornaments, of which they are still fond: at present there is nothing of value to be seen in the house of a peasant, all being sold to pay the king's taxes, and gratify the rapacious avarice of the collectors.

Another consequence deduced from their poverty, is the frequency of apoplexies and epileptic disorders, among the common people. "One, says he, shall hardly pass through a street in Copenhagen, without seeing one or two of those poor creatures groveling on the ground in a fit, and foaming at the mouth, with a circle of gazers and assistants about them." Whether these disorders be the genuine result of the causes he ascribes, and the nature of their diet, composed of lean salt meats, and stock-fish, we shall not presume to decide. There is one disease they call slacht, which may be deemed endemial, on account of its universality here among all degrees of people. Molesworth says, it is a kind of apoplexy, arising from discontent and trouble of mind; but how truly, the reader is left to judge.

Degrees of nobility in Denmark.

Formerly valour and wealth were the only titles to nobility, the nobles and gentry having no real distinction. No degrees of rank, or patents of honour, were dependent on the crown; of late years, however, to compensate the loss of solid privileges, the court confers a few imaginary honours, such as the dignities of count and baron, on the favourites of the king. These, instead of becoming more independent, are, in consequence of their empty titles, the real slaves and tools of the crown, and used accordingly as the instruments of legal oppression. One exclusive right indeed they enjoy; it is that of disposing of their estates contrary to the course of law, by will or testament, provided that such will be signed and approved by the king during the life of the testator.

There are besides two orders of knighthood in Denmark, that of the Elephant and Dane-broge, of which the first is the most honourable, and conferred only on persons of the highest distinction and merit. This order was instituted by Christiern I. at his son's wedding, the badge being an elephant with a castle on its back, set with diamonds, and hung on a watered sky-coloured ribband. As to the Dane-broge, it is the reward of inferior distinction; the badge being

being a white ribband with red edges, having a small cross of diamonds suspended to it, and an embroidered star on the breast of the coat, with this motto, "Pietate et Justitia."

The ancient form of government in Denmark was similar to that which the Goths and Vandals established in almost all countries where their arms were victorious. Till the people resigned their rights in the year 1660, the king of Denmark was elected by his subjects of all degrees, divided into different classes, called states. These being convened, were to chuse for their prince a man, whose person was unexceptionable, valiant, just, merciful, affable, prudent, a maintainer of the laws, a lover of the people, an encourager of merit, in a word, adorned with all the accomplishments and virtues necessary for the execution of so important a trust. Due regard for the royal line was always preserved, and the people thought themselves happy if they found in the late king's family virtues and abilities adequate to the great and weighty duty of a monarch. When they happened to be mistaken in their choice, and, instead of the patriot, the warrior, and the statesman, they had promoted a cruel, vicious, and profligate tyrant, they always assumed the right of deposing, banishing, and even putting to death their king; and this either by open trial before the states, or, if he was thought too powerful to be brought to public justice, by secret conspiracies. In his room they elected the next of kin, if he had merit, or the hero who had hazarded his life for the public, by undertaking the expulsion or the death of the tyrant. *Form of government.*

Frequent conventions of the different states of the kingdom was a fundamental article of the Danish constitution. Here all matters relative to government were transacted, wholesome laws enacted, peace or war determined, marriages for the royal family projected, taxes imposed, promotions to the great offices made; in a word, every thing that concerned the legislative power. It was a principle of government, that no constant tribute should be paid, or any taxes levied on the people, but by the consent of all the states, and for the support of a necessary and just war, or payment of a marriage portion. The king's ordinary revenue arose from the crown-lands and demesnes, his herds and cattle, forests and servitudes. Thus he lived, like a subject, on the produce of his own estate, and not as now by the sweat of the peasant's brow.

As the legislative power was vested in the states, so the king was possessed of the executive: he was to see a due and impartial administration of justice; nay, often to preside in person;

perſon; ſedulouſly to watch for the welfare of his people; to command their armies; to cheriſh induſtry, religion, arts, and ſcience; to keep upon terms of friendſhip with the nobility, and to protect the commons from their inſolence and power.

In this ſituation, with no other alteration than the encreaſing power of the nobles, did the conſtitution remain until the revolution in 1660, which produced a change equally aſtoniſhing in itſelf and fatal to the liberties of the people.

Although the king of Denmark profeſſes to ſquare his conduct by the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, yet theſe he takes the liberty of new modelling, or repealing, as he ſees proper. He is the guardian of orphans, and aſſumes to himſelf the diſpoſal of heirs and heireſſes in marriage. As he is intitled to a third of the money ariſing upon the ſale of lands, no eſtates can be ſold without his permiſſion, except of thoſe who are raiſed to the dignity of counts or barons.

The king, in his council, determines all public affairs; deliberates on war and peace, alliances and treaties; and of taxes, fortifications, and trade, without any other aſſiſtance than that of the ſecretaries of ſtate, who are eſteemed, notwithſtanding, rather as miniſterial officers than counſellors of ſtate. Of theſe great officers there are four, who direct buſineſs in their ſeparate departments. The firſt is ſecretary for the affairs of Denmark; the ſecond, for thoſe of Norway; the third, for foreign affairs; and the fourth is ſecretary at war.

Laws in Denmark, their brevity.

One felicity ſtill remains to Denmark; it is the brevity and perſpicuity of the laws, juſtice being no where obtained with leſs expence, or greater expedition. The whole body of Daniſh laws is contained in a moderately ſized quarto volume, written in the vernacular tongue, and ſo plainly, ſimply, and intelligibly, as ſcarce ever to require a comment. As they are grounded upon equity, rendered familiar to the meaneſt underſtanding, every man capable of reading, may ſoon become acquainted with his own caſe, and even able to plead it without the aſſiſtance of mercenary orators. Here is none of that chicane and myſtery of the law which raiſes and deſtroys ſo many eſtates in other countries; a few advocates are ſufficient to conduct the pleadings of all the litigious perſons in the nation; and as their fees are ſmall, and all ſuits neceſſarily determined within a year and a month after their commencement, they are ſeldom burthenſome to the parties.

In

In criminal caſes the ſeverity of the law is extraordinary; and to this many writers have attributed the good order and ſtrict diſcipline of the people. The crimes of murder, robbery, houſe-breaking, high-treaſon, or even ſeditious diſcourſes, are ſeldom heard of: ſo fixed is the government now on the baſis of deſpotiſm, that the moſt turbulent ſpirits are awed into implicit obedience. The moſt frequent crimes are manſlaughter and thieving, and the puniſhment is decapitation (A).

The country of Denmark is divided into certain diſtricts, called ſtifs-ampts, of which there are ſeven; four in Jutland and three in the iſlands. Every ſtifts-ampt is ſubdivided into a leſſer juriſdiction, called ampt. A perſon of quality is generally choſen ſtifts-amptſman, a poſt equivalent to lord-lieutenant in England, or intendant in France, to which laſt it approaches the neareſt. Amptſman, or under-governor of an ampt, is generally a perſon of inferior rank, who reſides in the principal town of his diſtrict, and is entruſted with all matters relating to the public; the quartering of ſoldiers, providing for their march, collecting the king's taxes, directing the peaſants employed in public works, or when the king travels: theſe employments are for life, and given as rewards to thoſe who have faithfully ſerved the court. Perſons who have reſided at foreign courts in quality of ambaſſadors, are uſually preferred to ſtifts-ampts on their return, if their conduct has received the approbation of his majeſty. The ſalary is a thouſand crowns, and that of the amptſman four hundred; but the chief advantages ariſing from their poſts, are the intereſt they in conſequence have at court, by which they ſhift off the moſt grievous taxes from their eſtates; and the great power and authority which it gives them within their juriſdiction, where they are conſidered as petty princes [a]. *Stifts-ampts.*

[a] Vide Moleſworth's Account of Denmark, ubi ſupra.

(A) The executioner, or headſman, as he is called, though infamous by his profeſſion, compenſates the want of reputation by ſolid profits, ariſing from other employments annexed to his office. His buſineſs it is to keep the ſinks and offices in order, remove all rubbiſh and every thing offenſive out of the ſtreets, keep ſtables and out-houſes clean and ſweet, with ſeveral other neceſſary employments, in which no Daniſh ſervant will, upon any conſideration, engage (1). For this purpoſe he has under him a great number of ſervants called rackers, and as he charges his own price, ſoon raiſes a fortune ſuperior to that of ſome of the chief nobility.

(1) Moleſworth, chap. xv.

The

Revenues. The king's revenue arises either from the duties paid by his own subjects, from the customs paid by foreigners, or from the crown-lands, fines, and confiscations. About the year 1690, a valuation was made of all the houses of the cities and towns within the king's dominions, and the lands in the country were measured, the more easily to assess them, and determine their real value. The ground-rent in towns and cities were fixed at four per cent. of the real value of the ground, supposing it were put up to sale.

In Norway the revenue arises from a certain proportion of the timber, tar, fish, and oil that is exported, and also certain duties upon these. To this may be added a small profit arising from mines; but the last and most considerable branch is drawn from the crown-lands and confiscations. However, the king frequently becomes the poorer for the addition to his demesnes by confiscations; for he no sooner becomes the proprietor than labour ceases, improvements are neglected, and the whole is often converted into forests for his diversion.

Upon the whole, the king's revenue is very considerable; and lord Molesworth has computed them as follows: the toll of the Sound, worth sixty-five thousand rixdollars per annum, the rest of the toll of Denmark farming at one hundred and sixty-five thousand rixdollars; the excise of Copenhagen, farmed at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars; the excise of the rest of his majesty's dominions, at one hundred and forty thousand rixdollars; the smaller taxes of the kingdom, at one hundred thousand rixdollars; the whole revenue of Norway, at seven hundred thousand rixdollars; the crown-lands, confiscations, &c. at two hundred thousand rixdollars; the revenue of Iceland, farmed at twenty-seven thousand rixdollars; Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, at eight thousand; and the toll upon the Weser, at five thousand: the whole amounting to two millions six hundred and twenty-two thousand rixdollars, from which a deduction of four hundred thousand rixdollars ought to be made, as the pole and fortification-taxes were never levied in the same year (A).

It is allowed on all hands that specie is scarce in Denmark, few persons having any ready cash lying by them; and the traders, through whose hands it passes, having small capitals and large debts in Holland and Hamburg, no sooner receive money than they pay it away again. Another circumstance which greatly contributes to the draining

(A) A rixdollar is generally estimated at four shillings and six pence.

Denmark

Denmark of its specie, is the payment of the troops, as at least half the officers are foreigners, who place whatever they accumulate in foreign banks; a practice too frequent among the officers of state likewise. Formerly the balance of trade against Denmark used to carry off large sums; for it was estimated that foreign imports for the consumption of the country exceeded the exported produce by near a fifth[b]: but how they were for such a number of years able to support so losing a trade, is what we are unable to comprehend. At present we believe the balance is in favour of the Danes, with respect to most countries where they trade, labour being incredibly cheap. The most plentiful coin, even now, is copper. If a man has a large sum to receive, he is forced to employ wheel-barrows to carry it off; and merchants, in their accounts, charge a certain sum for that purpose.

Pay of the troops.

It is computed, that Denmark and the German dominions maintain an army of sixteen thousand foot, four thousand horse, and two thousand dragoons, in profound peace; that Norway supports thirteen thousand foot, and near three thousand horse and dragoons, together with three thousand seamen, who are employed in the king's dock-yards, when they are not wanted for the equipment of a squadron. From comparing this proportion of troops with the revenue, we may easily conclude how small their soldiers pay must be; but the less the treasury is drained by the payment of the troops, the more does the poor peasant suffer upon whom he is quartered. All the navy officers are in constant pay in peace as well as in war; whence it is, that the king of Denmark is able to equip a fleet of thirty sail of men of war upon almost the shortest notice. Thus we see that an army of between thirty and forty thousand men, and three thousand seamen, the charges of the civil list, the maintenance of the courts, king's children, public ministers, officers of justice, &c. are supported upon a revenue not greater than the civil list of Great Britain; whence we may judge of the œconomy of the government, the scarcity of specie, and the cheapness of provisions in Denmark.

Religion. marriages &c.

The Danes were pagans till the year 826, when St. Augarius, bishop of Hamburg and Bremen, first introduced Christianity in the reign of Harold Clackius, the first Christian Danish monarch[c]. About the year 1537 the doctrine of Luther was first propagated in this northern kingdom by Bugenhage, a Pomeranian divine, who met with a

[b] Molesworth, chap. xv. [c] Suaning. Chron. Dan. p. 63. Meursii Hist. & Pontan. sub hoc regno.

strong

ſtrong patron in Frederic I. Since proteſtantiſm was eſtabliſhed, no other religion has ever been admitted into the kingdom, or, indeed, permitted in it, till of late years. Perhaps no catholic country in Europe requires a ſtricter conformity than Denmark, people being prohibited to talk with freedom on the points in diſpute, or to abſent themſelves from the churches upon any pretence. The clergy are the tools of the government, their doctrine being a blind and implicit obedience to ſuperiors; in return for which they are protected by the court. They are highly reſpected by the people, becauſe they ſee them regarded by the adminiſtration. They intermeddle in no civil affairs, nor are they retained at court, or the houſes of the nobility, in quality of chaplains; this office being always performed by a lacquey.

In the pulpit the clergy aſſume the authority of the miniſters of Chriſt, and reprove with great freedom ſinners of quality who have practiſed public vices; nor are any liberties conſiſtent with the duties of their function taken amiſs, provided they never intermeddle with politics. The common people adore them for the ſpirit with which they reprehend their ſuperiors; for nothing is ſo grateful to mankind, as to ſee thoſe raiſed by fortune above them brought down to their own level. Their benevolences to the clergy are in proportion to the degree of ſatisfaction they receive in this reſpect; whence it is, that a miniſter of courage can raiſe his ſtipend to double the value. Another circumſtance that greatly contributes to keep up the authority of the clergy, is their retaining confeſſion, without which, perſons of the higheſt quality are denied the ſacrament.

The Danes have conſtituted ſuperintendants in the room of biſhops and archbiſhops, who are deprived of the authority as well as the name of right worſhipful; however, they take it kindly to be addreſſed by thoſe titles, after which they have a hankering. Within the Daniſh dominions are ten of thoſe ſuperintendants, viz. one in Zealand, one in Funen, four in Jutland, and four in Norway. They have no temporalities, hold no eccleſiaſtical courts, have no cathedrals with deans and chapters, but are chiefly employed in animadverting on the doctrines and manners of the clergy and people. The ſuperintendant of Copenhagen has a kind of ſuperior authority, and a ſtipend proportionable, which is fixed at two thouſand rixdollars yearly. Each of the other Daniſh ſuperintendants have fifteen hundred, and thoſe of Norway one thouſand rixdollars a year. They preach without book, and uſe abundance of action.

They

They observe holidays with the same rigid devotion as Sunday, the gates of Copenhagen being shut during divine service, and the people very constant in their attendance; but the service being ended, they relax their spirits with all kinds of pastimes and diversions.

As to the marriage ceremonies in Denmark, they differ but little from our own. What chiefly deserves notice is, that the parties are often contracted for years before marriage is solemnized in church, and as intimate before as after the ceremony. It is sufficient that it be performed before the woman brings forth her first child; this is no offence in the eye of the people, nor is it animadverted upon by the clergy. The espousals, however, are extremely solemn before friends; and the parties are then, and not before, deprived of the liberty of marrying elsewhere: yet we are told by some writers, that the first contract is valid in law, the marriage ceremony being esteemed only a public declaration of their engagements.

The Danes bury their dead with the utmost funeral pomp; and it is not uncommon to keep a corpse for years, in order to make preparations for the most magnificent interment. The poor, indeed, have their remains laid in the ground with less ceremony; though, even among them, it is usual to have a band of hired mourners, employed by the parish to attend the body to the grave[d].

SECT. II.

Containing the History of the Danish Monarchs to the sixteenth Year of the Christian Æra.

DAN.

ALMOST all historians agree, that Dan, the son of Humble, a native of Zealand, was the founder and first king of the country called Denmark, from his name. His possessions and influence were very considerable, not only in Zealand, but in the islands of Langland and Mona; it was his courage, however, and skill in the art war, that raised him to the crown of Denmark, and induced the inhabitants to chuse him for their king. He governed Zealand for his aged father, when the Saxons made an irruption into Jutland. The people, in despair, implored his assistance, promising him the sovereignty of the country, if he drove out the enemy. Dan, fired with ambition, immediately raised an A.C. 1038.

[d] Molesworth, chap. xv.

army,

army, marched against the Saxons, obtained a complete victory, and reaped the promised reward. Soon after this event his father died, leaving him sovereign of Jutland, Zealand, Langland, and Mona, about the year 1038 before the birth of Christ [e] (A). To strengthen his interest, and secure his possessions, he determined upon a strict alliance with the Saxons; and for this purpose married Gritha, a lady of great consideration among them, by whom he had two sons. After a reign of forty years, with the utmost justice and reputation, he died greatly lamented by his subjects.

HUMBLE.

A. C. 998. THIS excellent prince was succeeded by his eldest son Humble, who was elected by the unanimous voice of the people (B). His reign was short, according to some historians [f], and all agree that it was unfortunate; for he was deposed by his brother, and reduced to a private station, seven years after he had been raised to the throne.

LOTHER.

LOTHER now usurped the crown of his unfortunate brother, who supported his misfortunes with a constancy and magnaminity which declared him worthy of a better fate. The usurper governed the Danes with the utmost rigour and severity; he banished, or put to death all the

[e] Suaning. Ripen. Chron. Dan. p. 25. Pontan. Hist. Dan. p. 12. Saxo Gram. Hist. Dan. p. 5. Meukii Hist. Dan. p. 1. [f] Suaning. p. 26.

(A) Some writers deny that the kingdom of Denmark is so ancient as Grammaticus and the other authors we quote in the margin assert. Gassar in particular affirms, that Dan lived only four hundred and ninety years before Christ; but we must either suppose, that the reigns of the Danish princes were uncommonly short, or that their historians have given lives of several kings who never existed; but Gassar does not take it upon him to assert the latter; and the absurdity of the former supposition is too evident to require any refutation. Indeed, the regular and clear genealogy and chronology of those princes put it beyond all doubt, that Denmark is one of the most ancient monarchies in Europe.

(B) We are told by Saxo-Grammaticus, and the most ancient Danish historians, that the electors stood upon long stones which they raised upon one end on the ground, and by their stability, prognosticated the felicity of the future reign (1).

(1) Gram. p. 1.

nobility

nobility whose power rendered them dangerous, or whose wealth excited his avarice. Suspicion, lust, and cruelty, rendered him at length intolerable to a people, whose spirit was not yet extinguished by oppression. They revolted, and Lother lost his life on account of those very vices by which he obtained his crown [g].

SKIOLDO.

By the votes of the people, his son Skioldo, then a boy, was appointed to succeed Lother. The sweetness of his disposition, his bodily strength, and his courage, distinguished even at that age, had determined the states not to punish the son for the crimes of the father; and the virtues which Skioldo displayed in the course of a long and prosperous reign, amply justified their choice (C). An extraordinary instance of his strength and intrepidity happened at the age of fifteen: at the chace, he seized upon a wild boar, of a monstrous size, and held the furious beast with his girdle until he was assisted by his companions; a specimen of his valour that rendered him more dear to his subjects, by whom he was already beloved. Soon after his reputation received additional lustre by his engaging in single combat with the two most celebrated wrestlers and boxers of those times, whom he defeated. He married Avilda, a Saxon lady, who had refused the addresses of her own sovereign. This match drew upon him a war with the Saxons, which terminated in the death of their prince, and the reduction of the country by Skioldo. However, his lenity was no less conspicuous than his courage; he permitted the conquered Saxons to chuse another king, contenting himself with a moderate tribute to reimburse his people for the expences of the war. He afterwards applied his mind to the arts of peace; he rewarded virtue, punished vice, and encouraged industry. It was his constant saying, "That the true grandeur of a prince consists rather in making his subjects happy, than in oppressing his neighbours, with a view to extend his sovereignty [h]." He was the patron of the poor, the protector of the injured, and the succour of the distressed. In a word, A. C. 965

[g] Saxo-Gram. p. 1. Pontan. [h] Gram. p. 2.

(C) Jo. Suaningius, in his Chronology of the Danish kings, places Boghio, the son of Humble, before Skioldo; but we find his conjecture confirmed by the authority of no Danish historian (1).

(1) Saxo-Gram. p. 26.

his virtues were ſo extraordinary, and his people ſo ſenſible of the bleſſings they enjoyed during his long reign, that all good kings were, for a ſeries of ages, ſurnamed after him. Sinking at laſt under old age and infirmity, the nobles propoſed that he ſhould raiſe his ſon Gram to a partnerſhip with him in the throne, in order to eaſe him of the weight of government, and inſtruct the young prince in the art of reigning. This propoſition was vehemently oppoſed by Ringo, a nobleman of the firſt diſtinction in Zealand, who was ambitious of fixing the crown upon his own head. Skioldo immediately raiſed ſome troops, attacked the rebel, defeated and killed him, and after having firmly eſtabliſhed his ſon on the throne, expired, univerſally beloved and lamented. To this day the place where his palace ſtood is called Skioldeneſſa [1].

GRAM.

A. C. 888. GRAM inherited the virtues as well as the crown of his father. His whole reign was a ſeries of victories and conqueſts, ariſing leſs from his ambition than the turbulence of his neighbours. Sictrug, king of Sweden, taking advantage of the youth of Gram, made an irruption into Jutland with a powerful army; but he was attacked and ſlain by the young monarch of Denmark, who ſoon after annexed Sweden to his own crown. Gram diſcovering that Swarim, viceroy of Gothland, was conſpiring againſt his life, in order to raiſe himſelf to the throne of Sweden, challenged him to ſingle combat, and ſlew him. Scarce had he atchieved this gallant action, when honour called him to Norway, to revenge the diſgrace of his ſiſter, raviſhed by Suibdager, who had depoſed her huſband, and uſurped the crown of Norway. After a courſe of victories gained over the Norwegians, at length he fell by the hand of Suibdager, and died with the reputation of a great prince, whoſe character was ſoiled with no other blemiſh than inconſtancy and infidelity to his wives. He left behind him two ſons, Guthorm, by Groa, his firſt wife; and Hadding, by Signe, his ſecond, after the former had been repudiated.

SUIBDAGER.

A. C. 856. SUIBDAGER, purſuing his victory, untited the crown of Denmark and Sweden to that of Norway, to neither of which he had any natural right. Moved by the prayers of Groa, the divorced wife of Gram, he replaced Guthorm on the throne of his father, on condition that Denmark

[1] Pontan. Meurſ. & Saxo-Gram. ubi ſupra.]

ſhould

ſhould be tributary to him; he gave Sweden to his own ſon Aſmond, reſerving only Norway to himſelf; after which partition he was defeated and ſlain by Hadding, the ſecond ſon of Gram, in a ſea-fight off the coaſt of Sweden.

GUTHORM.

GUTHORM enjoyed the crown of Denmark but a ſhort time: he found himlelf deſpiſed by the nobility, and hated by the common people, for ſtooping to hold a tributary crown. His father's virtues roſe in their memory; they upbraided the ſon with them; a reproach that ſunk ſo deeply into his mind, that he fell ſick and died of grief, being ſucceeded by the brave Hadding, the avenger of his father's death, and conqueror of the uſurper Suibdager.

HADDING.

NUMBERLESS are the exploits related of this hero, A. C. 816. which favour ſo much of fiction, that we will not venture to give them a place in our hiſtory. During his exile he traverſed almoſt all the northern kingdoms, attended by Harpinga, a Daniſh lady, who ſupported all the fatigues and hardſhips they underwent with a more than maſculine conſtancy and intrepidity. She ſhared all his misfortunes, conquered by his ſide, alleviated his diſtreſs, applied balſam to his wounds, and was at length the companion of his proſperity, after having ſurmounted incredible difficulties. He was no ſooner placed on the throne of Denmark than Aſmond, king of Sweden, thirſting to revenge his father's death, attacked him with a numerous army; but he was ſo well ſupported by his faithful ſubjects, that he ſlew with his own hand in battle Henry, prince of Sweden, and afterwards the king his father, whoſe body he pierced with his lance. In this engagement Hadding received a wound in his foot, of which he was lame all his life after. Returning from this war, he found the treaſury robbed in his abſence, and immediately ordered Glamer, to whom he had committed the charge of his money and jewels, to be hanged upon a gibbet; an example that ſtruck ſuch terror into his accomplices, that they replaced their ſhare of the ſpoils.

While Hadding was buſied in framing laws and eſtabliſhing good order and tranquillity in his kingdom, he was ſuddenly attacked by Uffon, the ſecond ſon of Aſmond, who after his father's death had ſucceeded to the throne of Sweden. Uffon, aware of the valour and power of Hadding, would not venture upon an open war; but collecting a great fleet and army, he made a deſcent upon the coaſts

of Denmark, set fire to the towns, carried off the inhabitants, and after having laid a great part of the country waste, retreated to his own kingdom, whither he was closely pursued by the Dane. What he wanted in courage Uffon fully supplied in cunning; he declined battle, and so harrassed Hadding with marches and countermarches, cutting off his provisions, laying waste the countries through which he must pass, and attacking his out-parties, that, reduced to the last extremity, he determined to hazard all to come to an engagement. As the Danes were by this time worn out with fatigue, and weakened by famine, the Swedes found it no difficult matter to resist their most strenuous efforts; upon which Hadding retired with prodigious loss, first to Helsingia, a northern province of Sweden, and from thence to Norway, where he applied to Hacquin the king for assistance. While the reinforcement was levying, he fell in love with Hacquin's daughter, who was married to a deformed nobleman of Norway, whom he challenged to fight. After having slain the husband, he obtained the daughter in marriage, with the consent of her father, herself making no scruple about espousing a king, though the murderer of her husband. The auxiliaries being ready to march, Hadding a second time led his army into Sweden, an invasion which so terrified Uffon, that he determined to effect by assassins, what he had not the courage to attempt by a fair and open war. Promising his daughter, with a large portion, to whoever would bring him the king of Denmark's head, Thumming, a nobleman of Sweden, undertook the inglorious enterprize; but finding all his attempts frustrated, he had recourse to the Biarmis, a people at that time inhabiting the remoter parts of Finland. Still he was unsuccessful; but that nothing might be wanting to gain so noble a prize as the king's daughter, he applied himself to magic: here likewise all his arts were foiled by an old magician in Hadding's camp, who countermined all his plots and contrivances. At last, mad with despair, he made an assault upon the Danish camp, and was repulsed with great loss. Hadding pursuing his victory, resolved to put an end to the war, by besieging Uffon in Upsal, then the capital of Sweden. Uffon, to ward off the impending blow, sent ambassadors to the Dane, with terms of accommodation, and gave some of his nobility as hostages: upon which Hadding, who suspected no treachery, entered Upsal, and was splendidly entertained. The house was filled with assassins, who were ready to execute the treacherous design on a signal given, before which they were fortunately discovered

by

by some of Hadding's guard, and immediately put to death. To revenge the perfidy, Hadding pursued the war against Uffon, attacked, defeated, and killed him in the field; but with a generosity becoming a conqueror, gave the kingdom to Hunding, Uffon's brother, and buried the royal corpse with funeral honours, which the villainous treachery of his life little merited. After numberless exploits performed in Jutland, Courland, Saxony, and Britain, he laid violent hands on himself, probably in disgust at the unnatural conduct of his favourite daughter Uvilda, who had made repeated attempts upon her father's life. Thus he fulfilled a prophecy well known among the Danes, Swedes, and Saxons, "That Hadding would escape all the snares of his enemies, and the treachery of his own blood, only to lay violent hands on himself [k] (A)."

FROTHO I.

HADDING left two children by Ragnilda, a daughter of Hugh, king of Russia. Frotho, the son, succeeded to the crown of Denmark, and Suanhuida, the daughter, to the sovereignty of Sweden. Frotho, from his excellent qualities, was surnamed Giffmild, or Generous, inheriting all the virtues of his father with his throne. On his accession he found the treasury so exhausted that he was unable to advance the soldiers their arrears; to remedy this evil, without laying fresh taxes upon the people, he attacked a dragon, as tradition reports, or rather Draco, a famous pirate, who had laid up prodigious wealth in remote caves, which he defended by a strong body of desperate ruffians. Draco was slain, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the conqueror, who was enabled thereby to enter upon the mighty designs which he had formed in his mind. In a word, he conquered Britain, Scotland (for at that time the country south of the Tweed went by the name of Britain), Sleswick, Russia, Pomerania, Holstein, and other countries. He seized upon London, the capital of Britain, by A. C. 761.

[k] Saxo-Grammat. p. 10—20. Pontan. Hist. p. 15. Meurs. Hist. p. 4, 5, 6. Suaning. Chron. Dan. p. 29, 30.

(A) We find in some historians, that Hadding, after his return from Britain, hanged himself in presence of his whole court. It was reported that he died in that island, and Hunding, king of Sweden, celebrating his funeral rites, was drowned in a caldron of wort. Hadding's death is attributed to his grief for this misfortune (1).

(1) Suaning. p. 30.

an ingenious ſtratagem; for cauſing it to be rumoured that he died in the camp, leave was aſked of the Britiſh governor to bury the royal corpſe in a certain temple in the city, and a treaty concluded for this purpoſe. The governor ſuſpecting no treachery, admitted a corpſe, attended by a numerous proceſſion of ſuppoſed mourners, who had concealed arms under their cloaths. Others dropped in afterwards; and when Frotho thought his ſtrength ſufficient, the ſignal was made for his men to fall upon the Britons, which they obeyed with incredible fury, ſlaying all before them till they got poſſeſſion of the city, in ſpite of the deſperate defence of the inhabitants. Returning thence to Denmark, he entered upon a freſh war with the king of Sweden, who had married his ſiſter, and periſhed in battle, not by the hands of the enemy, but oppreſſed and borne down by the weight of his own armour, leaving behind him three ſons, Haldan, Roe, and Scal, and the reputation of a great warrior [1].

HALDAN.

A. C. 685. HALDAN, the eldeſt, an ambitious, cruel, and unnatural prince, ſucceeded to his father's crown, which he endeavoured to render ſecure by the death of his two brothers, in a manner equally brutal and inſidious. It is indeed ſuppoſed by hiſtorians, that they both aſpired to the throne; the only circumſtance that can at all palliate the king's cruelty, who, not contented with polluting his hands with the blood of his brethren, ſteeped them in that of his moſt faithful ſubjects of all ranks; notwithſtanding which barbarity he lived to an old age, the dread and deteſtation of his people. He left behind him two ſons, Roe and Helgo, the ſucceſſors of his throne, but not of his vices.

ROE and HELGO.

BY right of ſeniority, as well as by the voice of the people, Roe might have reigned alone; but he abſolutely refuſed the crown upon any other conditions than that of ſharing his power with Helgo: an uncommon inſtance of affection, founded upon kindred and affinity. Roe was of a ſtature contemptibly ſmall and mean; but this external defect be more than compenſated by the greatneſs of his ſoul, his courage, generoſity, and other manly virtues. He was a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, and the firſt prince who reduced the cuſtoms of the people, founded upon long tradition, to a written ſyſtem of laws. Before his time, hiſ-

[1] Pontan. par. xvi. lib. i. Meurſ. Hiſt. lib. i. p. 8. Saxo-Gram. lib. ii. p. 20. Suaning. Chron. Interval. lib. iii. p. 32.

torians

torians relate, that custom was the only rule of action. Murder, robbery, and theft, were punished, not as infractions of the law, but of the natural rights of mankind; Roe was the first who specified the punishments consequent on certain crimes, and reduced the law, imprinted by nature on the human mind, to a more fixed and definite meaning and system. He was the founder of the city Roschild, which exists to this day; and while he was busied in civilizing his subjects, framing certain rules for government, and decorating the country with public buildings, his attention was diverted from the arts of peace, which he cultivated so diligently, to engage in a war with the king of Sweden. Frotho I. had given that kingdom in trust to Reigerer, the late king, who constantly paid the promised tribute; but he dying, and his son Hotbrod succeeding to the throne, the young monarch was ambitious of throwing off the yoke, and holding his crown independent of Denmark. With this view he refused to pay the usual homage and tribute, a refusal which gave birth to the present war, that ended with the life of Roe, who fell in battle, bewailed by his subjects, but most by Helgo, his brother and successor [m].

HELGO.

HELGO was a prince more addicted to war than his excellent brother. While he shared the throne with Roe, he greatly enlarged the Danish dominions by the conquest of a number of northern states; and now the first act of his prowess, since his reigning alone, was engaging in single combat with Hunding, prince of Saxony. Him he slew in the field, and of consequence annexed Saxony to his own dominions, as had been previously agreed. Returning thence to Jutland, he drove out a body of Saxons who had taken possession in his absence. He afterwards engaged the king of the Vandals by sea, and coming off victorious, he stopped for refreshment at a little island in the Baltic, where he became enamoured of a girl of mean station, by whom he had a daughter, that afterwards became the mother of Rolfo, who succeeded his father in the throne; an abominable incest, which obscures all the former glory of his reign. A. C. 595.

Scarce had Helgo finished the Vandal war, when resolving to avenge his brother's death, he marched against Hotbrod of Sweden, whom he slew in the field of battle, reducing the whole kingdom to obedience. The more fully to satiate his revenge, he established a cruel law, by which a Dane might,

[m] Pontanus, lib. i. p. 17. Saxo-Grammat. lib. ii. p. 17.

on any provocation, put a Swede to death with impunity. Placing the crown on the head of Atisla, son of Hotbrod, who had engaged to pay the tribute which was discontinued by his father, he returned to Denmark, and, either from a disgust to public affairs, or, as other writers more probably suggest, from recollecting the horrid impiety he committed in debauching his own daughter, he laid violent hands upon himself. He was, indeed, a prince in whom the noblest virtues and grossest crimes were blended: his military ability, and attachment to his brother would have rendered his fame immortal, had not those virtues been more than ballanced by his unnatural lust, and shocking cruelty [n].

ROLFO.

A.C. 566. THE virtues of Rolfo soon obliterated the memory of his disgraceful birth. The graces of his person equalled those of his mind, and his stature and strength were so extraordinary, that he was surnamed Rhrage, a Danish word, expressive of these qualities. His valour and martial spirit did not, however, interrupt the peaceable felicity of his subjects; for though he wished for an opportunity of signalizing his prowess, yet he suppressed his inclinations to war from just views of policy, and a fatherly regard to the interest of his people. He was at length drawn into a war with his own step-father, the king of Sweden, to punish his inhuman usage of the queen, who was mother to Rolfo. The king of Sweden was killed in battle, and Rolfo soon after perished by the treachery of a Danish nobleman, whom he had distinguished by numberless instances of his favour; among others, by marrying him to his sister. No prince had ever more strongly engaged the affections of his people than Rolfo, though ambition had pushed on his brother-in-law to this shocking parricide. His virtues were splendid: magnificence, generosity, and valour, were united in his person. Justice, clemency, and a strict regard to his promises, had set him far above all the former kings of Denmark, in reputation. In a word, historians are so full of his praises, that we might suspect them of painting with the pencil of fancy, if their portraits were not amply attested by facts superior to all expression [o].

HOTHER.

ROLFO dying without children, the states immediately assembled for the election of a new king, and chose in his room Hother, grandson by his daughter to Hadding, the

[n] Sanning. Chron. p. 33. [o] Meurs. p. 10. Pontan. p. 19.

father

father of Frotho I. This young prince had been ſent in his infancy to the king of Norway, and educated at the court of that monarch with the greateſt care and indulgence. Upon notice of the death of Rolfo, he was adviſed to offer himſelf a candidate for the crown, by the Norwegian king, who promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his intereſt and force. While preparations were making to execute this plan, a meſſenger arrived from Denmark, acquainting him of his election by the ſtates, upon which he immediately ſet out from that kingdom. In gratitude to the king of Norway, he eſpouſed his daughter, whom he raiſed to the throne of Denmark. By this marriage he involved himſelf in a war with Balder, a northern prince, who had paid his addreſſes to the princeſs before Hother had made any propoſals to her. Several furious battles were fought between the rivals, when at length Balder was defeated and ſlain in a ſea-fight, which gave name to that ſtrait called to this day Balderſound. This glorious victory brought on the death of Hother; for Balder's father, reſolving to avenge his ſon, ſummoned all his nobles, and, in a pathetic ſpeech, recommended it to their care to wipe off their late diſgrace, by ſome ſignal exertion of their courage. Upon which Boo, his ſon-in-law, undertook to finiſh the quarrel with Hother, and accordingly challenged him to ſingle combat. The king of Denmark accepting his propoſals, called his council, and, as if he had ſome foreboding of his fate, he preſſed the ſtates to ſettle the ſucceſſion on his ſon Rorick: he then told them, that the event of war was doubtful, but the civil diviſions which would happen in his kingdom certain, ſhould it pleaſe the gods to deprive him of life before the ſucceſſion was ſettled. Were his kingdom once ſecured againſt the calamities he foreſaw, then would he chearfully devote his life to glory, and the good of Denmark. The king's ſpeech had ſuch an effect, that Rorick was unanimouſly elected heir-apparent to the throne, though then but a child; after which eſtabliſhment Hother went to meet his antagoniſt, by whoſe hands he fell (A).

Notwith-

(A) It merits obſervation, that ſome antiquarians ſuppoſe Dan, the founder of the Daniſh monarchy, reigned about the time that Saxo-Grammaticus, Meurſius and Pontanus place Hother, the fourteenth king, that is the year before Chriſt 490. It muſt, indeed, be acknowleged, that the period allotted by theſe hiſtorians for a king's reign, is as much too long, as that aſſigned by Gaſſar and others is too ſhort. This prince is entirely omitted by Saxo-Grammaticus, Meurſius, and Pontanus; but we have ventured to inſert him upon the authority

Notwithſtanding Rorick was appointed by the people to ſucceed to his father, the victorious Boo found means to ſet aſide his election, and fix himſelf on the throne; but how long he reigned, whether he died a natural death, or was depoſed, hiſtory is ſilent; and, indeed, ſome of the moſt accurate Daniſh hiſtorians omit him entirely in the catalogue of their kings [o].

Meurſius and Saxo-Grammaticus alone affirm, that he never mounted the throne [p]. We ſhall, therefore, continue the ſeries of princes from Hother to his ſon, without interruption, as the point is diſputed, and at this diſtance of time cannot poſſibly be determined with certainty.

RORICK SLYNGIBOND I.

A. D. 483. BEFORE Rorick, or, as ſome writers call him, Roderick Slyngibond, had fully attained the years of maturity, he found it neceſſary to head his own armies, and oppoſe a formidable league which threatened deſtruction to Denmark. The young monarch uſed the utmoſt diligence in levying forces and equipping a fleet, and his endeavours were ſeconded by the affections of his ſubjects, who neglected nothing which might contribute to the glory of their king, on which reſted their own ſecurity. It had been ſtipulated in a treaty offenſive and defenſive, between the Swedes, Courlanders, and ſome other northern powers tributary to Denmark, that they ſhould unanimouſly throw off their ſubmiſſion to this crown, refuſe all tribute and homage, and defend each other with all their forces, in order to reduce the pride and power of Denmark. This reſolution was taken with ſpirit, but ſoon broke through by the ſuperior fortune and valour of the Danes, who, headed by their king, defeated the allies by ſea and land, forcing them to pay heavier tribute than before. Soon afterwards the victorious Rorick fell by accident into the ſea, and was drowned, leaving behind him the reputation of a juſt and warlike prince, emulous of nothing ſo much as the affections of his people, and national honour. Other writers allege, that the cauſe of his death, as well as the

[o] J. Suaning. Chron. Dan. ibid. Pontan. 18. [p] Saxo-Gram. lib. iii. p. 46. Meurſ. lib. i. p. 10.

authority of the accurate Suaningius, and the learned Lyſchander, who makes him the ſixteenth king from Dan, the founder of the Daniſh monarchy (1).

(1) Vide Suaning. Chron. Dan. Lyſch. Gen. Dan. ſub vocib.

duration

duration of his reign are very doubtful; but all agree in giving him the higheſt character (A). One circumſtance, however, ſeems to prove, that his reign was not ſo ſhort as Grammaticus alleges, for he left a ſon who ſucceeded to his throne, and a daughter whom he married to Harwendil, prince of Jutland; yet they ſay he engaged in the Swediſh war when he was ſcarce of age, and died ſoon after it was finiſhed: conſequently this war muſt have been of long duration, or Rorick muſt have ſurvived it for a great number of years, as the reader will find by conſulting the laſt note.

VIGLET.

VIGLET, ſon to the preceding king, did not ſucceed to the throne without a bloody competition, in which he ſlew his rival Hamlet of Jutland. This was the only act of valour he peformed in the courſe of a long life. His whole reign was more indolent and pacific than that of any of his predeceſſors. The mildneſs of his diſpoſition drew on him the contempt of the warlike Danes; yet nothing

(A) At this time Harwendil and Feggo, or Fogo, two brothers, reigned in Jutland, and paid homage and tribute to the crown of Demark. The former had married, ſays Meurſius, the daughter of Rorick, by which means he ſucceeded to his crown, ſoon after which he was treacherouſly murdered by his brother Feggo. Hamlet, his ſon, ſuſpecting that his uncle's ambition occaſioned his father's death, feigned madneſs, the better to conceal his purpoſe of revenging his father's murder, in which he at length ſucceeded, having ſtabbed Feggo with his own hand at a public feſtival, while he was ſurrounded by all his nobility. Many of the circumſtances related by Saxo-Grammaticus, are exactly copied by Shakſpeare, in the tragedy called Hamlet. The event, however, is different; for, according to the hiſtorian, Hamlet enjoyed his uncle's crown for a great number of years, and died with the reputation of one of the beſt princes that had ever filled the throne. However, all the beſt critics are of opinion that neither Harwendil, Feggo, or Hamlet, ever reigned in Denmark, affirming that Rorick was immediately ſucceeded by Viglet, who killed Hamlet, prince of Jutland, in battle, as he was endeavouring by force to ſucceed to the crown of his grandfather Rorick. Pontanus and Suaningius poſitively affirm, that neither of theſe Jutland princes ever mounted the Daniſh throne, though they admit the truth of all the other circumſtances related by Meurſius: indeed, Saxo-Grammaticus himſelf does not place them among the Daniſh monarchs (1).

(1) Vide Suan. p. 37. Pont. lib. i. p. 20.

could

could alter his resolution to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom. After a reign of forty-eight years he died, and was succeeded by

GUITLACH,

WHOM some writers call his son [q]; though others are of opinion he succeeded in prejudice to the right of Vermund, the avowed son of Viglet. We find nothing recorded of this prince, but that he reigned thirty-two years, leaving the throne vacant, and to be filled by the states, who assembled during his last illness to appoint a successor [r].

VERMUND.

A. C. 352. VERMUND, the son of Viglet, next succeeded, who was no less remarkable than his father, for a mild, pacific, indolent disposition; but there were not wanting the seeds of courage, though circumstances never so fell out as to afford him an opportunity of displaying the valour of his ancestors.

The extraordinary history of Uffon the, king's son.

After a long reign he at length became the joyful father of a son, who, to appearances however, promised him no great felicity as he grew up. He arrived at the age of manhood before he was ever heard to utter a syllable; and many of his actions bespoke a weak intellect, bordering upon idiotism. The old king was greatly affected, and, to add to his misfortunes, afflicted with loss of sight, in consequence of old age, and a malady that had seized him some years before. Under these circumstances the aged and venerable Vermund was insulted by the prince of Saxony, who offered himself a candidate for a throne, which he said ought never to be filled by a blind dotard, or a natural fool; for this was the purport of an insolent harrangue, pronounced by his ambassador at a full diet of the states of Denmark. Vermund, stung with reproach, forgetful of his old age and blindness, and eager to vindicate his dignity, replied, "That the reproach thrown upon him was truly worthy of a Saxon; that a man of spirit would contend for the honour of defending a prince, sunk under age and infirmity, instead of endeavouring to aggravate his misfortunes by despoiling him of his just rights; and, finally, that notwithstanding blindness and decrepitude, he doubted not but the gods would give him still strength sufficient to repel all the attempts of so vain-glorious a boaster, in consequence of which hope he was willing to rest the fate of his crown up-

[q] Meurs. ibid. [r] Lyschander Gen. Dan. p. 28. Pont. Danic. Antiquit. p. 15.

on

on the iſſue of a ſingle combat between them." Aſtoniſhed at the courage of the old prince, the Saxon ambaſſador declined the challenge, ſaying, "It was unworthy of his maſter to contend with a blind man, who had a ſon able to ſupport his quarrel." The ſtates were ſilent at this reply, when Uffon, prince of Denmark, riſing from his ſeat, told the ambaſſador, that the king had a ſon, and Denmark a prince, able and willing to defend their rights and the honour of the nation. "Tell your inſolent maſter, ſays he, that Uffon, whom he ſuppoſes unworthy of ſucceeding to the crown, will not only accept of his challenge, but fight ſingly againſt him and any other Saxon he will make choice of." Surpriſed at this intreprid reply from a prince who had never ſpoke before, or ever given the ſlighteſt proofs of ſpirit or underſtanding, the ſtates joyfully appointed the time and place for deciding the quarrel. They, however, repreſented to Uffon the raſhneſs of engaging with two antagoniſts, each of them probably of equal ſtrength with himſelf; but he was fixed in his reſolution. Accordingly the parties met, and the old king ordered himſelf to be conducted to a precipice that hung over the ſea, near the field of battle, reſolving to put an end to his life, ſhould his ſon be worſted, and the kingdom of Denmark diſgraced. The combatants engaged with the utmoſt fury; Uffon, like the brave Horatius, on whom depended the fate of Rome, gradually retreated and defended himſelf, until he had ſeparated the enemy, and exhauſted their ſtrength; then he attacked the weakeſt with ſuch intrepidity and ſtrength, that he ſoon laid him dead at his feet. Now the two princes fought hand to hand, and Uffon perceiving his own ſuperiority, generouſly offered to grant the Saxon his life, if he would ſubmit to pay him homage and tribute; which the other refuſing, he laid him dead at one ſtroke, and was carried triumphant off the field on the ſhoulders of the Daniſh nobility, who were overjoyed to find valour, ſtrength, and underſtanding, united in the perſon of a prince, they had till then beheld with pity and contempt. Vermund did not long ſurvive this glorious atchievement of his ſon; exceſs of joy put an end to his life, and Uffon was raiſed, by the unanimous voice of the people, to the dignity which he had ſo ſeaſonably vindicated [5].

Uffon defeats the prince of Saxony.

[5] Gram. lib. iv.

OLAUS

OLAUS I.

A. C. 292. SOON after his accession he changed his name to that of Olaus, and was surnamed the Merciful, from the generous proposal he had made to the Saxon prince, as well as from his natural good disposition. His reign was an uninterrupted series of felicity to his subjects, and victories over his enemies; but history relates no particulars. He married a lady of noble birth in Sleswick, by whom he had a son, who was raised to the throne upon the death of Olaus [t].

DAN II.

THE young king was called Dan, the second monarch of that name who had swayed the Danish sceptre. No prince was ever more beloved during the first years of his reign. His military capacity had greatly enlarged his dominions, and the tribute paid by foreign princes augmented the power, wealth, and glory of the state; but, flushed with success, he became insolent, cruel, and prodigal of his wealth and fame, dying at an advanced age, as much detested for his vices as before he had been esteemed for his virtue [u].

HUGLETH.

HUGLETH was next elected king; but whether he was the son of the preceding monarch, we have no account. All that history relates of him is, that he conquered in a sea-fight Hometh and Hogrin, two of the chief persons in Sweden who had long exercised piracy in the Baltic, and scoured all the coasts with a powerful fleet. He likewise kept the king of Sweden in awe, though that prince had raised a powerful army to support a resolution he had formed of discontinuing the tribute, and shaking off the Danish yoke. It would appear that his reign was uncommonly long, as from the year 225 before the birth of Christ, to the year 172, we find no other king mentioned; and indeed some historians call him by the name of Hugleth the Little, second son to Dan [w].

FROTHO II.

A. C. 172. AFTER the death of Hugleth, Frotho, the second of that name, surnamed the Vigorous, was raised to the throne. There never was a prince endued with nobler qualities of mind and body; more courteous, generous, and brave; he soon became the darling of his people, and

[t] Meurs. lib. i. p. 15. [u] Pontan. lib. i. p. 21. Saxo-Gram. p. 65. [w] Jo. Suaning. Chron. Dan. p. 42. Saxo-Gram. tom. iv. p. 66.

the

the terror of his neighbours, most of whom were tributary to his crown. He subdued Norway, after having slain the king in single combat, and annexed it, with some islands in the Baltic before unconquered, to his dominions. Having reigned thirty years he breathed his last, leaving the crown, with the consent of the people, to his son Dan, who became the third monarch of that name [x].

DAN III.

IN the very beginning of Dan's reign the Saxons were so insolent as not only to refuse payment of the tribute due to the sovereign of Denmark, but to insist on Dan's reimbursing them all the money extorted from them by his father, by Hugleth, Dan II. and by Olaus and Uffon; a demand which soon produced a war, in which they were forced to submit to their former condition. This prince engaged likewise in a war with Sweden, concerning the event of which history is silent: all we know is, that he was wounded in a single combat by the Swedish monarch. We are told, indeed, that after this incident he conquered all those states inhabiting the countries on each side the Elbe, to the inhabitants of which the Danes gave the general name of Saxons; and at length was seized with an acute fever, that carried him off in the prime and vigour of life [y].

FRIDLEFF.

TO him succeeded Fridleff, surnamed the Swift, who immediately, on his accession, entered into a close and intimate correspondence with the king of Halland; for at this time Halland was a separate and independent sovereignty. The intention of this league was to secure and protect each other's dominions against all enemies, to clear the seas of pirates, and thoroughly to reduce the Swedes and Norwegians, who wanted only an opportunity to shake off the galling yoke of Denmark. This treaty, like most other compacts between princes, was broke as soon as either party imagined he could take an advantage of the other. The monarch of Halland was the first aggressor; he raised an army, and made a descent on Denmark, at a time when security had rendered Fridleff totally unprepared to receive him; but the vigour of this prince made him soon repent his treachery. Fridleff assembled a powerful army, and defeated Huirvill in a pitched battle, making great slaughter of his troops. In the pursuit Huirvill was

[x] Pont. Saxo-Gram. &c. ibid. [y] Meurs. ibid.

killed

killed, and Fridleff not only eased of the war, but fully revenged upon his insidious enemy, whose kingdom he annexed to his own dominions. After this atchievement we are told he carried his arms into Ireland, and having overrun a great part of the country, made himself master of Dublin, the capital. The same attempt he made on Britain, from whence, after having sustained a signal defeat, he scarce escaped with life. Chagrined with this repulse, he determined applying his mind to domestic affairs, and studied rather to make his old subjects happy than to acquire new, in which laudable undertaking he died, at an extreme old age [z].

FROTHO III.

A.C 37. SUCH was the reputation Fridleff acquired with the people during the last years of his reign, that they unanimously agreed to raise his son Frotho, then a child, to the weighty charge of governing a powerful kingdom. Guardians were immediately appointed him, and the affairs of the nation committed to a select council of the nobility, with this reserve, that all their decrees were to be submitted to a general diet of the states, and there confirmed or repealed as the people should think proper. In this situation things remained for the space of fourteen years, when the king took the government upon himself. The first years of his reign passed in indolence and inactivity, whence he gained the name of Frotho the Pacific; but the corruptions that had crept into the administration, waked him at length out of this lethargy, to an exertion of those extraordinary abilities, which, in a little time, acquired him the appellation of Great, and the reputation of the most valiant prince of his age. He carried on nine wars with the most powerful northern nations, and came off victorious in all. At length poison accomplished what neither the courage, the numbers, nor the animosity of his enemies could effect. A variety of fabulous circumstances relating to this event, are recorded by all the Danish writers; but we have omitted them as favouring too strongly of the ignorance and prejudices of those times, to be read with pleasure in a more enlightened age.

[z] Suaning. Chron. p. 45. Gram. lib. v.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Comprehending the History of Denmark to the Year 981 after the Birth of Christ.

HIARN.

FROTHO dying without male issue, the diet took the extraordinary resolution of making him king, who should write the best verses on the memory of the late monarch; and Hiarn being adjudged the best poet, was accordingly raised to the throne, in reward of his superior genius. He was of that class of people called scialdres in Denmark, and bards in other countries, whose business it was to rove about the country, reciting their productions at the houses of the great, and entertained by them as the repositories of wit, learning, and historical narrative. The poet did not long enjoy his exaltation, being deposed by Fridleff, a relation to the late king, who had spent the greater part of his life in foreign service, and was now returned upon the news of his sovereign's death, to lay claim to his crown. This he obtained by killing the poor bard in single combat, and convincing the states, by a relation of his conduct in the services in which he had been engaged, that his valour merited the highest distinctions. Pontanus indeed relates, from Grammaticus, that Hiarn, after several battles by sea and land, which he maintained with great obstinacy, was at length slain by his rival, in a sea-fight on the coast of Jutland; the island Hiarn, situated on that shore, taking its name from his unhappy end [a]. A. D. 16.

FRIDLEFF II.

NO sooner was Fridleff seated on the throne than he sent ambassadors to demand Forgertha, daughter to the king of Norway, in marriage. The insolent refusal of the Norwegian monarch produced a war between the two kingdoms, which terminated in the death of Amand, king of Norway, and in the espousals of Fridleff with his daughter. We are told of a number of miraculous battles this courageous prince fought with certain giants of Norway, during a glorious reign of twelve years; at which period he died, greatly esteemed by his subjects, and respected by all the neighbouring states [b]. A. D. 21.

[a] Meurs. lib. ii. [b] Id. ib. Pontan. p. 24. lib. i.

FROTHO IV.

FROTHO IV. his son, then but twelve years of age, was proclaimed his successor. This prince began to give very early proofs of his virtue and generosity: before he arrived at maturity, he quashed a dangerous rebellion that had been raised by a combination of the principal nobility, to dethrone him, merely by the prudence of his conduct, and steadiness of his measures, without spilling a drop of blood. He obtained the surname of Generous, from the beneficence and humanity of his disposition, which was never so amply gratified as with the opportunity of bestowing favours on deserving objects. His courage was likewise displayed in several battles he fought with Swerting and Harif, two Saxon lords, who had raised great armies in defence of their liberties, and with a view to throw off their subjection to Denmark. Swerting perceiving that Frotho was invincible in the field, had recourse to treachery, pretended a perfect reconciliation, and invited the Danish monarch to a festival, at which he proposed destroying him by setting fire to the house. The good fortune of Frotho saved him, however, from this dangerous snare, and his valour turned the due punishment upon the insidious Saxon, whom he attacked sword in hand, and soon laid dead at his feet: but he died himself not long after, of a wound he had received from a poisoned weapon in the contest with Swerting [c].

INGELL.

THE states immediately assembled and chose his son Ingell, or Ingle, to succeed his father. This prince at first abandoned himself to a life of indolence and debauchery, into which he was artfully drawn by some of the nobility, who formed designs upon his crown, intending, by this expedient, to alienate from him the affections of his people. The foresight and natural good sense of the young monarch penetrated into their machinations, and recovered him at a time when he was plunged in a life of dissolution and pleasure. On a sudden he discarded his old companians, and assumed at once a behaviour and dignity worthy of majesty. This dismission of the first nobility of the realm occasioned murmurings among them, which soon broke out into open rebellion. Here it was that Ingell distinguished his valour, his prudence, and his clemency. He first defeated his enemies, obliged them to submit to

[c] Saxo-Gram. lib. vi. & auct. citat.

his

his terms, and then not only pardoned them, but took them again into favour, which he esteemed the true method of gaining their affections, and securing their allegiance; but he first insisted upon a total reformation of their manners, and enforced this by his own example [d]. We find, indeed, a different character of this prince in Meursius, who relates, that after the suppression of this rebellion he fell again into his old courses, and ended his reign in the same inglorious manner in which it began [e].

OLAUS II.

UPON his death his son Olaus II. mounted the throne, inheriting all the vices of his father, without one of his virtues. His whole reign, which happily did not exceed ten years, was a series of luxury, profusion, and the most scandalous lust and debauchery. He died, however, seemingly penitent, as appears by the speech he made to his sons on his death-bed, in which he exhorts them to retrieve by their conduct the national honour, which had greatly suffered by his weak and dissolute measures (A).

FROTHO V. and HAROLD I.

FROTHO V. and Harold I. sons to the late monarch, were both raised to the throne, sharing the sovereignty between them; the one presiding over naval affairs, and the other taking it upon him to direct whatever belonged to the armies and land-forces of the kingdom. Frotho, as the eldest, chose the former province; a presumption that marine employments were held more honourable and important than the land-service. Frotho entered first upon action, and made an unsuccessful descent upon some of the neighbouring coasts, his soldiers, most of whom were married, refusing to enter upon any dangerous enterprize, by which their families might be brought to ruin; and Meursius expressly affirms, that the influence which Frotho's queen had over him, occasioned his disgrace. The particulars, however, of this affair are not recorded, and we only know that he quitted his employment in disgust to

[d] Saxo-Gram. lib. vi. Suanin. p. 47. [e] Meurs. lib. ii. p. 24.

(A) Saxo-Grammaticus and Pontanus call this prince Olaus I. although it appears, upon undoubted authority, and, indeed, upon their own, that Uffo had changed his name to Olaus, who is, for this reason, properly distinguished by the appellation of Olaus I. (1).

(1) Suan. p. 48.

Harold refuses to inlist married men.

Harold, who immediately eſtabliſhed a maxim, that no married man ſhould be inliſted into the ſea or land-ſervice; a meaſure that was attended with the happieſt conſequences. The ſoldiers, emulous of glory, and free from domeſtic cares, braved all dangers, and obtained numberleſs victories under the conduct of the brave Harold; after which they were permitted to return home to ſettle, and enjoy the fruits and glory of their toil and courage. Frotho was ſtung with envy at the ſucceſs of his brother's arms, whoſe valour had ſo much eclipſed his own actions; and, unable to ſupport the ſight of a perſon whoſe victories reminded him of his own defeat, and whoſe public character he deemed a tacit reproach, took the baſe reſolution of having him murdered. His reſentment had fortified his heart againſt the dictates of honour, brotherly love, and humanity: he employed an aſſaſſin, accompliſhed his end, and then murdered the tool of his villainy the better to conceal it[f]. But Frotho's own conſcience was a ſufficient accuſer, and gave ſuch evidence againſt him, as convinced the whole world that Harold met with his death from the hand of his own brother. All his meaſures were dictated by phrenzy and deſpair, which became viſible in his countenance. He imagined he could not be ſecure while the children of Harold lived, and took meaſures to quiet his mind by increaſing the number of his crimes, and ſuperadding the murder of his nephews to that of his only brother. His deſigns, however, were fruſtrated by the vigilance of a nobleman, to whom the education of the young princes was committed. After having concealed his pupils in a cave, the faithful guardian returned to court, and implored his majeſty that he would abſtain from ſhedding his own blood, and not deprive his innocent nephews of life, whom he had already robbed of a royal and brave parent. Frotho, pretending to be moved by the intreaties of this honeſt nobleman, had nearly accompliſhed by diſſimulation what he could not effect by force. A few years after, he got the young princes into his hands, and was going to have them aſſaſſinated, when their own addreſs ſaved them: they pretended to quarrel, and deſired leave to decide their diſpute by the ſword, which the king readily granted, in expectation that their warmth, courage, and animoſity, might effect his purpoſe, without dipping his own hands in their blood. He was even cruel enough to be a ſpectator of the fight, and thus his puniſhment was brought about by the inviſible operations of Providence; for the princes, upon a ſignal

He is murdered by his brother.

[f] Saxo-Gram. lib. vi. Meurſ. p. 24.

agreed,

agreed, turned upon their uncle, and in an instant laid him dead on the ground with their swords. Thus perished the treacherous and bloody Frotho by the hands of his own nephews, after a reign rendered infamous to all posterity by the barbarous murder of a brother, who was the greatest ornament of his family and kingdom, as well as the most valorous prince of his age [g]. *Frotho slain by the sons of Harold.*

HALDANE II. and HAROLD II.

FROTHO was succeeded by the two sons of Harold, the oldest named Haldane, and the youngest called after his father. Haldane immediately engaged in a war with Siward, king of Sweden, for reasons with which we are unacquainted; after having defeated him in several battles, he at length slew him with his own hand. Erick, the son and successor of Siward, to revenge his father's death, made a sudden descent on Denmark with a powerful armament, while Haldane was taken up in deciding a dispute with some Saxon lords. Harold immediately assembled an army, and gave the Swedes battle; but the success was not agreeable to his courage and the justice of his cause; for, after an obstinate engagement, he was slain in the arms of victory, which now immediately declared for Erick. Upon this event Haldane immediately returned to Denmark, drove Erick out of his dominions, pursued him into Sweden, defeated him, and terminated the quarrel by the death of his enemy, whom he engaged in single combat [h]. After this glorious transaction he fitted out a powerful fleet against the pirates who infested his coasts, and was no less successful in this than he had been in all his former wars. Towards the close of his life, and in a very advanced age, he married the princess of Norway, and by her had a son born on the very day in which he died, of a lingering disease, contracted in consequence of the fatigue and cold he sustained in his last campaigns. Such were the actions of the glorious Haldane, commonly called the son of Thor (a Danish deity) from his invincible courage, and those generous qualities which seemed to elevate him above the rank of mortals. His name had spread itself over all the northern kingdoms, and in Sweden particularly his memory was no less respected than in his own proper dominions; such was the clemency, affability, and engaging manners of this celebrated warrior [i]. *Harold is defeated and slain by the king of Sweden.*

[g] Pontan. lib. i. p. 27. Suaning. p. 47. [h] Saxo-Gram. lib. vi.
[i] Idem, p. 110, & seq.

UNGUIN or HAGUIN.

THE diet of the states elected in the room of Haldane his cousin, nephew, or, as some historians allege, his natural brother Unguin, or Haguin, king of the Goths. Some writers call this prince the son-in-law of the late king, though Meursius and Pontanus affirm, that Haldane's daughter had been given in marriage to Ebbo, a northern prince, in her father's life-time. All we know of this reign is, that it was short and bloody, the crown being obstinately disputed by Regnaldo, king of Sweden, by whom Unguin was slain.

SIWALD.

REGNALDO did not, however, succeed in his designs, for the states immediately elected Siwald in the room of his deceased father. The war still continued with Sweden, some say from Regnaldo's continuing his claim, while others affirm that Siwald renewed it with intention to avenge his father's death. Pontanus, indeed, speaks of the Swedish war as if it had happened towards the close of Siwald's reign, and attributes the many quarrels in which he was at first engaged to the beauty of his daughter, who raised contentions among all the northern princes; and some of them endeavoured to force Siwald to comply with their proposals. Indeed, the transactions of his reign are so variously related, that we can affirm nothing of this monarch more than that he did not degenerate from the heroic spirit which had distinguished almost all the preceding kings of Denmark. His death is as variously related as his life, some writers asserting, that he died in his kingdom, while others affirm, that he ended his days a miserable exile in Scotland [k], whither he had been driven by Haco, the son of Hamund, who had defeated him in a sea-engagement; a circumstance which Saxo-Grammaticus, Meursius, and other historians relate of Siwald II. (A).

[k] Meurs. & Suaning. p. 47.

(A) Suaningius relates, that Siwald gave his daughter in marriage to Ubbo Otharo, in preference to all the other rivals; and that, assisted by his son-in-law, he attacked Reginald and slew him in battle: that afterwards he killed in single combat forty Swedish warriors, and concluded his warlike atchievements by the death of Sterchatear, a Swede of the greatest strength and courage of any person of his times (2).

(2) Suan. p. 49.

SIGAR.

SIGAR.

SIWALD left behind him three sons, Sigar, Alfo, and Alger, the former of whom, by right of primogeniture, succeeded to his crown. We say by right of primogeniture; for though the Danes kept in their own hands the power of electing their monarchs, yet they seldom set aside the royal issue, and particularly the eldest son, unless incapacity, or some other reason, rendered it necessary. This prince being of an indolent tame disposition, committed the care of government to his brother, a prince of a very different cast, and equally respectable for the qualities of his body and mind. The first act of Alfo's administration was the sending ambassadors to demand in marriage Avilda, daughter to the king of Gothland; a lady who, at this time, contrary to the manners and disposition of her sex, exercised the profession of piracy, and was scouring the seas with a powerful fleet, while a foreign prince was offering sacrifices to her beauty at the shrine of love. Alfo, perceiving that this masculine lady was not to be gained by the usual arts of lovers, took the extraordinary resolution of addressing her in a method more agreeable to her humour. He fitted out a fleet, went in quest of her, and engaged her in a furious battle, which continued two days without remission; at length she was defeated, and thus he gained possession of a heart to be conquered only by valour[1]. After this conquest of the brave amazon, Alfo turned his arms against other pirates who had infested the coasts of Denmark. In this expedition he fell in with a fleet commanded by the three sons of Hamund, king of Ireland, and immediately entered upon action. They fought the whole day with equal obstinacy on both sides, when night separated the combatants, and next morning proposals were made for an accommodation, which were accepted by the parties. They each of them had sufficient proofs of the courage of their antagonists; and, as neither harboured any personal resentment, they parted with hearty professions of sincere esteem and friendship. Notwithstanding this treaty, Alfo again renewed the war against the Hibernian princes, at the instigation of an old crafty Danish nobleman, who persuaded him that his honour was engaged in obtaining a complete victory over those boyish commanders: in consequence of this remonstrance he fitted out a fleet, engaged them a second time, and, having killed Helvin and Hamund, the two eldest of the brothers, was

Alfo disputes the heart of the princess of Gothland by arms.

[1] Saxo-Gram. lib. xvii.

himself slain by the hand of Hagabert the youngest. The victorious Hagabert hearing of the extraordinary beauty of the king of Denmark's sister, dressed himself in women's apparel, and found means to be introduced, in quality of maid of honour, to the princess, to whom he soon made a declaration of his sex and quality. His youth, beauty, and love, soon wrought upon the affections of Signa, for that was the princess's name, and the consequence was the loss of her virtue, and of Hagobert's life; for the intrigue coming to Sigar's ears, he ordered him to be hanged upon a gibbet without form of trial. This was so cruel a stroke to the fond Signa, that, in despair, she set fire to the palace, and afterwards strangled herself, putting an end to a life which was insupportable to her, after the ignominious catastrophe of her lover. Sigar was inconsolable at the unhappy end of a sister and brother whom he loved with the most tender affection; and his misfortune was aggravated by the melancholy situation of his kingdom, which was now invaded by a powerful army from Ireland, commanded by Haco, the king's fourth son, who was come to revenge the death of his brethren. Sigar's grief did not, however, prevent his taking every possible measure for the security of his kingdom. He placed guards on the coasts, and took possession of all the strong posts through which Haco was obliged to pass to Roschild and Lethra, then the residence of the Danish monarch; but all these precautions were eluded by the art and conduct of Haco; he ordered his men to cut down boughs and green branches of trees, which they held in their left hands, marching with their drawn swords in the right. So extraordinary a phænomenon as a moving forest, terrified the Danish out-guards, and made them abandon their posts without the least resistance; so that Haco met with no obstruction until he arrived with his army at Lethra, where Sigar was encamped with a body of forces. A battle ensued, and the Danish monarch fell, while he was exerting a courage superior to what it was ever imagined he possessed [m].

SIWALD II.

IN his room was elected Siwald II. his son, by the unanimous voice of the people. So eager was the young king to expel Haco, or Hacquin, as Pontanus calls him, and to revenge his father's death, that he assembled an army, composed of both sexes, and gave battle to the Irish, after Haco had embarked near half his army. The fight continued

[m] Saxo-Gram. lib. xvii. Pontan. lib. i. p 33.

for

for near three days without victory's declaring herself, till Haco fell towards the close of the third day; upon which a panic immediately seized his troops, who were slaughtered without mercy by the Danes, until they were satiated with blood. Such was the carnage made on the field, that to this day it goes by the name of Valbrana, a word expressive of the horrible slaughter[n]; though Meursius alleges, that this appellation was given to the field in which Sigar was defeated and killed. It is, indeed, the general opinion that both princes perished in this engagement; and the male line of the royal family being extinct, the government of the kingdom was committed to five of the nobility, who divided the authority. Zealand was given to Hunding, Schonen to Ostmar, Funen to Hanno, and Rorick and Hother were chosen to preside over Jutland, which countries would seem to have constituted the whole of the Danish dominions at that period. In this situation was Denmark governed for the space of forty-one years, till Haldane, who had espoused Gurith, daughter to Siwald, was raised by her means to the throne.

HALDANE III.

THIS prince, the third of that name, was inferior to none of his predecessors in valour, and the other qualities of a great king; but his strength was so remarkable as to procure him the surname of Strong. The manner in which he gained the consent of Gurith his queen to address her, was an extraordinary instance of his prowess, for he slew with his own single arm twelve guards, the boldest men who could be found, placed round her person to deny access to all suitors; a precaution which some attribute to her chastity, and others to the policy of the regents, who were sensible they must surrender their authority as soon as she was married. Some years after his accession to the throne, he engaged in a war with Viset (A), a prince who had been his rival in the affections of Gurith. Several desperate battles were fought between them, in the last of which Haldane was killed, yielding to the good fortune of his enemy, and rival in glory and in love[o].

[n] Meurs. lib. ii. [o] Saxo-Gram. & Pontan. ibid.

(A) Viset was son to Hunding, viceroy or regent of Zealand. He succeeded his father in that office, and kept his authority for several years after the accession of Haldane to the throne. Probable it is, that his refusal to surrender it was one of the chief causes of the war.

HAROLD

HAROLD III.

AFTER his death the ſtates met for the election of a new king, and their choice fell upon Harold, the ſon of Haldane. Harold began his reign with an attempt to complete the meaſures entered upon by his father, the reduction of the regents, who had refuſed to ſurrender their authority to Haldane, though duly elected by the ſtates. In this he was more ſucceſsful, having obliged all the provinces to ſubmit to the crown in the ſpace of a few years. He begun his operations with declaring war againſt Viſet, who had killed his father: him he deſtroyed at a feſtival, which Viſet gave to his friends at the celebration of his nuptials with a lady of Schonen. He next directed his arms againſt the governor of Southern Jutland, and ſoon reduced that country, by the death of the governor, whom he ſlew in the field of battle. His next expedition was againſt the regents or governors of Northern Jutland, in which he met with the ſame ſucceſs. Zealand and Funen followed the fortune of the other provinces; and thus the kingdom of Denmark was again re-united, and all thoſe petty tyrants ſubdued and deſtroyed in the ſpace of two years, by the vigorous intrepid conduct of Harold, who was now a ſecond time proclaimed king of all Denmark. He afterwards reſtored by force to his throne and dominions Aſmond, king of Norway, from whence he had been driven by a ſtrong party that had declared in favour of his ſiſter. During his reſidence in Norway, Alvar, king of Sweden, breathed his laſt, leaving three ſons, Ingo, Olaus, and Ingell. Ingo, the eldeſt, ſucceeded to his throne; but, not ſatisfied with his paternal dominions, he and his brothers, ſupported by a powerful army, made a deſcent on Denmark. Meurſius relates, that the brothers only meditated an invaſion, the news of which coming to Harold, he immediately entered Sweden, attacked the forces commanded by Ingo and Olaus, whom he ſlew in the field, after having entirely routed their army. This defeat obliged Ingell to ſue for peace, and accept of the terms which Harold thought fit to impoſe. The Daniſh monarch, equally generous in proſperity and firm in adverſity, granted ſuch conditions as Ingell ought to have been ſatisfied with; and he ſeemed to acquieſce, expecting ſoon to find an occaſion of wiping off the late diſgrace. Accordingly he invaded Schonen, while Harold was lulled in profound ſecurity, and carried off by violence the ſiſter of the Daniſh monarch, whom he eſpouſed. Hence the war was renewed,

ed, proſecuted with various ſucceſs, and at length happily terminated, Harold, as juſt as brave, preferring an indifferent peace to the moſt ſucceſsful war, which muſt have have been attended with the blood and ruin of many of his ſubjects. He was ſcarce returned from Sweden before the inſolence of Ubbo, lord of Embden, or one of thoſe ſtates which now compoſe the circle of Weſtphalia, called him again into the field. It was not long before Ubbo found cauſe to repent his temerity; for he was defeated and taken priſoner, but afterwards ſet at liberty by the clemency of the conqueror. Nor was this all; Harold married him to his daughter, ſecured his friendſhip, and by his means ſtrengthened his own intereſt upon the continent; but his ſucceſs was not limited to theſe conqueſts [a]; he reduced ſeveral nations upon the Rhine; took into his protection the Vandals, a people inhabiting that country on the Baltic, ſituated between the Viſtula and the Elbe; over-run Aquitain and a part of Britain, which, ſays Grammaticus, had withdrawn its allegiance from Denmark ſince the death of Frotho III. But what ſets the equity of this monarch in the moſt conſpicuous view is, that, after having raiſed an army to puniſh the perfidy of Ingell, king of Sweden, he not only deſiſted from the enterprize on the death of that prince, but appointed guardians to his infant ſon, though the faireſt occaſion offered for annexing Sweden to his own dominions; a rare inſtance of moderation, which deſerves being recorded in honour of ſovereignty. The young Swediſh king, unmindful of his obligations, no ſooner attained the age of maturity than he declared war againſt his generous benefactor Harold, the event of which was the death of this great prince, admired even by his enemies for the elevation of his ſpirit, his valour, generoſity, and, above all, for his juſtice. We find, by the preparations made for the war, to what a prodigious height of power this monarch had raiſed the kingdom of Denmark. Saxo-Grammaticus relates, that his fleet was ſo numerous as to extend like a bridge acroſs the Sound, ſeparating Zealand from Schonen; and that, beſides common ſoldiers, he muſtered thirty thouſand nobility in his army. His death occaſioned the defeat of this otherwiſe invincible power, and obliged the Danes to patch up a peace at the price of Schonen, which was ceded to the victorious Ringo [b].

He conquers Ubbo, lord of Embden.

Harold's character.

[a] Saxo-Gram. lib. vii. [b] Meurſ. lib. ii. p. 30.

OLO,

OLO, or OLAUS.

THE glorious Harold was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to that of his uncle (A). His name was Olo, and first he was appointed to the government of Schonen by Ringo, who likewise obliged the Danes to submit to the authority of Hetha, a woman of a masculine spirit. Upon their remonstrances, however, he recalled her and compensated her with the sovereignty of that country now called Sleswick, where she built the city of that name. Olo he substituted in her place, whence it appears that Denmark was, in consequence of Ringo's victory, little more than a province to Sweden, though all the Danish writers omit Ringo's name in the list of their kings. Whether it was that the Danes were uneasy under the administration of a prince imposed upon them by their inveterate enemies the Swedes, or whether their disaffection arose from his own cruelty, as some writers affirm, is a point disputed by historians: certain, however, it is, that he was taken off by a conspiracy, formed against him by many of the chief nobility of the kingdom, and his son Omund elected king: a presumption that Olo's misfortune arose from personal pique and mal-administration more than from the resentment of his subjects against the Swedes [c].

OMUND.

A. D. 331. OMUND, says Meursius, was elected, not out of regard to his father's memory, but from the expectation which so promising a youth afforded, of his resembling in virtue his great uncle Harold. When arrived at age, his nobility advised him to think of increasing the royal family

[c] Auct. citat. ibid.

(A) Pontanus speaks differently of this prince, though we know not upon what authority. According to him, Olo possessed the noblest qualities of mind and person, having this remarkable circumstance about him, that his eyes killed like those of the basilisk; meaning, perhaps, the fierceness of his countenance, which struck terror into his enemies; a conjecture which we find supported by a fact. One of the Danish nobility having resolved to stab him, when he was undressing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of Olo made him drop the poignard just as he had raised it to give the fatal blow (1).

(1) Meurs. lib. ii. p. 39.

by

by marriage. This advice made him turn his thoughts to the daughter of Ringo, whom he had seen and admired when he visited the court of that monarch in his youth: but to the accomplishment of his wishes there was an obstacle which he determined to surmount. Ringo had publicly declared, that he never would receive for his son-in-law a prince who had not signalized his valour. To render himself worthy of this honour, Omund engaged in war with the king of Norway, who had lately refused to pay the usual homage to the crown of Denmark, and a powerful fleet was equipped for the occasion. In his way he was joined by Oddo, a prince who had received some cause of disgust to the Swedish monarch. Ringo was at this time cruising with a fleet off the coast of Ireland, and Oddo persuaded his new ally, that this was the opportunity for recovering the liberty of Denmark, curbing the power of Sweden, and accomplishing his wishes with respect to Ringo's daughter. Persuaded by these arguments, Omund complied with Oddo's proposal of making a descent on Sweden, which was accordingly executed. Intelligence being sent to Ringo, he returned instantly for the protection of his dominions, and a furious engagement ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. To render things more decisive, they recruited their forces by mutual agreement, and fought a second battle more bloody than the former, at the close of which Ringo was mortally wounded. Then he sent for Omund, and told him, that now he had given proofs sufficient of his valour to merit the daughter of a warrior, and therefore he should contentedly resign himself into the arms of death, as he had the happiness to see his family strengthened by the alliance of such a son-in-law; so saying he expired. Omund's next exploits were against Rusla, a warlike virgin, who usurped the sovereignty of some provinces of Norway, and endeavoured to extend her power over Denmark likewise. Her he defeated in a sea-fight, but not so decisively but she soon recruited her forces, and was again ready to enter upon action. Omund not caring to hazard a defeat from a woman, determined to use policy, and by dint of gold seduced from her the allegiance of the Norwegians, who deserted her, and afterwards delivered her into the hands of her brother, whom she had dethroned, in revenge for which he put her to death, and was mean enough to pay homage to Omund, in acknowlegement of his services. Having honourably concluded some other wars in which he was necessarily engaged, Omund preserved his dominions in profound peace for a number of years, and then died sincerely

sincerely regretted and esteemed by his people, who immediately chose his eldest son to succeed him on the throne. He was, indeed, a prince equally skilled in the arts of war and of peace, who had obliterated by the prudence and success of his administration, all memory of his father's cruelty [a].

SIWARD.

SIWARD, on his accession to the throne, was complimented by an embassy from the king of Sweden, who demanded his sister in marriage. Imagining that this alliance might in time produce an union of kingdoms which were always at variance, and prove advantageous to both, Siward complied, and the treaty was concluded. Halland was the place fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials; but the Swedish monarch being beset by ruffians on the road, broke off the treaty and prepared for war, from a notion that the assassins had been hired by Siward to murder him. Both kings having raised forces, they met on the confines of the spot appointed for a more friendly intercourse, and a battle ensuing, the Swedish monarch was slain, and his army totally defeated.

Defeats and kills in battle the king of Sweden.

The war with Sweden in which Siward was engaged, furnished some tributary princes on the continent with an opportunity of revolting. They raised an army, obtained a victory, and reduced their sovereign to great straights. Such was their success, and the ill fortune of Siward, that he lost all his dominions except Zealand and a few inconsiderable islands. His spirit, however, was not broke; he raised fresh forces, and determined either to perish by their hands, or to reduce to obedience his rebellious subjects. Accordingly, he engaged the rebel army, commanded by one Simon, and just as victory began to declare for him, died of a wound he received by the hand of the rebel general, after he had given a mortal blow to his antagonist, both falling dead upon each other. Such was the end of this brave but unfortunate prince, who had become odious to many of his subjects, rather from a spirit of rebellion in them than any fault in his administration. He left two sons; but they being carried off and kept prisoners by the rebels, his brother was elected king in his room [b].

He is slain in battle against the rebels.

BATHUL.

BATHUL was raised to the throne less upon account of his own merit, which was but inconsiderable, than

[a] Meurs. p. 31. [b] Saxo-Gram. lib. viii.

from

from a regard the people had for the blood royal, and reſpect for the memory of Siward. The ſtate of Denmark was now truly deplorable; her dominions were rent in pieces by rebellion, her power and credit ſunk, and a king elected, the moſt unfit in the world to retrieve her affairs, by courage or conduct. There remained, of all the potent kingdom of Denmark, but Zealand, Funen, and thoſe little iſlands, called by the Danes Smallands; Jutland, Norway, Schonen, Sleſwick, Embden, and other countries on the continent, as well as ſeveral iſlands, were diſmembered from the crown. In this ſituation it would probably have remained, had not Jarmerci, the ſon of Siward, fallen upon the means of recovering his liberty; and returned into Zealand, where he aſſerted the dignity of his anceſtors, which was ſunk during the weak and timid reign of his uncle Bathul, who now willingly reſigned the burthen of ſovereignty, to which he found his own ſtrength unequal.

The deplorable condition of Denmark.

JARMERCI.

THE firſt endeavours of this heroic prince were to recover the revolted provinces, and reduce them to their former obedience. He began with Sweden, that had led the way and encouraged his ſubjects in their rebellion, in conſequence of which, Gothar, the Swediſh king, got poſſeſſion of Schonen, Jutland, and ſome other Daniſh provinces. Jarmerci raiſed a great army, entered Sweden, defeated and killed Gothar, and recovered all that the Swedes had taken from his father and uncle: thence he marched into Sleſwick and Holſtein, and ſoon reduced them: from Sleſwick he penetrated into Pomerania, and thence to Sileſia, laying all that country under contribution, and exacting an oath from the nobles, that they would pay homage and a yearly tribute to the crown of Denmark. In a word, he not only recovered in a ſhort time, all the countries his anceſtors had ever poſſeſſed, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the Daniſh ſovereignty. All this proſperity was not unattended with a mixture of adverſity and domeſtic misfortunes, which more than counterbalanced the power and grandeur of Jarmerci. He had diſcovered an intrigue that was carrying on between a beautiful young lady he had taken for his ſecond wife, and Broder, a ſon he had by his former conſort. Enraged at a crime ſo unnatural, he gave orders they ſhould both be inſtantly put to death, a ſentence which was executed accordingly upon the queen; but his ſon found means, through the favour of his keepers, to eſcape, and raiſe civil

His conqueſts retrieve the face of affairs.

Is put to death by his own son.

civil commotions, which ended only with the life of his father, whom he besieged, took, and put to death, in a strong castle, which Jarmerci had built as a retreat in case of any unforeseen change of fortune. It is true, that both the queen and Broder were innocent of the crime laid to their charge, the whole being a contrivance of Bicco, a nobleman of great power and ambition, who, out of resentment or envy to Jarmerci, sought to distract his counsels. Such was this man's art and address, that he fomented the quarrel between the father and son to such a height, that, notwithstanding filial duty on one side, and paternal affection on the other, strongly urged them to a reconciliation, each was made to believe that his security could only be effected by the death of the other. Thus ended the glorious reign of Jarmerci, a monarch inferior to none in valour and greatness of soul; but unhappily credulous in his temper, and easily wrought on by those diabolical instruments, who never fail to insinuate themselves in all courts, and create divisions with a view of raising themselves [b].

BRODER.

BRODER succeeded to his father's throne by the unanimous voice of the people, who soon had reason to repent of their choice. The indolence and weakness of his reign encouraged several of the provinces, which had been recovered by his father, again to revolt; and the Swedes in particular took possession of Schonen. This is all we know of him, history being silent concerning the manner of his death, and of most of the particulars of his life [c].

SIWALD III.

HE was succeeded by Siwald III. a prince who had attained to a great age before he was raised to the throne. The transactions of his reign are no less obscure than those of his predecessor; nor do we know any thing of the circumstances of the kingdom, until his son Snio was joined with him in the sovereignty.

SIWALD III. and SNIO.

NOW Denmark began to resume her wonted vigour, exerting herself for the recovery of Schonen, and the revolted provinces, which were soon obliged to submit, and surrender the ringleaders of the rebellion. Snio in the next

[b] Saxo-Gram. lib. viii. Pontan. p. 34.

[c] Meurs. lib. ii. p. 34.

place

place resolved to secure the crown in his family by marriage, and accordingly sent ambassadors to demand the daughter of the king of Swedish Gothland, who were all put to death by this savage prince, under pretence of their being spies. Irritated at this indignity, Snio raised a powerful army, and entered Gothland, laying the country waste with fire and sword. Gotho, for that was the king of Gothland's name, perceiving that his forces were unable to resist the rapid progress of the Danes, challenged Snio to single combat; a proposal which he accepted, on condition that the kingdom of the vanquished should submit to the conqueror. Upon this proposal Gotho declined the combat, sent his daughter into Sweden, and fought a battle, in which his army was defeated, and he himself forced to submit to the terms imposed by the victorious Snio. The king of Sweden married his ward, and while he was enjoying all the pleasures of love, was suddenly despoiled of his wife and treasure, by a rapid descent made on his kingdom by Snio, who carried her off in triumph. This rape gave occasion to a long and bloody war, which was terminated by a greater misfortune. Both kings having levied all their subjects, hardly any persons were left to cultivate the lands; the consequence of which conduct was a cruel famine, that carried off incredible numbers of the people. This calamity gave birth to a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, a single grain of corn from being converted into malt, or used in any other manner than bread, of which the rich were in equal want with the poor; but this edict not having the desired effect, it was proposed by Aggo and Ebbo, two noblemen of Jutland, that all the old men and children should either be put to death, or compelled to seek for new habitations in foreign countries. Intelligence of this execrable scheme coming to the ears of Cambora, or, as other writers call her, Magga, the king's mother, a woman of an heroic spirit, she immediately entered the council chamber, and in a very pathetic speech represented the inhumanity of sacrificing their aged parents and innocent babes, who were unable to secure themselves possessions in foreign countries. It would better become, she observed, the piety and valour of the Danes to send forth their young men upon expeditions, which required strength, vigour, and health, and thus supply the wants of the infirm, weak, and aged, by leaving them their share of the public stock of provisions. This expedient, she said, would answer the same purpose as barbarously sacrificing with their own hands those beings who gave them life, and those innocent tender babes whose support depended on

A. D. 383.

A cruel famine prevails in Denmark.

their parental fondness. She proposed, that if the enterprize appeared so dangerous as to terrify any of the nobility from taking the command of this large colony, she would lead it in person, and banish herself from her native soil, for the sake of her country, for the sake of humanity, and every principle the most dear and valuable to a true-born Dane. Snio immediately acceded to her proposal, and assembled the nobility and commons to settle the plan of migration. In this assembly it was agreed, that every ninth man in Denmark and the provinces, able to carry arms, should compose the colony; that it should be conducted by Aggo and Ebbo; and that the place of rendezvous should be that province lying between the Elbe and the Oder [a], and washed by the Baltic, the ancient name of which is not determined (A). By these means plenty was introduced in Denmark; and Snio lived in peace to a good old age, after having, by prudence and conduct, restored his kingdom to its ancient splendor, and without a single blemish upon his reputation, except his carrying off by force the queen of Sweden, which may be looked upon as the cause of all the dreadful misfortunes which afterwards attended him by a cruel and ruinous war, and a still more destructive famine. We are not informed by any historian, whether Siwald, his father, resigned the crown to Snio, or whether he died soon after he had associated him on the throne.

Character and death of Snio.

BIORNO.

BIORNO, his son, succeeded Snio; a prince of little merit according to Saxo-Grammaticus and Meursius, though

[a] Pontan. & Meurs. lib. citat. Suan. p. 53.

(A) Various are the conjectures of historians and critics concerning the time of this migration, the place where the colony established itself, and the derivation of their name, all agreeing that they were called Lombards after their departure, and Winnuli, or Winili, before. The Danish writers to a man affirm, that the famine which occasioned the migration happened in Snio's reign; though Paulus Diaconus, and other writers, make it later. Prosper, a writer of credit, asserts, that they settled in the isle of Rugen and country adjacent, till the year 484, when they removed into Pannonia, and other provinces of the Roman empire. As to their name, some derive it from their beards. Longo-barb; others from their weapons, called bardens, or longo-bardens (1).

(1) Vide & Got. Proteg. Hist. Got. p. 53. & Pontan. Hist. Dan. lib. iii. p. 39. ad p. 57. Radbec Atalant, tom. i.

Lyschander,

Lyschander, Pontanus, and Suaningius affirm, that the male royal line was extinct in Snio. All writers indeed agree, that here is a chasm of two hundred and ninety-eight years in the Danish history, Biorno alone standing in the space between Snio and Gormo; that is, from the year 401 after the birth of Christ to the year 699 of that æra; a period this the most busy but obscure in ancient history, during which all those very extraordinary migrations were made from the northern countries, which destroyed the Roman empire, and wholly changed the face of affairs in Europe. Pontanus and others, to fill up this chasm, relate the expedition of the Vandali, Longobards, Lombards, and other northern nations, giving, at the same time, a long list of Saxon and Swedish kings; but as these matters relate nothing to our history, we think it more satisfactory entirely to pass over this period, and resume our narrative with Gormon, who was elected to the throne in the year 699 or 700 after the birth of our Saviour [b] (B).

Some difficulties concerning the chronology.

GORMON I.

ACCORDING to Lyschander, Gormon was the fifty-second monarch who wielded the Danish scepter from Dan, and a prince the most extraordinary of his age, not for the usual qualities of a king, but his profound skill in magic, and deep penetration into the secrets of nature. We must refer the reader to the wonderful tales he will find related of his magic skill by Saxo, who ascribes them all to a strict correspondence he maintained with the parent of deceit; they might pass for truth in the age of that entertaining writer, but they will scarce furnish amusement in these enlightened times, where even fiction itself requires the assistance of probability. We know only for certain of this prince, that he lived to an advanced age without engaging in any wars with his neighbours, and was succeeded by his son Gotrick, surnamed the Generous [c].

[b] Meurs. p. 36. [c] Saxo-Gram. lib. viii.

(B) To supply the chasm, Lyschander, in his Genealogy of the Danish kings, and Suaningius in his Chronicon Danicum, give the following table of kings; viz. Rorick II. Swan I. Guitlach II. Harold III. (according to them) Erchall, Vermond II. Omond II. to whom succeeded Biorno his son, whom we have made the son and successor of Snio. Of these princes they give no account, nor have they even quoted their authority for inserting them.

GOTRICK.

Some writers call this prince Guitlach, and others Godfred; but we chuſe to follow the authority of Grammaticus and Pontanus. In the firſt year of his government the Saxons rebelled, and he raiſed a powerful army to ſuppreſs them, an aim which he ſoon effected, by giving them a ſignal overthrow, and obliging them, upon the birth of a Daniſh prince, to ſend a preſent to the king of a hundred milk white horſes, in token of their ſubmiſſion and vaſſalage to the crown of Denmark. He afterwards married the princeſs of Norway, ſending at the ſame time an ambaſſador into Sweden, to appeaſe certain tumults which broke out at the general diet of that kingdom: but the ambaſſador was killed by a large ſtone thrown at him by one of the populace; an inſult which Gotrick thought it his duty to puniſh [d]. He accordingly invaded Sweden, defeated the Swediſh army, ſubdued the whole country, and puniſhed the perſons concerned in the murder of his ambaſſador with a heavy fine. Scarce had he returned from Sweden before Saxony was over-run by Charlemaigne's army, while Vitichend, lord of the country, unable to reſiſt ſo potent a force, implored the aſſiſtance of Gotrick, whoſe ſiſter he had married; and the Daniſh monarch readily promiſed him ſpeedy ſuccour, becauſe he ſaw the neceſſity of checking the growing power of Charlemagne, who, like an impetuous torrent, threatened to ſwallow up all Europe in one univerſal monarchy. Charlemagne's retreat to oppoſe the Saracens prevented a battle at this time with the main army; but ſome poſts which he maintained were forced, and his troops driven quite out of Saxony. When Charlemagne returned from Spain, Gotrick ſent ambaſſadors to remonſtrate to him, that Saxony was a fief of Denmark, which he thought himſelf bound to protect. He therefore requeſted him not to diſturb the peace of that country; otherwiſe the Danes would be under the neceſſity of oppoſing him with all their power; a meaſure that would not at all be agreeable to a people who entertained the higheſt reſpect for his majeſty. As Charlemagne gave no explicit anſwer to this remonſtrance, Gotrick reſolved to enforce it by arms, and accordingly ſent a powerful reinforcement to Vitichend, which enabled him to drive the Franks out of the barrier towns, and garriſon them with Danes and Saxons. Charlemagne, offended at this preſump-

He ſubdues Sweden.

Saxony over-run by Charlemaigne's army.

[d] Meurſ. & Saxo-Gram. ibid.

tion,

tion, sent an army under Conrade to reduce all Saxony to his obedience; but this general was defeated, and his army dispersed. Enraged at the indignity, Charlemagne entered Saxony at the head of an army, and by forced marches had nearly surprised Vitichend, who fled precipitately, and took shelter with Gotrick beyond the Elbe. His army being destitute of a commander, became an easy prey to the French monarch, who, determining to strike terror in the inhabitants, ordered above four thousand Saxons to be executed, after which massacre he retired with his army, leaving strong garrisons in all the towns [e].

Gotrick recovers Saxony a second time.

Gotrick had no sooner advice of this defeat than he led his army into that deplorable country, expelled all the French garrisons, and reduced it to its former obedience. Upon his return to Denmark he heard that Charlemagne proposed sending his son Pepin, with a strong army, to invade the Danish provinces upon the continent, and resolved to oppose him with an equal force. He levied a prodigious army, and equipped a fleet of above three hundred large ships, with which he proposed making a descent on the coast of France, and by this diversion to weaken Pepin's army. In a word, such was the valour, the conduct, and the mighty force of Gotrick, that Charlemagne's empire was never more endangered than from this formidable enemy, when an unforeseen accident contributed to the safety of that powerful monarch. After Gotrick had over-run East-Friesland, and some other provinces belonging to the enemy, leading his army strait to Aix la Chapelle, at that time the capital of Charlemagne's empire, he was stabbed in his tent by a centinel, bribed, as some writers imagine, be Pepin, to remove this dangerous rival to his father's glory. Other writers imagine, that this unworthy action was committed by his own son, in revenge for his having repuditated his mother, and taken another wife. Be this as it will, certain it is that the great Gotrick fell by the hands of an assassin, at a time when he was about to dispute the empire of Europe with the greatest monarch of the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, brave, merciful, and munificent prince, possessed of every quality which could gain the love of his own subjects, and the esteem and respect of all other nations. That he was the dread of his powerful competitor, appears from the excessive and indecent joy which Charlemagne expressed on the news of his death [f].

Is treacherously murdered.

A. D. 801.

[e] Pontan. lib. iii. Meurs. lib. ii. [f] Suaning. 62.

OLAUS III.

GOTRICK being killed, his eldeſt ſon Olaus, the third of that name, was elected king of Denmark. This prince is entirely omitted by many hiſtorians, and others place him after Hemming, though Saxo-Grammaticus and Meurſius expreſly ſay, that he was the ſon and immediate ſucceſſor of Gotrick. Olaus, while he was endeavouring to bring to juſtice the murderers of his father, had the misfortune to involve himſelf in a civil war, in which we have reaſon to believe he periſhed, though we do not find this circumſtance mentioned by any writer beſides Eric of Pomerania.

HEMMING.

ACCORDING to the ſame author, he was ſucceeded by Hemming, his only child. The firſt act of this prince's adminiſtration was to conclude a treaty with Lewis the Pious, ſettling the limits of their reſpective dominions, to the ſatisfaction of both parties, without any encroachment on the boundaries of Denmark, which now comprehended great part of the German continent. After having reigned two years, with great applauſe, this excellent monarch yielded up his laſt breath, and left his kingdom to his two couſins, Siward and Ringo [g].

SIWARD and RINGO.

DENMARK was divided between them, and a conſtant jealouſy and perpetual wars enſued, by which this potent kingdom began to dwindle, and loſe the reſpect it had ſo long commanded from the ſurrounding ſtates. At laſt the condition of the Danes became deplorable. Siward's ſubjects depoſed him, and raiſed his infant ſon Regner to the throne, a meaſure which furniſhed his rival Ringo with a fair occaſion of invading Zealand and Schonen, where he met with little reſiſtance. Immediately on his arrival he threatened with the moſt cruel and ignominious death all the inhabitants who refuſed to acknowlege him for their king. In this critical ſituation the people deſired he would permit them to deliberate upon his propoſal, which requeſt being granted, they aſſembled to debate on the meaſures which they ought to purſue. On one hand their affection, and the oath they had ſworn to Regner, inclined many of the inhabitants to remain firm in their duty; on the other, the power and dreadful menaces of Ringo overwhelmed them with conſternation. Various meaſures were propoſed, and

Civil wars in Denmark.

[g] Scriptor. citat. ibid.

all

all were attended with a thouſand difficulties; in conſequence of which the aſſembly was ready to break up without coming to any concluſion, when Regner, though then but twelve years of age, ſpoke in the following manner. "To what purpoſe is it, my faithful friends, to irritate a powerful enemy, by an obſtinate attachment to an unhappy prince, whom you have not ſtrength ſufficient to defend? As deſerting your king, and flying from your colours without urgent neceſſity, would be a crime of the moſt heinous nature, ſo, adhering to them at the hazard of your own lives, when you are ſenſible you cannot better the cauſe in which you are engaged, is downright folly, and a treſpaſs againſt the firſt principles of nature. Deceit in ſome caſes is allowable: can it ever be practiſed in a more juſt cauſe than the preſent, or with more probability of ſucceſs? You muſt deceive the enemy you are unable to combat; you muſt counterfeit ſubmiſſion, until an occaſion offers of avowing your principles, recalling your king, and throwing off the yoke of the oppreſſor. Adverſe fortune is never ſo eaſily ſurmounted as by yielding to it." This ſenſible oration from a child, determined them to follow his advice, as ſoon as they had conveyed him ſafe into Norway. They accordingly ſubmitted to Ringo, and immediately gave notice of their intention to Siward, who, without heſitation ſtruck his tents, and marched to give battle to his rival, who was equally deſirous of coming to a deciſive action. The armies met and engaged with unrelenting fury, until Ringo was killed, and victory had declared in favour of his adverſary, who had likewiſe received a mortal wound, of which he died the next day; and happy had it been for Denmark had this event happened earlier, though each was deſerving enough of the crown, had he enjoyed it without a competitor. It was their rivalſhip and ambition that reduced the kingdom to the moſt melancholy ſituation; and the continuance of their wars would probably have made way for its total conqueſt by ſome foreign power [b].

Death of Ringo and Siward.

REGNER.

BOTH theſe princes being removed by death, Regner was recalled from Norway, and replaced on the throne (A).

[b] Saxo-Gram. lib. ix. Meurſ. lib. ii. p. 38.

(A) Authors differ conſiderably in the orthography of this prince's name, ſome calling him Regner, others Reginfrid, and not a few Ragnifrid. We have adhered to the orthography of Grammaticus, Meurſius, and Pontanus.

As ſoon as this prince had ſettled the domeſtic œconomy of his kingdom, which he found entirely ruined and perplexed by the late civil diſcord, he marched into Norway againſt Froe, king of Sweden, who had invaded that kingdom, imagining that he could eaſily reduce it before the ſituation of the Danes would admit of their ſending forces to its relief. Froe had, indeed, defeated Siward, king of Norway, and made priſoners his wife and daughters, before the arrival of Regner. He had expoſed them, and all the virgins who had fallen into his hands, to the moſt cruel indignities and inſults, which made them receive Regner as their deliverer. The indignation of this prince was ſo highly inflamed by the moving recital of what they had undergone, that he marched inſtantly againſt the barbarous conqueror, and gave him battle. The action continued with doubtful ſucceſs, when Lathgartha, a virgin of an heroic diſpoſition, who had been raviſhed by the brutal Froe, entered the ranks, and with incredible valour, drove the Swedes every where before her, till ſhe opened a way to their king, whom ſhe pierced through the body before he was prepared to guard againſt her furious attack[i]. The war being finiſhed by this deciſive action, Regner was ſo captivated with the bravery of the virago, that he ſought her of her relations in marriage, and obtained her with little difficulty.

Bravery of Lathgartha, a young lady of Norway.

During the king's reſidence in Norway, the provinces of Schonen and Jutland revolted, and ſome commotions were excited in Zealand; his preſence ſoon reduced affairs to their former ſituation; but not till he had given battle, and defeated the rebels, all of whom he generouſly pardoned, excepting a few of the ringleaders, who were reſerved for exemplary puniſhment. Another revolt ſoon however broke out, and was ſuppreſſed with the ſame expedition and vigour; to this ſucceeded a third, and to that a fourth, which obliged him to treat theſe obſtinate delinquents with more ſeverity, and to put it out of their power to diſturb for the future the courſe of government by their rebellious and reſtleſs diſpoſition.

Regner's marriage with the valorous Lathgartha was unfortunate; for ſhe was ſuppoſed to aſpire at the crown independent of her huſband, againſt whoſe life ſhe was unjuſtly thought to harbour deſigns; upon the ſuſpicion of which he repudiated her, and demanded in marriage the daughter of Haroth, king of Sweden. Before he could obtain this lady, it was neceſſary he ſhould fight the two greateſt bravoes in Denmark. This atchievement he per-

[i] Saxo-Gram. p. 171, 172.

formed

formed with success, having killed them, and, in consequence, gained the prize, which had been contended for by all the neighbouring young princes, inflamed either by love or ambition. By this lady he had seven sons, Rathbert, Dun, Vorth, Siward, Biorno, Agner, and Ivar. In the mean time the Cimbri threw off the Danish yoke, and chose a king, whom they called Harold Klang; upon which Regner raised an army in Denmark, and obtained a strong body of auxiliaries from Norway, which was afterwards strengthened by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships of war, which Lathgartha had equipped for his service, and commanded in person. Regner was astonished at this instance of her affection; but she frankly told him, that no inconstancy on his side could wean her from her duty, or oblige her to revolt from the allegiance she owed, both as his subject and his wife. "If, says she, the charms of my person be faded in your eyes, it is requisite that I should endeavour to supply that loss by other qualities, more conducive to your glory and the good of these kingdoms [a]." Such was the generous revenge which this noble lady took on the infidelity of her consort. He marched directly against the rebels, and began an action, which continued with great warmth and spirit without appearance of advantage on either side, till Siward, the son of Regner, was killed, an incident which occasioned great confusion in the wing of the Danish army which he commanded. Regner, hearing of his son's misfortune, flew like lightning along the lines, exhorting his men not to add to his calamity by their misconduct, and rallying them with amazing spirit and resolution, while Lathgartha led on the wing the king had left, and pushed the enemy with such irresistible valour, that they were broke and totally defeated.

Harold, proclaimed king by the Cimbri, defeated by Regner.

Having settled the affairs of this country, rewarded and refreshed his soldiers, he led them without delay into Saxony, which he resolved to punish for its frequent revolt to the emperor. Arriving with a fleet of two hundred sail, he landed his men with such expedition, that the Saxons were subdued almost as soon as they had intelligence of his arrival. The emperor Lotharius being then encamped with a large army on the Elbe, gave battle to Regner, and was defeated; but the Danish monarch was prevented from pursuing his victory, by disturbances that were raised in Sweden after the death of their king Haroth, whose children the nobles had driven out of the kingdom, raising one of their own number to the throne. Regner sent his sons with an

He subdues Saxony.

Regner defeats the emperor Lotharius.

[a] Saxo-Gram. ibid. Meurs. p. 42.

army

army to reinstate the royal family, an end which they soon accomplished by the signal defeat of Sorlus, the usurper, who finding himself unable to combat the forces of the king of Denmark, sent a herald to desire that the issue might be decided by selecting a certain number of combatants out of each army. The proposal was accepted. Sorlus chose one Scardo, the most famous swordsman in Sweden, and his seven sons for his seconds; and on the side of the Danes, the three princes Biorno, Fridleff, and Rathbert offered themselves as champions. The combat began in sight of both armies, and Scardo being killed, Sorlus and his children, unable to stand against the fury of the Danish princes, were soon forced to follow his fate. Then the Danish army attacked the Swedes, and obtained an easy and decisive victory [b].

The death of Thora, his beloved wife, so grievously afflicted Regner, that he found it necessary to divert his mind by engaging in some foreign war. Accordingly he published an edict, ordering all his subjects who were harrassed either with idle children or servants, to send them to him for employment. As soon as he had raised a sufficient force, he put the affairs of his kingdom in the best order, and committed them to the care of a council, composed of twelve of the most prudent and weighty men in Denmark. He then embarked his troops, and made so successful a descent on Britain, that in a short time he reduced the island, not even the Orkneys escaping his arms. In his return to Denmark, he appeased some commotions, set on foot in Norway by the pride and ambition of several of the nobility, who aspired at the crown. He was not long in Denmark before he married a third wife, by name Suanloge, and had by her three sons, Reynold, Widferc, and Erick.

He defeats Dio, king of Mysia.

The next exploits of this conqueror were performed in the Hellespont, against Dio, king of that country, anciently called Mysia, who refused to pay certain duties which had always been claimed by the ancestors of Regner. This war ended as successfully as the former; upon which he turned his arms against the Russians, who had lent considerable assistance to Dio. We are told by the Danish historians, that this rude people confided more in the power of incantations than in arms; that they raised such storms of hail and snow, as reduced the Danes to the last extremity, and almost conquered him by famine, who had always proved invincible in arms. Regner, having lost near half his army, was forced to retreat into Courland, where he was kindly

[b] Ibid. etiam Pontan. lib. iv.

welcomed

welcomed, and furniſhed with every neceſſary which the country afforded. Incenſed at his late diſgrace, he again entered Ruſſia, with a reſolution to bring the ſavage monarch to action. The king of Ruſſia, foreſeeing Regner's return, had procured a ſtrong body of auxiliaries from the king of Finland, whoſe troops were exceedingly expert in throwing the lance. Relying upon theſe ſuccours, he ventured to attack the Danes, who were unable, on account of the mountains of ice and ſnow, to extend their wings, or draw out in order of battle. Regner, for this reaſon, kept in his camp, and watched the opportunity of finding the enemy unguarded. Next night preſented the happy occaſion he wiſhed for; upon which he led his army with the utmoſt expedition and ſilence, in the middle of the night, and broke into their camp, while they were felicitating themſelves with the notion of ſtarving the Danes into ſubmiſſion. In this diſorder he obtained an eaſy victory; and after having taken ſufficient revenge, withdrew his army out of this inhoſpitable country.

Ubbo, his baſtard ſon, revolts, and is conquered.

The long abſence of Regner, furniſhed his baſtard ſon, Ubbo, with an opportunity of diſplaying his ambition, and unnatural deſire of depoſing his own father, and ſeizing upon a crown to which he had no kind of right. In this wild project he was aſſiſted by his grandfather Eſbern, a man of great power in Swediſh Gothland, where he raiſed a numerous army in ſupport of Ubbo. But Eſbern was defeated by Biorno, who was left prefect of Gothland by his father; and Ubbo meeting with a check from Ivar, the other ſon of Regner, went into voluntary baniſhment. Soon after, by the aſſiſtance of his grandfather, he equipped a large fleet, with intention to ſurpriſe his father at ſea; in his return from Ruſſia. He met with him accordingly; but was forced to yield to the ſuperior valour and juſtice of the parent. In this action Eſbern was ſlain among the firſt, and his head fixed on the prow of Regner's galley, a circumſtance which ſo terrified Ubbo, that he made all the ſail he could towards Zealand, where, once more, making trial of his fortune, he was defeated, made priſoner, and ſlain by his keepers, for having attempted to make his eſcape.

Regner conquers Daxo.

Regner, who was born to ſhine as the firſt of heroes in the Daniſh annals, had no ſooner ſuppreſſed this domeſtic foe, than he was attacked by a more formidable foreign enemy; no other than Daxo, the ſon of Dio, king of the Helleſpont, whom he had lately overcome in ſeveral battles. The peace which Dio had concluded, was patched up only with intention of ſeizing the firſt opportunity of revenge.

venge. He submitted from necessity to the terms of the conqueror, and permitted his dominions to be governed by Widferc, Regner's son, who was left in quality of lieutenant, Daxo retaining nothing more than the name and pageantry of majesty. Daxo embraced the opportunity of a fair that was held in the city, to perpetrate his base designs of massacring Widferc: accordingly he invited that prince to a feast, and had concealed a number of armed assassins; but this scheme being frustrated by some business, which had prevented the lieutenant's attendance, he went early in the morning to his house, attended with the assassins, dressed like peasants, and finding admittance, was forcing his way to Widferc's chamber, when the prince, alarmed with the noise, leaped out of bed, and placed himself, sword in hand, in the entrance. Here he bravely defended himself till he received a wound, was overpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. His valour had such an effect upon the treacherous Daxo, that he offered to share the kingdom with him, and to give him his sister in marriage, provided he would promise never to revenge this attack. But the generous Widferc resolutely replied, that he desired no greater favour of his hands than his imbruing them in blood that would not fail of drawing upon the insidious Daxo the vengeance of Regner. Incensed at this haughty repulse, the cruel Daxo ordered him with all his attendants to be bound and thrown into a large fire lighted for the occasion, there feasting his eyes with the unhappy catastrophe of the valorous and noble-spirited Widferc. Advice of this barbarous action coming to the ears of Regner, it gave such a shock to his constitution as had near unsettled his understanding. He ran about the palace like a maniac, tore his hair, rent his cloaths, and committed all the other actions of phrenzy and despair. This paroxysm of madness was succeeded by a fit of despondency and sullenness, which it was feared would entirely destroy his reason; but the good sense of the queen Suanloge, got the better of his grief, and roused him to a sense of his own condition, the situation of the kingdom, and the folly of lamenting, like a woman, what ought to be avenged with all the fury of an injured king and father. Convinced by the many forcible arguments this lady advanced, he levied an army, marched into Daxo's country, defeated his army, took him prisoner, and, like a truly generous prince, again set him at liberty: "Enjoy that life, said he, which would only be an unworthy atonement to the manes of my brave son; and let thy own conscience be thy punisher." However, to add to his mortification,

Daxo murders the brave Widferc, son of Regner.

Regner revenges his death; but generously grants his life to Daxo.

tion, he ordered that he should pay an annual tribute, and come in person, once a year, attended by twelve noblemen, all bare-footed, in token of his subjection. Then, leaving his son Eric his lieutenant over the conquered countries, he returned to Norway, where some new commotions began to disturb the public tranquillity. These he soon suppressed, and settling the affairs of that kingdom, left his son Biorno to preside over them.

Before his return to Denmark, his queen Suanloge died, a circumstance which threw him into a fit of deep melancholy, that could only be subdued by the din of arms; and now the occasion offered, for England and Scotland both refused to pay the usual homage. This refusal obliged Regner to raise a prodigious armament by sea and land, which he transported into Scotland, and there fought a dreadful battle, which lasted three days, and ended in the defeat of the Scots, and death of their king. The victory, however, was not cheaply bought; for Regner lost his sons Dan and Rathbert, with a prodigious number of officers and soldiers in the engagement. Passing from thence into England, he fought there with equal success, and subjected the whole kingdom to his obedience, after having defeated Hella, the son of Haum, who was assisted by a powerful reinforcement from France. Nor did Ireland escape the terror of his name, and the weight of his arm; for, transporting his army to that kingdom, he slew Molbric, the Irish general, in battle, routed his army, and made himself master of Dublin, the capital, which he gave to be plundered by his soldiers. Before he returned to Denmark, his subjects there had broke out into open rebellion, and recalled Harold, who had before been set up as king in Jutland. This prince reflecting upon the power and valour of Regner, resolved to make use of every precaution to withstand him, and secure the possession of his new acquired authority. Accordingly he sought the alliance of the emperor, which he obtained conditionally, that he would embrace the Christian religion, and propagate it with all his power through his dominions. Harold, the better to secure the emperor's friendship, without any religion, immediately became a convert to Christianity; without faith, abjured infidelity, destroyed all the pagan idols, and erected a church in Slesvick, where the doctrine of Jesus was publicly preached. Regner arriving in Denmark, as these new schemes of religion and politics were carrying on, attacked Harold without delay, overthrew him, and forced him a second time to seek shelter in Germany. Then he destroyed the Christian temple erected in Slesvick, and restored the worship of the pagan gods; a circumstance which

Regner invades Scotland, and defeats the king.

Subdues England.

Rebellion breaks out in Denmark.

Christianity introduced into Denmark.

which derogates by no means from his reputation, as he had yet received no conviction of the truth of the Gospel, and had he embraced it, must have proved a convert from political motives: a reflection, which we thought necessary, in answer to the ridiculous defamation of Christian writers. This last act, say they, was evidently punished by the Almighty; for Hella, king of England, revolting a second time, had seduced Ireland to second his views of independency. This revolt once more drew the aged Regner into the field, where his usual good fortune, but not his valour, deserting him, he was defeated and made prisoner. His cruel enemies, without regarding the character of the hero, threw him bound, into a dungeon filled with snakes, vipers, and poisonous animals, thus ingloriously putting an end to a life grown old in glory and victory. A proverbial saying of this great king's in prison, determined Hella to set him at liberty; but too late, he had breathed his last before the order came to the jailor. Other writers have given a different account of the death of the great Regner; but we are of opinion, that the authority of Danish writers ought, in facts respecting their own country, to weigh against the testimony of foreigners: we have therefore related it as we find it asserted by Grammaticus, Pontanus, and Meursius, who correspond directly in all the circumstances of his reign. His whole life was an uninterrupted course of glorious victories, wise measures, and noble generous actions. His repudiating his wife Lathgartha, a woman of so sublime and elevated a soul, may be imputed to him as a weakness, if we suppose it proceeded from the inconstancy of his nature. But this does not appear; on the contrary, Meursius and Grammaticus affirm, that this lady's chastity was publicly taxed; and it was unworthy of Regner to cohabit with a wife, who had even been suspected of incontinence. Thus we see the errors of those writert, who place the conversion of the Danish kings in the reign of this monarch [m]. It is true, Harold was a Christian, if we may give that appellation to a man who professed this religion only to serve temporary views; but he never was king of Denmark, he was only an usurper, who, by means of a faction, was raised four months to the throne, during the absence of the lawful prince, by whom he was driven into his primitive obscurity [n].

Regner is defeated and cruelly put to death by Hella, king of England.

It is now difficult to fix with certainty the successor of Regner, and continue the series of Danish kings. The disputes and differences on this head, among writers, are

[m] Sauning. Chron. Dan. p. 63. Pontan. ibid. & Suaning, p. 64.

[n] Saxo-Gram. Meurs.

numberless;

numberless, and it would be a vain endeavour to reconcile them: we shall therefore adhere to those who have kept the nearest to a natural chronology, though all, indeed, have greatly failed in this particular (A).

IVAR.

ACCORDING to the best authorities, Ivar was raised to the throne of his deceased father, and began his reign with revenging the unworthy death of that famous warrior. He was proclaimed immediately after Regner's death, which happened, according to Merusius, in the year of Christ 836; but if we credit Pontanus and Suaningius, five years after. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, and without hesitation invaded England; but finding Hella too strong for him, he sent to his brothers for succours. Their arrival with a powerful reinforcement soon turned the scale in favour of Ivar, who defeated Hella, and took ample vengeance on him for the cruel death of his father. Some writers affirm, that he took him prisoner, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet before the camp; but Grammaticus, with more probability, relates that Hella fell in battle (B).

A. D. 836. or, A. D. 841.

Ivar revenges his father's death.

The better to secure the country, and gain the affections of the people, he remained two years in England; during which time the Danes revolting, raised his brothers Siward and Eric to the throne. This rebellion alarmed Ivar, and obliged him to have recourse to the assistance of the English, of whom he embarked a large body, and sailed with them directly to Holstein. At length he met with the Danish army, engaged and defeated it near Slesvick, after a very bloody and obstinate contest, in which the rebels lost twelve thousand men. He now resolved to keep the Danes in awe by his presence, and therefore sent his brother Agner to

(A) Suaningius and Pontanus entirely omit Ivar in their list of kings, though it is certain that Regner had a son of that name; and as these writers have chiefly made use of the authority of Saxo-Grammaticus, we are at a loss to conjecture upon what testimony they excluded this prince. As they have given no reason for this proceeding, we think ourselves excusable in adhering to the authority of that elegant historian.

(B) Meursius affirms, that Hella conquering Ivar's father, by the assistance of the Roman forces, whose standard was an eagle, he ordered an impression of this to be seared on Hella's back, his body to be flead, and sprinkled with salt, until he died in the most agonizing torture (1).

(1) Meursius, p. 44.

govern

govern in England. Agner reſided but a ſhort time in that country, before the Engliſh, uneaſy under a foreign yoke, raiſed an army, and were on the point of reducing him to extremity, when Siward, his brother, arrived with a body of forces to his relief; by which he was enabled to reduce them to their former obedience; and to prevent another inſurrection, he cruelly maſſacred the pious king Edmund, with all the nobility of the court [c].

While theſe horrid tranſactions were carrying on in England, a rebellion was raiſed in Sweden, by means of one Oſten, a man of a turbulent aſpiring diſpoſition. Thither Agner flew with an army of Engliſh, and, engaging the enemy with too great impetuoſity, was ſlain in the heat of the engagement; but we are not told which of the parties obtained the victory. Ivar outlived his brother but a ſhort time; for he was carried off by a fever in the fifth year of his reign, but not until he had acquired and merited the reputation of a great and warlike prince.

SIWARD SNAKE-EYE.

TO Ivar ſucceeded Siward, ſurnamed Snake-Eye, his brother. In his youth this prince had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many extraordinary feats of valour in the field; but now having acquired the crown, he turned his inclinations to the arts of peace, endeavoured to reſtore induſtry, and promote the public tranquillity, that had ſo long been diſturbed by a ſeries of foreign and domeſtic wars. God, ſays Meurſius, ſeconded his pious intention, and enabled him to complete a reign as pregnant with real felicity and true glory as any which the annals of Denmark can produce. He died, and left an infant ſon, choſen by the ſtates to ſucceed him in the throne [d].

ERIC.

THE name of this young prince was Eric, ſurnamed Bern, or Child. In his minority he was depoſed by Eric, brother to the Harold we have ſo frequently mentioned in the reign of Regner, who took the reins of government into his own hands, aſſumed the ſupreme authority, and, by means of a faction, obtained the title of king: a revolution that happened, according to Meurſius, in the year 847, though, more probably, juſt ten years later.

[c] Meurſ. lib. iii. ſub init. [d] Saxo-Gram. & Meurſ. ubi citat.

ERIC

ERIC the USURPER.

MINDFUL that his brother was deposed soon after he had embraced the Christian religion, he conceived the strongest aversion to the doctrine of Jesus, put all the ministers of the Gospel in Denmark to death, and every where restored the pagan religion; from which circumstance we may infer, that Christianity had at this time taken root in this kingdom. As Saxony and England had now begun to shew their uneasiness under the Danish yoke, and to raise armies for the recovery of their liberty, Eric entered into a league and strict alliance with the kings of Sweden and Norway, obtained large supplies of land and sea forces from them, and with a hundred thousand fighting men, and a proportionable fleet, undertook the reduction of England and Saxony, dividing his forces, that he might attack both together, and prevent their mutually assisting each other. The fame of his power was sufficient to reduce the revolters to obedience, and submit to the terms he thought fit to impose, before he had set foot in either country. A. D. 857.

It was after his return from this expedition that we may date the æra of Christianity in Denmark; for Eric was again brought back to embrace the truth of the Gospel, in which both he and his brother Harold had been educated. Ansgarius, bishop of Bremen, was the happy instrument of this conversion; in consequence of which Eric abolished the idols he had but lately restored, and published an edict of toleration, permitting all his subjects to follow the doctrine of Christ with impunity. Such was the force of truth, or such, perhaps, the inconstancy of human nature, always eager after novelty, that Christianity spread with amazing rapidity, and was greatly aided in its progress by the zeal and piety of the king, who, notwithstanding his devotion, never once thought of restoring the crown to the right owner: but the invisible hand of Providence brought about justice, in a way which the usurper little expected, amidst the tranquillity in which he had hitherto possessed the throne. Guthorm, his brother's son, became his rival, and connected his own cause with that of young Eric, the son of Sivard, and the lawful king of Denmark. Violent were the dissensions raised among all degrees of men by this opposition. Such of the nobility as had taken part with Harold against Regner, or held places under the usurper, remained his fast friends; the rest of the nation in general, those who remembered the glorious Regner, and retained any sense of justice, gratitude, and compassion, took the A. D. 858.

The usurper embraces and propagates Christianity.

side of Guthorm, and declared in favour of the young prince. A bloody battle was fought, in which almost all the nobility of Denmark were slain, and the numerous progeny of Regner entirely extinguished, except the son of Siward, the last hope of this illustrious family [e]. The usurper too was slain, and his death made way for the young Eric, once more to mount the throne of his ancestors. At first he strenuously opposed the growth of the Christian faith; and took the most vigorous measures to suppress and root it out of his dominions. He put several of the most devout and zealous Christians to death, who had refused to abjure their religion; others he forced or bribed into a compliance with his will. He levelled all the churches with the ground, and sent an army to ravage Saxony, chiefly because the people of that country had received the light of the Gospel. Not long after, however, he not only withdrew his resentment, which had grievously oppressed the Christians, but published entire liberty of conscience, and embraced the true faith, by means of the eloquent and prudent Ansgarius, to whom this as well as the former conversion is wholly to be ascribed. He erected, at his own expence, a magnificent church at Ripen, ordered the pagan temples to be razed, and now became as zealous a Christian as a little before he had been a bigotted heathen; thus acting in extremes, and probably in neither from conviction, but from superstition and prejudice. At the persuasion of Ansgarius, he appointed persons properly qualified to teach the Gospel in every corner of the kingdom, allowed them handsome salaries, and took Ansgarius for his director, not only in spirituals but in temporals likewise; an office for which the good bishop was but indifferently qualified. Having thus afforded a remarkable instance of the weakness of the human understanding, which at different times, and without any particular conviction, can adopt opinions diametrically opposite, he died the proselyte and chief support of that religion, which, but a few years before, he had persecuted with such cruelty and bitterness [f].

Young Eric is restored.

A. D. 861.

His character.

CANUTE the LITTLE.

ERIC left an only son called Canute, afterwards surnamed the Little, or, according to some writers, the Hairy. As his infancy persuaded the states that a long minority might prove dangerous to the kingdom, they resolved to

[e] Saxo Gram. lib. ix. Meurs. lib. iii. Pontan. lib. iv. [f] Aut. mox citat.

elect

elect one of their own body, who should govern with the title and authority of a king during his life, the crown then to revert to Canute or his children. Accordingly Ennignup, a nobleman of great wisdom and valour, was chosen by public consent; but he was scarce seated on the throne before Olaus king of Sweden entered the kingdom, seized upon the crown, maintained it till his death, and then transmitted it to his son Siward, who was slain some years afterwards by an insurrection of the Danes, raised in favour of Canute, who had now attained the years of maturity.

A second migration of the inhabitants of Denmark.

In the very beginning of Canute's reign, a large colony of Danes went forth to look for new habitations, and settled in Prussia, the eastern parts of Courland, and Carelia. Now it was that Norway entirely shook off the yoke of Denmark, under the auspices of Harold, surnamed Yellow-hair (A), which is the only circumstance of any note we find mentioned under this reign. This prince differed greatly from his father with respect to his religious disposition; for Eric was alternately a zealous Pagan or bigotted Christian; whereas Canute was perfectly indifferent to both, and regarded the priests of all religions as little better than pious impostors, whom it was necessary to protect on account of the veneration in which they were held by the people; a way of thinking that brought great scandal upon his memory [g].

FROTHO VI.

FROTHO VI. the son of Canute, succeeded him; but the year of his succession to the throne is disputed. He was the greatest warrior who had wielded the Danish sceptre since Regner. He reduced England, which had rebelled during the indolent reign of his predecessor, and first planted the Christian religion there, if we may credit the Danish historians. The better to propagate the faith in Denmark, he was preparing an embassy to pope Sergius III. to acknowlege his supremacy in spirituals, and to request that he would send some persons perfectly qualified to teach the Gospel in Denmark, when death put an end to all his projects, and deprived his people of an excellent prince. He was married to Emma, daughter to the king of England, by whom he had a son named Gormo, who succeeded to his crown [h].

[g] Meur. p. 46. Saxa-Gram. lib. ix. p. 178. [h] Ibid.

(A) Pontanus calls this prince Harold, Haarfaar or Fair-Hair.

GORMO ANGLE II.

GORMO was surnamed Angle, or the Englishman, because he was born in England, where he likewise received the first rudiments of his education. Upon advice of his father's death, he immediately embarked for Denmark, and there received the crown, by the unanimous consent of the people. In his absence the English again took the opportunity of recovering their liberty; nor did he make any attempts to deprive them of it, whether from indolence, or from a rectitude of opinion, a strict regard to justice, and affection for the country of his birth and education, is uncertain. Grammaticus indeed says, that his nature was mild, modest, and moderate; that he was contented with the government of one kingdom, and thought it impossible for a prince to do that justice to the subjects of two different and distant kingdoms, which his duty required; an opinion that reflects great honour on his memory. After a peaceful reign of four years he died, and left the crown to Harold V [i].

HAROLD V.

THE peaceable reputation which Gormo required, and the tranquillity which his subjects enjoyed, was not lost or disturbed by Harold, who was a prince of much the same disposition. He acted upon his father's principles, preferred ease and tranquillity to every other advantage, preserved the kingdom as he found it, and handed down the crown without additional lustre or stain to his son [k],

GORMO III.

GORMO III. surnamed the Old, from the extraordinary age to which he lived, was a weak and timid prince, though father to two very warlike princes by his wife, daughter to the king of England. He was a bitter enemy to the Christians, whom he persecuted in every quarter, demolishing their churches, and banishing their clergy. Among other sacred buildings, he totally destroyed and razed the famous cathedral in Slesvick, and ordered the pagan idols to be erected wherever they had formerly stood.

The exploits of Gormo's sons.

Gormo's sons were both men of great ability in war, twins by birth, and rivals in glory. Their first exploits were directed against the Vandals, whom they subdued: next,

[i] Meur. p. 46. Saxo-Gram. lib. ix. p. 178. Suaning. p. 65.

[k] Pontan. lib. iv.

they

they carried their arms againſt the Engliſh, who had for ſome time enjoyed their liberty, and conquered them; but without dethroning their uncle, who at that time wielded the ſceptre of this country: however, they obliged him to ſign an inſtrument, whereby he conveyed the crown to them at his deceaſe. From England they paſſed into Ireland, and laid ſiege to Dublin, where Canute received the wound of which he died a few days after; upon which Harold puſhed the ſiege, took the city, ſettled the affairs of that country, and returned into Denmark.

While his ſons were gathering laurels abroad, Gormo took arms againſt the Saxons, with a view to oblige them to renounce the Chriſtian religion. Having reinforced his army, by a large body of auxiliary Vandals, he deſtroyed the country before him with fire and ſword, ſparing neither ſex nor age that did not abjure the faith. The emperor, Henry the Fowler, ſoon came to the relief of the Saxons, defeated Gormo, and drove him out of Saxony. Purſuing his victory, he entered Holſtein, paſſed into Sleſwick, took the city of that name, then a town flouriſhing in trade, and gave it to his ſoldiers to be plundered. At a ſmall diſtance from thence he built another town, as a mark to poſterity, that here he fixed the boundaries of his empire. He then granted peace to Gormo, on condition that he would ceaſe to perſecute his Chriſtian ſubjects, and permit liberty of conſcience. Gormo was not acquainted with his ſon Canute's death for ſome time after his return from Saxony. When it came to his knowlege, it affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he ſickened with grief, and died[1].

HAROLD VI.

HAROLD his ſon was immediately elected king; but he refuſed to accept the crown, until he had firſt performed his father's laſt obſequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank and quality. He was no ſooner crowned than he was obliged to diſpute the throne of England with Haquin, king of Norway. His claim to this was indeed indiſputable, both on account of his affinity, and by the will of Ethelred, who had bequeathed him his dominions, in excluſion of his own ſon; though, from motives of equity, Harold avoided diſputing the crown with this laſt prince, and permitted him to wear it unmoleſted to his death. As Adelſtan died without iſſue, he now thought he might fairly aſſert his claim, and accordingly made preparations for that purpoſe. Haquin in the mean time in

[1] Saxo-Gram. lib. ix.

vaded England; besides which, Harold had other reasons for engaging in a war with him. But this alone was sufficient; a conduct that was owing to respect for his uncle and cousin, the late kings of England, might not now be construed into indolence or cowardice, he therefore passed with a fleet into England; and sent another to support the claim of Harold, a prince of the Norwegian blood, who had craved his assistance. The king of Norway, hearing that his dominions were invaded by a pretender to the throne, returned thither before Harold of Denmark's arrival in England. On the coast of Norway he engaged the Danish fleet, commanded by Hovind and Carofio: finding himself inferior in ships, he landed his men, and drew the enemy into a land-engagement, in which he defeated them; but did not live to enjoy his victory, for he was killed in the pursuit: by which means Harold, the pretender to this crown, succeeded him, and paid the promised tribute and homage to Harold of Denmark, in return for the generous aid he had lent him. Thus Norway once more became a province to Denmark [m].

He succeeds to the crown of England.

After Harold had settled the affairs of England, he sailed against the Vandals, who committed horrid depredations on all the coasts of the Baltic. He had scarce rid his hands of this war, when his aid and protection were solicited by Stubiern, king of Sweden, who was driven out of his own dominions by Eric. To enforce his request, Stubiern had brought along with him Gyntha his sister, a lady of admirable beauty and accomplishments. The stratagem had the proposed effect: Harold became enamoured of her, married her, and promised the brother all the assistance in his power. Raising an army, he led it into Holstein; and marching from thence into Slesvick, he took by storm the new-built city of Henry the emperor, put the commanding officer to death, and made prisoners of the garrison, leaving a sufficient number of his own men in their stead. He restored to this city the ancient name of Slesvick, and annexed it again to the dominions of Denmark. While he resided here, the Vandals resumed their piracies; and Harold again attacked them with such vigour, that he reduced and plundered all their strong holds, and, among the rest, the rich and important city of Wollin, built in an island of the same name, which is formed by two branches of the river Oder. This city he presented to Stubiern, who became extremely dear to him, on account of the brave exploits he had seen him perform in the course of this war.

[m] Saxo Gram. lib. x. p. 182.

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He now, therefore, resolved to turn his arms against Eric, and to reinstate his brother-in-law, before he undertook any other affairs. Recruiting his army with the utmost expedition, he led his forces through Holland against Eric. In the mean time advice was received, that Otho I. had entered Jutland with a powerful army, and penetrated to the very heart of the country, to revenge the indignity offered the empire by the attack on Slesvick. Otho, indeed, gave other reasons for his conduct: he pretended to be the protector of Christianity, which Harold persecuted; to be the ally of the Vandals, whom Harold conquered; and the lawful possessor of Slesvick, which the Dane had taken and plundered. The emperor found Jutland an easy prey, all the inhabitants fit to bear arms being inlisted by Harold to serve in the Swedish war. Some assert, that he proceeded to Dantzick, and thence travelling along the coast, flung a spear into the sea, marking that strait as the boundary of his empire. Crantzius affirms, that he passed into the island of Funen, and there built a city called after his own name: but this circumstance we find denied by all the Danish writers; for the city which resembles his name was built, say they, by Othin, many years before the birth of Otho. What the event of this war was, we know not. Some German writers assert, that Harold, collecting all his force, pitched his camp on the narrow neck of land at Slesvick, to intercept Otho, by whom he was defeated. On the contrary, Grammaticus writes, that Otho, hearing of Harold's march against him, retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind many necessaries of his camp, which became so many trophies to the Danish monarch [b]. All agree, that the princes having adjusted the preliminaries of a personal conference, met; and Harold, overcome by the arguments of Otho, and the clergy about him, embraced the Christian religion, solemnly and publicly abjuring paganism. On this occasion he received baptism, Otho, the emperor, being sponsor; and the same ceremony was performed on his queen, and all his children. During this congress Stubiern was defeated by Eric, who, in consequence of his victory, seized upon Halland and Bleking, two provinces of Schonen, belonging to Harold. This seizure occasioned the latter to provide against all future irruptions, by erecting that strong wall across the isthmus of Slesvick, which he called Danemarck, or the work of the Danes. Some writers ascribe this wall to the emperor Otho, though for what

Otho's expedition into Jutland.

[b] Saxo Gram. ibid. Meurs. lib. iii. p. 48.

their prince Ratiborius, who left behind him eight sons, all sworn enemies to Magnus, and men of great valour, who resolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they over-ran the coasts of Jutland, laying waste all the country through which they passed, with all the cruelty of incensed barbarians. Fired with resentment, and a sense of the deplorable condition to which his unhappy subjects were reduced, Magnus raised an army, seized the strait or narrow pass at Sleswick to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with such advantage as fully avenged his subjects, and punished those barbarians for their savage cruelty. Some historians relate, that forty thousand of the Vandals were left dead on the field, and those that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; but Meursius reduces the number of slain to fifteen thousand, affirming, however, that the prisoners greatly exceeded this number [c].

He is surnamed the Good.

This victory, and his clemency to the prisoners, acquired him the surname of Good; and so endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with blessings, abjuring Swen, and offering their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majesty's person and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the Vandals that Magnus died by a fall from his horse, which took fright at a hare's crossing the road before him, and threw his rider upon stakes fixed in the ground, or some trunks of trees that had just been cut down. Other writers allege, that he was drowned in the Baltic, in passing from one ship to another in a small boat. Certain it is, that his death was greatly and deservedly lamented by his people, who enjoyed under him all the happiness which it was in the power of a wise and brave monarch to communicate to affectionate and faithful subjects, in so short a reign as eight years, or, as some writers imagine, of no more than three years [d].

His death and character.

SWEN III.

AFTER the death of Magnus, Swen, who had ever since his defeat been an exile in Sweden, was called without opposition to the throne, to which he was the nearest heir by blood. From his mother, who was sister to Canute the Great, he took the surname of Estrith; but notwithstanding his alliance to this great prince, necessity, rather than affection, induced the Danes to elevate him to the dignity of their king, the whole blood royal being extinct

[c] Meurs. lib. iii, p. 58. [d] Auct. supra citat. ibid.

in

in Hardi-Canute. A great part of the nation, and indeed the bulk of the nobility and people, who had ſided with Magnus againſt him, would have been glad to ſee any other perſon upon the throne, as they dreaded the reſentment of a prince whoſe pretenſions they had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed. Another circumſtance beſides the neceſſity from kindred, contributed greatly to Swen's promotion: the late defeat of the Vandals had greatly weakened that people; but then it increaſed their animoſity to the Danes, in the ſame proportion as it diminiſhed their ſtrength. They impatiently watched the opportunity for revenge; and a better could never offer than when Denmark was embroiled in a civil war, which would have inevitably happened, had any oppoſition been made to Swen's elevation. This the prudent men foreſaw, and choſe therefore to run the hazard of his reſentment, for having taken part with Magnus againſt him than to expoſe the kingdom to certain deſtruction, from the incurſions of ſo barbarous, cruel, and incenſed a foe as the Vandals[e].

Reaſons why Swen was elected king.

Swen began his reign by making ſome regulations in the church, and ſettling the juriſdiction of the ſeveral biſhops, concerning which ſome diſputes had ariſen among the clergy. While he was buſied in this manner, the Norwegians recalled Harold, the brother of their king Olaus, and placed him on the throne, after he had lived a great number of years in exile. Harold knowing that Swen was elected king of Denmark, and finding that his power was inſufficient to cope with that monarch, ſcrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of Denmark, until a fit occaſion ſhould offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off ſo ſhameful a vaſſalage. He ſeized the opportunity of Swen's being engaged in a war with the Vandals, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the preſumption to invade a part of the Daniſh dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings ſoon recalled Swen, who gave him battle, and was defeated with prodigious loſs. A great part of his fleet was taken without a ſingle man on board, the ſeamen plunging into the ſea to avoid the diſgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in conſequence of the repeated victories gained over them. Meurſius relates, that Swen having firſt gained a complete victory, but generouſly ſetting the captives at liberty, Harold immediately renewed the fight, while the Daniſh monarch was wrapped in ſecurity, and eaſily defeated him. Swen, being thus conquered, took

A.D. 1056.

Harold of Norway makes war upon Swen.

[e] Pontan. lib. v. p. 182. Saxo-Gram. lib. xi. p. 204.

the Oder, for having assisted his father in the late war; but he was thrice defeated by those brave and loyal islanders, and in the last engagement taken prisoner, and set at liberty on paying a ransom of twice his own weight, when full armed, in pure gold. This ransom was settled at three payments; but the king's person was confined till the last payment was made, which was raised by the generosity of the Danish ladies, who sold their jewels for this purpose, the treasury being quite exhausted, and the country oppressed by heavy taxes for the payment of the two former divisions of the ransom. Upon his return he made some laws favourable to the women; and among others ordained, that they should inherit a third of all estates real and personal. Moreover, he redeemed with all possible expedition all the jewels they had sold for his liberty, and returned them to the proper owners.

He is taken prisoner by the Vandals.

He is defeated and banished by Eric king of Sweden.

His misfortunes did not, however, reclaim him, says Grammaticus; he still pursued his idolatrous courses, and persecuted the faith, which drew down upon him the vengeance of the Almighty with more weight. Eric of Sweden, contracting an alliance with the king of Poland and the emperor Otho, and besides, holding Swen in the utmost contempt, after the frequent defeats he had received from a handful of Vandal islanders, raised a great army and invaded Schonen. Swen marched against him; but was defeated in the first engagement, and driven out of his kingdom. Thence he wandered an exile into Norway, went to the court of Olaus, who had succeeded his brother Haquin, reminded him of the obligations his father Harold owed to the king of Denmark for placing him on his throne; but was answered, that no ingratitude could equal his, who had robbed his father of his crown and his life. Finding no hopes of success by farther applications to this monarch, he went to England, and there met with a reception equally cold and mortifying. Then he retreated into Scotland, and was kindly received by the king, and maintained handsomely at the public of expence, for the space of fourteen years[b]. Eric now dying, and misfortune opening the eyes and softening the heart of Swen, he began to perceive the folly he had committed, in persecuting the faith in which he had been instructed. He attributed his past calamities to the hand of God, who had thus justly punished his impiety, and returned with redoubled fervour and zeal to the profession of Christianity. His restoration soon followed, through the mediation of the king of Scotland, who exerted himself warmly in behalf of the unfortunate prince. On

Received by the king of Scotland, and restored to the throne.

[b] Vide auct. citat. ibid.

his

his return he recalled all the clergy he had banished, set at liberty, and compensated in the best manner he was able; the sufferings of those he had confined; and lastly convoked a diet of the states, to whom he related the circumstances of his banishment, by which he became the sport of his enemies, and the object of the compassion of his friends. He had lost his crown and reputation, dearer than life itself, by the hands of a man who had been defeated, and driven out of Schonen, by his mother; whence it was visible that the hand of God had interposed, and made use of Eric as the instrument of his vengeance, in order to render his punishment and defeat the more disgraceful. As he could not now avoid acknowleging the justice and wisdom of that invisible Power which he had impiously abjured, he requested his people, as they valued their present and future happiness, to be warned by his example, to receive the light of the Gospel, and leave that false and profane religion, which God might permit for a time, but would not fail to punish and destroy in the end. His proposal did not meet with the reception he expected, and he therefore resolved upon other means of accomplishing his wish, and re-establishing Christianity. This was soon effected by the arrival of Poppo, a German divine of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and persuasion, brought about what the king's authority could not effect. Several miracles are related of this prelate; and indeed he was possessed of the happy talent of impressing the people with whatever notions he thought fit to inspire, in which perhaps consisted his supernatural powers. All the clergy were recalled, lands and houses appropriated to their maintenance and residence, and a see was given to Poppo, with power to preside over the rest of the Danish clergy; but at the same time he was suffragan of Adelage, bishop of Bremen[c].

A. D. 994.

The Christian religion revived in Denmark.

While Swen was thus employed in promoting piety and the Christian religion, Olaus king of Norway was taking measures for disturbing the public tranquillity. Apprehensive that Swen, after having settled the internal œconomy of his kingdom, might resume his claim to a supremacy over Norway, he determined to anticipate his measures by levying a powerful army, and entering into a strict league with Sweden. Swen receiving advice of these intrigues, found means to countermine the machinations of Olaus, by marrying the queen-mother of Sweden, by which alliance he secured the friendship of king Eric; insomuch that they executed a treaty for the defence and propagation of Chris-

[c] Saxo-Gram. lib. x.

tianity,

tianity, and the mutual security of their kingdoms. Olaus was now enraged with disappointment, and, determined at all events upon revenge, he declared war. The fleets of Denmark and Norway met: they fought with inveteracy, and the latter was defeated and totally dispersed. Olaus escaped out of the battle with a few ships; but was so closely pursued, that, to avoid the disgrace of being taken, he leaped into the sea, and was drowned. In consequence of this victory, Norway was again annexed to the crown of Denmark, and Swen immediately published an edict there in favour of the Christian religion [c]. Having settled the affairs of Norway, he prepared to invade England, which had for some years thrown off its subjection to the crown of Denmark. Ethelred II. held at this time the supreme authority in that kingdom, and a peace between him and Swen was concluded, after the latter had over-run great part of the kingdom, and obliged the former to acknowlege his sovereignty [d]. In this island he breathed his last, much regretted for the exemplary piety, strict justice, and remarkable proofs of military genius and valour which he had displayed towards the close of life [e].

Invades England.

His death and character.

It is not very certain who was the immediate successor of Swen, though almost all historians allow that he had two sons, Harold and Canute. Saxo-Grammaticus and Pontanus take no farther notice of the former, than by mentioning him as the son of Swen; affirming that the latter, though youngest, was raised to the throne in preference to his brother.

HAROLD.

ON the contrary, Meursius and Lyschander number Harold among the kings, asserting, that he succeeded Swen by right of primogeniture; this being an invariable maxim with the states, where some very extraordinary circumstances and reasons for laying aside the elder brother did not occur, upon their authority we shall venture to insert Harold in the list of kings, however unworthy of that dignity he afterwards proved. His effeminacy, lewdness, profligacy, and entire contempt of decency, virtue, and morality, rendered him so odious to a people always brave, and now perfectly civilized by the beautiful system of religion and morals introduced among them, that he enjoyed but a short time the honour he so little merited. He was deposed with every possible mark of disgrace and infamy, and his brother raised to the throne; of which he likewise

He is deposed.

[c] Saxo-Gram. etiam Pontan. lib. 5.
[d] Meurs. lib. iii. p. 52.
[e] Saxo-Gram. lib. v. p. 191. Pontan. p. 145. Meurs. Hist. p. 53.

had

had like to have been deprived, on account of his constant engagements in foreign wars, the Danes neither bearing with temper a perfect indolence, nor too great activity in their princes [b].

CANUTE the GREAT.

CANUTE, deservedly surnamed the Great, began his reign with the invasion of England and Norway, both these kingdoms having thrown off the subjection they had promised to his father Swen. The talents of Canute for the cabinet and the field were greatly superior to his father's, and indeed equal to those of any prince who had wore the Danish diadem. The English recalled Ethelred their king, who had abdicated the throne; and as their affections were ever in extremes, Canute perceived that this event would be attended with an attempt to render him independent of the crown of Denmark, and took his measures accordingly. But that he might not be oppressed with such a multitude of foreign wars, as he found he must necessarily be engaged in, he temporized with the Vandals, and other northern nations, who claimed the same independency with England and Norway, in order to direct his whole force against the two last kingdoms. England was his main object; and to prevent its receiving succours from Norway, he artfully drew Claud, the king's brother, into his views, by persuading him to lay claim to the crown. He afterwards sailed for England; and in his way met, say the Danish historians, with the English fleet, commanded by king Edward in person, whom he defeated after a sharp engagement (A). At first, say they, victory, which was disputed with great obstinacy, seemed to incline to the English, when Thymon, a nobleman of Zealand, arriving with a reinforcement, soon obliged her to declare in favour of Canute [c]. Numberless difficulties, indeed, occur in this period of our history, and the strongest contrariety of sentiments in the Eng- A.D. 1015.

[b] Crantzius apud Meurs. lib. iii. p. 53. Pontan. lib. v. p. 147.
[c] Saxo-Gram. lib. x. Meurs. lib. iii. Pont. lib. v.

(A) These were the express words of Meursius and Pontanus, which are diametrically opposite to the relations of all English historians. According to these last, Ethelred reigned in England at this time. Canute landed without opposition; and, relying upon the dilatory disposition of the English monarch, imagined he should carry all with little trouble; but misfortunes had rendered Ethelred more prudent, and his vigorous measures obliged Canute to reimbark for Denmark.

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Contradiction of the English and Danish historians.

lish and Danish historians: but we shall leave them to be discussed in our history of England, that being the theatre of the war, and the proper place for entering upon such disquisitions, which very little affect the history of Denmark.

Canute had other motives than the power of Ethelred for returning to Denmark. His absence had furnished Olaus of Norway with an opportunity of invading his kingdom; but his return, and the vigour with which he attacked the Norwegians, obliged that monarch to embark not only with great loss, but also to seek shelter in Russia, whither he was pursued by Canute's son, who ravaged a great part of that country, and totally subdued Esthonia, a province of Livonia, at that time subject to the Muscovites, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to the crown of Denmark[d].

In the mean time Canute, after having held a personal conference with the king of Sweden, to adjust some disputes which threatened to disturb the public tranquillity, and settling the affairs of Denmark, was preparing to embark again for England, where he imagined his presence would be advantageous to his affairs, upon the death of Ethelred. But the old king of Sweden dying before the fleet intended for England was ready to put to sea, his intention was deferred, upon receiving advice that Omund, the young king of Sweden, was taking measures to reinstate Olaus of Norway in his throne and dominions. Omund, in fact, not only granted Olaus a passage to Norway through his dominions, but assisted him with a powerful body of troops, by which the exiled prince was soon in a condition to appear at the head of a formidable army, and to fortify all the posts against Canute. Not contented with this, it was agreed between him and the king of Sweden, that the former should invade Zealand, and the other Danish islands in the Baltic, while the latter should make a descent upon Jutland: they had morever endeavoured to stir up an insurrection in England, where the malecontents were to declare themselves at the very time when he should be most engaged in the defence of his own dominions. By this extended plan, and such a variety of attacks in different places, they hoped to confound his councils, to weaken and divide his forces in such a manner as would render victory certain, and clip the wings of this soaring and ambitious king. But his policy, his penetration, courage, and steadiness, frustrated all their designs, and turned their intrigues against themselves. He procured some of the most faithful noblemen of Zealand to carry on a secret correspondence with

Canute enters upon a war with Sweden and Norway.

[d] Auct. citat. ibid.

Olaus,

Olaus, and to promise that they would take up arms, with all their vassals, as soon as his fleet appeared. Several other designs they formed; and appeared so earnest and sincere, that Olaus, having no suspicion of treachery, had nearly been surrounded by Canute's fleet, while he was waiting the effects of the promised insurrection. Thus were all the measures of Olaus overturned, without the loss of a man, and himself forced to retreat with such precipitation, as equalled the disgrace of a defeat. As soon as Canute had refreshed his troops, he passed with such celerity to Schonen, that he surprised, defeated, and slew in battle the king of Sweden [d].

The success of Canute's policy.

Having now rid his dominions of foreign enemies, his next measure was to raise such civil commotions in Norway as would render it impossible for Olaus to disturb the peace of Denmark. With this view he artfully distributed large sums of money among the leading men of that kingdom, encouraged Harold the king's brother to renew his claim to the crown, and, in a word, took such effectual and politic steps, as not only answered his purpose, but ended in the death of Olaus, who, as some affirm, was murdered, by a conspiracy formed by his brother Harold; while others say he was deposed and put to death by his own nobility, influenced by the gold and intrigues of the court of Denmark [e].

His character and death.

Canute was now the most formidable potentate perhaps in Europe. Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and England, were tributary to him: his alliance was courted by the greatest monarchs; even the emperor Conrade sought his daughter in marriage, and voluntarily renounced all claim to Holstein. When Conrade was afterwards deposed, he reaped the fruits of Canute's friendship; for, by means of his interest and power, he was again restored to the imperial dignity. He afterwards embarked for England, in which country he spent the remainder of his life. Finding the extent of his dominions, and the government of so many distant kingdoms, too great a weight for any single person, he resolved to divide the authority; and accordingly gave the crown of Denmark to his second son Hardi-Canute; to Harold, the eldest, according to the Danish historians, he gave the crown of England; to Swen, the youngest, he assigned Norway. As we shall have occasion to enlarge upon the military actions of this great prince in our history of England, to avoid repetition, we shall only subjoin in this place, that he died a natural death in England, after he had

[d] Saxo-Gram. lib. x. Meurs. lib. iii. p. 55. [e] Vide Auct. citat. ibid.

reigned

reigned with great applause for the space of twenty-five years over that kingdom, and is deservedly enrolled with the greatest princes who ever wore the diadem. His early age was rendered famous by glorious victories, and the most refined policy: the last years of his life are celebrated for his temperance, a strict regard to justice, affability, clemeney, and every other virtue that could render him beloved and respected by his subjects.

HARDI-CANUTE.

THIS prince, the second son of Canute, obtained the appellation of Hardi-Canute, or Hardi-Knute, from the difficulties he combated, and the valorous actions he performed in Russia, when his father sent him thither in pursuit of Olaus king of Norway. He was preparing to invade England, then governed by his brother Harold, when some insurrections among the Norwegians, who were desirous of recalling the Olaus family, rendered his presence in that country necessary. His transactions in Norway are variously related. Some affirm that he sent an army thither, which was defeated by Magnus, the son of Olaus, the elected king of Norway. Others are of opinion, that, in order to prosecute his voyage to England, Hardi-Canute entered into a treaty with Magnus, and yielded to him the crown, of which his brother Swen was unworthy; but still obliged him to acknowlege himself a vassal of the crown of Denmark. Certain it is Hardi-Canute equipped a great fleet, and sailed to Bruges in the Low Countries, at that time the residence of his mother Emma, by whom he was made acquainted with the death of Harold. Here he was met by the English ambassadors, sent to invite him to accept of the crown. As from henceforward he may be looked upon as an English king, we shall leave the particulars of his reign to be related in the history of that country. Sufficient for our purpose it is to observe, that he reigned king of Denmark from the year 1035, to the year 1041; and died with the reputation of a prince whose character was compounded of the most detestable vices and the noblest virtues. His valour and generosity were in the number of the latter; his cruelty, ferocity, intemperance, and debauchery, composed the former[f].

MAGNUS.

PONTANUS relates, that, after the death of Hardi-Canute, Magnus, the son of Olaus, king of Norway, suc-

[f] Crantz. apud Meurs. lib. iii. Saxo Gram. lib. x.

ceeded

ceeded to the throne of Denmark, in consequence of a compact between him and Hardi-Canute, that the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; but we find no mention of this treaty in any other historian, nor was it in the power of Hardi-Canute to bequeathe his crown without the consent of his people. On the contrary, Meursius affirms, that Magnus invaded Denmark with a powerful fleet and army, immediately on the death of Hardi-Canute. It was the dread of his power that induced the states to elect him, in order to avoid the necessity of being compelled into that measure. Immediately he received the allegiance and homage of the nobility, and was publicly proclaimed king of Denmark and Norway; for by this time the English had renounced the Danish blood, and raised Edward, surnamed the Confessor, to the throne. His election was uncontested; but Swen, the nephew of Canute the Great, by his sister, soon after the accession of Magnus, put in his claim to the throne, imagining he should be strongly supported by England, in consequence of a promise he had received from Edward, and some other steps he had taken in that country. This Swen is spoken of as if he had been king of England after Hardi-Canute's death; for Grammaticus and Meursius both say, that he left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of Harold, Godwin's son, who betrayed him, and was the great instrument of expelling the Danes out of that island. Relying upon this support, he disputed the crown of Denmark with Magnus, intending to use force, should his application to the states prove ineffectual. Both his designs were now frustrated, and the Danes driven out of England, which they could never afterwards recover.

Swen, nephew to Canute, claims the crown of Denmark.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate occurrences, Swen determined not to relinquish his claim: he had the address to gain over a great number of the Danish nobility to his interest, by their means he equipped a fleet in Jutland, with which he gave battle to Magnus, and was routed, being forced to take shelter in the island of Funen. Here he refitted, and ventured upon another engagement, which terminated as unsuccessfully as the former. His whole fleet was taken or dispersed, he himself escaping with a single ship to Zealand, whither the conqueror pursued him, and obliged him to retire to some of the remoter provinces of Sweden [b].

Swen defeated.

This war being ended, Magnus resumed his operations against the Vandals, with whom it seems he was at war before Swen occasioned the late commotions. He had slain

Magnus overthrows the Vandals in a bloody battle.

[b] Pontan. lib. v. p. 178.

their prince Ratiborius, who left behind him eight sons, all sworn enemies to Magnus, and men of great valour, who resolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they over-ran the coasts of Jutland, laying waste all the country through which they passed, with all the cruelty of incensed barbarians. Fired with resentment, and a sense of the deplorable condition to which his unhappy subjects were reduced, Magnus raised an army, seized the strait or narrow pass at Sleswick to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with such advantage as fully avenged his subjects, and punished those barbarians for their savage cruelty. Some historians relate, that forty thousand of the Vandals were left dead on the field, and those that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; but Meursius reduces the number of slain to fifteen thousand, affirming, however, that the prisoners greatly exceeded this number [c].

He is surnamed the Good.

This victory, and his clemency to the prisoners, acquired him the surname of Good; and so endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with blessings, abjuring Swen, and offering their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majesty's person and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the Vandals that Magnus died by a fall from his horse, which took fright at a hare's crossing the road before him, and threw his rider upon stakes fixed in the ground, or some trunks of trees that had just been cut down. Other writers allege, that he was drowned in the Baltic, in passing from one ship to another in a small boat. Certain it is, that his death was greatly and deservedly lamented by his people, who enjoyed under him all the happiness which it was in the power of a wise and brave monarch to communicate to affectionate and faithful subjects, in so short a reign as eight years, or, as some writers imagine, of no more than three years [d].

His death and character.

SWEN III.

AFTER the death of Magnus, Swen, who had ever since his defeat been an exile in Sweden, was called without opposition to the throne, to which he was the nearest heir by blood. From his mother, who was sister to Canute the Great, he took the surname of Estrith; but notwithstanding his alliance to this great prince, necessity, rather than affection, induced the Danes to elevate him to the dignity of their king, the whole blood royal being extinct

[c] Meurs. lib. iii, p. 58. [d] Auct. supra citat. ibid.

in

in Hardi-Canute. A great part of the nation, and indeed the bulk of the nobility and people, who had sided with Magnus against him, would have been glad to see any other person upon the throne, as they dreaded the resentment of a prince whose pretensions they had so strenuously opposed. Another circumstance besides the necessity from kindred, contributed greatly to Swen's promotion: the late defeat of the Vandals had greatly weakened that people; but then it increased their animosity to the Danes, in the same proportion as it diminished their strength. They impatiently watched the opportunity for revenge; and a better could never offer than when Denmark was embroiled in a civil war, which would have inevitably happened, had any opposition been made to Swen's elevation. This the prudent men foresaw, and chose therefore to run the hazard of his resentment, for having taken part with Magnus against him than to expose the kingdom to certain destruction, from the incursions of so barbarous, cruel, and incensed a foe as the Vandals[c].

Reasons why Swen was elected king.

Swen began his reign by making some regulations in the church, and settling the jurisdiction of the several bishops, concerning which some disputes had arisen among the clergy. While he was busied in this manner, the Norwegians recalled Harold, the brother of their king Olaus, and placed him on the throne, after he had lived a great number of years in exile. Harold knowing that Swen was elected king of Denmark, and finding that his power was insufficient to cope with that monarch, scrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of Denmark, until a fit occasion should offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off so shameful a vassalage. He seized the opportunity of Swen's being engaged in a war with the Vandals, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the presumption to invade a part of the Danish dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings soon recalled Swen, who gave him battle, and was defeated with prodigious loss. A great part of his fleet was taken without a single man on board, the seamen plunging into the sea to avoid the disgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in consequence of the repeated victories gained over them. Meursius relates, that Swen having first gained a complete victory, but generously setting the captives at liberty, Harold immediately renewed the fight, while the Danish monarch was wrapped in security, and easily defeated him. Swen, being thus conquered, took

A.D. 1056.

Harold of Norway makes war upon Swen.

[c] Pontan. lib. v. p. 182. Saxo-Gram. lib. xi. p. 204.

refuge with the remainder of his fleet in the small islands, from whence he went over to Schonen and Zealand to recruit his forces, and endeavour to retrieve the loss sustained from his too great humanity. As soon as he had completed his levies, and repaired his fleet, he again fought the enemy in the Baltic. He caused his ships to be chained together, and though greatly inferior in force, bravely maintained the engagement till night, and would probably have obtained a victory had not Harold received a reinforcement, which greatly dispirited the Danes, or rather a number of Germans who served in the fleet, and now separated themselves in the night, to prevent the consequences of a defeat, and their falling into the enemy's hands. Swen, whose courage was invincible, renewed the battle next morning, notwithstanding a third part of his fleet had withdrawn, and hoping to make up by resolution what he wanted in strength, fought with the utmost fury, and most obstinate valour, until he was at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to yield to his ill fortune [f].

Swen defeated.

Harold, not satisfied with two victories obtained over the Danes, landed his forces, and laid waste all the coasts of the islands and Danish continent, burning, destroying, and ravaging many villages and cities, and among the rest Sleswick. Swen was forced to content himself with harrassing Harold in his march, not being able to raise a force sufficient to give him battle; but when he had least reason to expect it, Providence wrought a happy change in his situation. The civil divisions in England had roused Harold's ambition to extend his conquests and influence, which he thought he might probably do by taking part with Godwin's children against their sovereign. The low condition to which he had reduced Swen, gave him no disturbance about the consequences of his absence from Norway; he therefore resolved upon an expedition to England, where he was killed [g]; by which means Swen recovered the peaceable possession of all his dominions. Harold's sons, Olaus and Magnus, shared their father's dominions, and entered into a treaty and alliance with Swen, which was confirmed by the marriage of Olaus with the daughter of Swen [g].

Harold killed and defeated in England.

The death of Harold II. king of England, who was slain in a battle fought with William of Normandy, called the Conqueror, furnished Swen with an opportunity of putting in his claim to the crown of England, as the only remaining descendant of Canute the Great. He had kindly received the two sons and daughter of Harold, who took re-

[f] Meurs. lib. iii. [g] Meurs. Hist. ibid.

fuge

fuge with him upon their father's defeat; and the latter he married to the prince of Ruſſia. He accordingly equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, and put on board a large body of land-forces, under the command of his ſons Harold and Canute. On their arrival in the mouth of the Humber, they were ſuddenly joined by a great body of malcontents, who were reſolved at any rate to throw off the unſupportable tyrannical yoke of William. After a ſeries of tranſactions, which will be recited in the Engliſh hiſtory, they retired, at the perſuaſion of Oſbern, brother to Swen, who had been corrupted by the gold of Normandy. The king his brother was ſo incenſed at his venality, that on the return of the fleet, he immediately ordered Oſbern into perpetual baniſhment[h].

The Danes depart from England.

A few years before Swen's death, the Vandals again revolted, from their diſlike to the Chriſtian religion, which they had been forced to embrace, after the great defeat they laſt received from Harold. They now overthrew or ruined all the Chriſtian churches among them, ſetting up their pagan idols, and putting to death a biſhop and ſeveral Chriſtian prelates: then they entered Holſtein with fire and ſword, and made the country an entire deſart. They moreover pillaged the city of Sleſwick, levelled the churches with the ground, and, in deriſion, broke the crucifixes which miſtaken piety had erected in different quarters of the town. But the greateſt inſult upon Swen was the manner in which they treated his ſiſter Syrith, whom they ſtripped naked, and in that condition ſent to Denmark. With ſuch celerity did they execute all theſe barbarities, that the provinces of Sleſwick and Holſtein were over-run before Swen had intelligence of the irruption. He immediately raiſed an army to revenge theſe injuries, but ſoon dropped his reſolution, and waſted his time in unſeaſonable acts of devotion at Roſchild. Superſtition had now weakened all his faculties; prieſts became his privy-counſellors; and all the duties of a king and of a man, were abſorbed in a narrow zeal and bigotted attachment to the pageantry of religion. His ſubjects were oppreſſed with taxes to ſupport the luxury and pomp of the clergy, to purchaſe plate, and other church ornaments, and to endow religious foundations. Hence it is that the clergy alone have extolled the character of this prince, as the moſt munificent, pious, and merciful monarch that ever filled the throne of Denmark: notwithſtanding his incontinence was ſo great, that of fifteen ſons he left behind him, not one was legitimate; and

The Vandals overrun Holſtein.

Swen's death and character.

[h] Saxo-Gram. lib. xi.

he had polluted the houſe of God by the cruel murder of ſeveral of his nobility: an offence which he ſufficiently expiated by his munificence and generoſity to thoſe who aſſumed the power of granting abſolution for the moſt heinous crimes [i].

His five ſons ſucceed him in the throne ſucceſſively.

This prince died of an acute fever in Jutland, while his ſon Canute was employed in quelling a rebellion which appeared in Eſthonia. When Swen perceived that his diſſolution was approaching, he aſſembled all the nobility, and obliged them to promiſe that they would chuſe his eldeſt ſon for their king, and after him the next ſurviving brother; in conſequence of which obligation, five of his children ſucceſſively arrived at that dginity; an inſtance that cannot perhaps be equalled in hiſtory. As to the character of this prince, his unfortunate battles with Harold of Norway prove him a great warrior; for military talents are not always to be eſtimated by the event. His exceſſive indulgence to the clergy, at the expence of his people, who were almoſt ruined by his pious donations, prove him either to have been naturally weak, or at leaſt emaſculated by ſuperſtition. The number of his illegitimate children demonſtrate that he was remarkably libidinous; and his maſſacring his nobility as they were offering their devotions in church, is a teſtimony of his cruelty and impiety; nevertheleſs, his conduct in the Norwegian war are ſufficient proofs that his natural diſpoſition was brave, liberal, and generous to a degree of weakneſs.

HAROLD the SIMPLE.

HAROLD, the eldeſt ſon of Swen, was elected in the room of his father, after warm diſputes about the ſucceſſion. The noble qualities of Canute, a younger ſon, had raiſed a ſtrong party in his favour; but the promiſe made to the late king, and Harold's gold, at length prevailed: upon which Canute went over to Schonen, there to proſecute the war againſt the Vandals, which had been left unfiniſhed by his father. This was a kind of honourable baniſhment, into which he entered to avoid exciting his brother's jealouſy, or diſturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom. Such prudent and moderate conduct in a young prince of known ambition, affected Harold in ſuch a manner, that he gave him the kindeſt invitations to return, and offered to receive him as his colleague in the adminiſtration; but Canute adhered to his firſt reſolution, either foreſeeing that divided authority would be attended with inconvenience, or diſdaining to ſhare the ſupreme power with a brother whoſe capacity he deſpiſed [k].

[i] Saxo-Gram. Pontan. & Meurſ. ibid. [k] Saxo-Gram. lib. xi.

Before

Before Harold mounted the throne, he made the most ample promises to the people of framing new laws, such as would redress all the grievances consequent on those at that time in force, and of governing them with the most scrupulous regard to justice and the public good; but the first part of his engagement he never fulfilled, except in one instance: this was a law by which criminals, where positive evidence was wanting, should be allowed to clear themselves by an oath, and, without passing the ordeal, or trial by fire, as was usual in Denmark, and all the other kingdoms in Europe. The law was received with universal approbation: Harold afterwards, as if he had sufficiently established his reputation, resigned himself to the most shameful indolence and sloth, neglected to enforce the laws already made, and suffered the whole kingdom to be polluted by the most scandalous corruption, licentiousness, and venality; in which situation Canute found it at the death of his brother, who survived his elevation but two years, according to Grammaticus and Meursius[1], though the latter acquaints us, that some writers have prolonged his reign to upwards of six years. *A law made by Harold.*

CANUTE the PIOUS.

CANUTE was recalled by the states on the death of his brother, and appointed his successor. Grammaticus says, this prince accepted of the crown merely with a view to extend the Christian religion, and not from motives of ambition. The war he had waged in his brother's life-time against the Vandals was for the sake of religion; and he now renewed it, when his power enabled him to punish the impiety of those infidels with more success and severity. Nor did he ever relax in this design until he had accomplished it, by obliging several idolatrous nations lying on the frontiers of Livonia and Muscovy, to receive the truths of the gospel. Having happily finished this war, he married Ethla, daughter to the earl of Flanders, and then applied himself to curb the licentiousness, immorality, and corruption which had crept into public offices, and among all degrees of men, during the inactive reign of Harold. But sensible that example would operate more powerfully on the minds of the people than the most rigid laws, he began a reformation, by the strictest observance of every moral and religious virtue, by enforcing the laws already made, and by shewing his own obedience to them, in the same manner as he required it of the meanest subject. The *His conquests.* *His virtues.*

1 Meurs. lib. iii. p. 62.

effect answered his most sanguine expectation. Every man was ambitious of emulating his sovereign; merit and virtue were the only recommendations to court-favour; and this consideration rendered them universally sought after. In a word, Canute's reign may be called the reign of religion, virtue, and true worth in Denmark, in which temperance, chastity, liberality, justice, and all the heroic and social virtues were cultivated from the king to the peasant [m].

After civil affairs had undergone a thorough alteration, Canute applied himself to ecclesiastical matters, in which he made several useful regulations. The first was to detach the body of the clergy entirely from the civil government, and confine their authority wholly to the affairs of the church; such as inspecting into the lives, manners, and doctrine of the inferior clergy, and prescribing the forms of public worship. The power of the bishops, however, was greatly augmented, for they were raised to the dignity of dukes and princes, and took place of the senators and nobility of the highest quality. Such was his regard for the bishops, that he even invested them with the civil sword, and permitted them to go to war with all the power of independent sovereigns [n].

Canute's regard for learning.

But it was not the least glory of Canute, that he paid the utmost respect to men of learning, and promoted the study of arts and sciences by his own private benevolence, as well as by public rewards, and certain literary foundations, which he annexed to the ecclesiastical government. It is certain, however, that a prince may carry his regard to religion and learning, to a pitch dangerous to himself and oppressive of the people. Canute's bounty to the clergy and learned men had no bounds; besides the numberless institutions he made in their favour, he granted them the tythes, a step which occasioned universal disaffection, and at length brought on his ruin. Large sums of money were expended in erecting churches and pious foundations, which were raised from the sweat of the labourer, and the oppression of the useful husbandman and mechanic [o].

He meditates the reduction of England.

In this situation were the affairs of Denmark when Canute, laying aside civil and ecclesiastical affairs, resolved once more to embark in war, and attempt the recovery of England. He communicated his intentions first to his brother Olaus, who greatly approved of it from private views, and afterwards to the senate, who did not discourage the project. He therefore equipped a fleet, and raised an

[m] Pontan. lib. v. p. 298. [n] Saxo-Gram. lib. xi. Pontan. ubi supra. [o] Meurs. lib. iv.

army

army with all possible expedition. The earl of Flanders, and a great number of English exiles residing at that court, rejoiced at the occasion that was likely to restore them to their own country, whence they had been driven by William's severity and partiality to the Normans. While the fleet and army were waiting at the appointed rendezvous, until Canute had finished some public business, and appointed regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, he discovered that his brother Olaus had been secretly endeavouring to deprive him of the crown: upon this discovery, he immediately set out with a few troops for Slesvick, of which his brother was governor, to secure his person, and bring him to public justice. Olaus had, however, so gained upon the affections of the soldiers, that they refused to obey the king's orders to seize him: upon which Eric, brother both to Olaus and the king, broke into his apartment, and brought him, bound in chains, to his majesty. Canute, not caring to pollute his hands with a brother's blood, sent him to his father-in-law the earl of Flanders, with directions that he should be treated in a manner suited to his rank, but so narrowly watched as to prevent his return to Denmark. In the mean time, the tools of Olaus had so wrought upon the minds of the soldiers by their artful insinuations, that they disbanded of themselves, before the king's return; a defection which obliged him to postpone his expedition to England, and convoke another diet, before he could raise an army [p].

His brother conspires against him.

The army deserts.

This diet he opened with a speech, reminding the people of the glory acquired by his ancestors, by the faithful attachment of their subjects; of their conquests in different parts of Europe, and particularly in England, which country they had held for two hundred years in subjection, and lost from indolence and pusillanimity. He represented to them the shame of deserting their monarch, who was in full pursuit of glory, conquest, and dominion: and of so scandalously abandoning a cause, which required no more than their presence to terminate happily. He laid before them the advantages which would result to Denmark, a poor, rocky, cold, and unfertile country, from the conquest of an island abounding with all the conveniencies and luxuries of life: in a word, he omitted no arguments that could seduce or impel them to their duty; but in vain. The emissaries of Olaus were indefatigable, and the minds of the people wholly alienated from their sovereign from the time he had granted the tenths to the clergy. They insisted upon th

The king calls a diet

[p] Auct. citat. ibid.

revo-

revocation of this decree, and Canute was unhappily obstinate to reject the proposal. The people rose in arms in different quarters, and he was forced to seek shelter in the island of Funen, where he soon after perished through the treachery of a nobleman, in whose fidelity he had placed his greatest confidence. He died by the hands of a people he loved; and but for a few errors in his conduct, and the ambition of his brother Olaus, would have governed happily. His valour, justice, generosity, and piety, were universally acknowleged; but a certain easiness of temper, and tincture of enthusiastic devotion, betrayed him into weaknesses that were the original causes of his unfortunate end [q].

He is betrayed and put to death.

OLAUS, surnamed the HUNGRY, or Famished.

CANUTE's death was no sooner known than the friends of Olaus set every spring at work to procure his liberty, and raise him to the throne. They doubted not but they should enjoy his chief confidence and favour, as they were the instruments of his promotion. Accordingly a sum of money was raised for his ransom, and his brother Nicholas sent to the earl of Flanders to conduct Olaus to Denmark. On his arrival his brother Eric, who had seized him in Slesvick, retired with his family into Sweden, not doubting but the young king would deeply resent an action which had occasioned his long imprisonment.

The first act of Olaus's government was the shewing his gratitude to his brother Nicholas, who had voluntarily remained prisoner in Flanders in order to procure his release. Olaus sent thither a large sum of money for his redemption. He next proceeded to several popular regulations, in order to secure the affections of the people, as he knew that a great part of the nation dreaded his resentment, on account of their espousing the cause of Canute; but he was interrupted in this laudable conduct by a terrible misfortune, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. A dreadful famine, in consequence of a bad harvest, prevailed so much, that the richest people in Denmark were forced to supply the want of bread with roots and other vegetables, while the poor, who were unable to procure even these, perished in the streets and highways. Nor was this all the calamity they underwent: the heat of the preceding summer, and the deluges of rain which had fallen in the autumn, occasioned such a corruption in the air, and alteration in the human frame, as was attended with the most

[q] Saxo-Gram. lib. xii. Pontan. lib. v.

deplor-

deplorable pestilence that had ever been known in any northern country. Famine and pestilence seemed to contend which should most afflict the miserable Danes. Thousands were swept off by each, and public fastings and prayers appointed in all the churches, to beseech God to remove so insupportable a scourge, which they now looked upon as the just punishment of their late rebellion against the best of monarchs. Sweyn, bishop of Roschild, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, thereby to appease the Almighty, and atone for the crimes of the people. At length it pleased God to put a stop to the plague, and to send a plentiful harvest, which removed the wants of the people; but not during the life-time of Olaus, who, oppressed with grief at the miseries of the nation, died suddenly, and, as some affirm, upon the following occasion. It had long been customary for the nobility to dine with the king on Christmas-day, and they were accordingly invited by Olaus. When dinner was served up, the king called for bread, but was told there was not a morsel in the kingdom: a reply that struck him with such horror, that he put up a prayer to God, beseeching him to accept of his life as an atonement for his crimes, and the sins of the nation. His prayer was heard; he instantly expired, and the famine ceased. We must, however, observe, that this anecdote is not very consistent with the account given by the best writers, and even by Grammaticus himself, though he relates this story; for they all assert, that the famine was removed by the ensuing plentiful autumn. Some writers allege, that Olaus reigned only seven years; but Ælnothus, a contemporary historian, affirms, that he wore the crown eight years and nine months [b].

The cause of the death of Olaus.

ERIC III.

OLAUS dying suddenly, the states immediately assembled to elect a successor, and it was unanimously agreed that a deputation should be sent to Eric, then an exile in Sweden, to invite him to the throne. Under this excellent prince, who was possessed of many heroic and amiable virtues, Denmark began to retrieve her ancient character and power. In the beginning of his reign he engaged in a war with the Vandals, because they had protected two notorious pirates, who were banished out of Schonen for their crimes, and now committed the most impudent depredations and robberies on the high seas, as well as on the coasts of Denmark. Fitting out a fleet, he invested their

[b] Apud Meurs. lib. iv.

capital

capital in the iſle of Rugen; and, after a vigorous ſiege, took it by aſſault. Then, to deprive thoſe pirates of this ſtrong hold, he ordered the fortifications to be razed, and the town ſo thoroughly diſmantled, that, for a great number of years, it did not recover its ancient ſtrength and ſplendor. He next purſued the pirates into all the different ports of the Baltic, and puniſhed ſeverely thoſe who fell into his hands, in order to terrify others by theſe examples. Eric's nature was mild, and prone to mercy; but he ſaw the ſecurity of Denmark depended on the extirpation of this neſt of thieves. After having wholly ſubdued the Vandals as he imagined, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the acclamations of a joyful people, who had penetration enough ſoon to diſcover the true character of their ſovereign. His reſidence here was but ſhort, when the Vandals made ſhift, notwithſtanding their late reduction, to enter Denmark, ſpreading terror and deſolation wherever they went, in revenge for the deſtruction of their city; but making ſo ſhort a ſtay as rendered it impoſſible for Eric to attack and puniſh them before they quitted his dominions. Enraged at this inſult, he raiſed a body of troops, and, entering their country, ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed them, that, during his life, they never again attempted giving him the leaſt moleſtation [a].

He ſeverely chaſtiſes the pirates.

Canonizes Canute.

On his return he ſent a deputation to Rome, ſetting forth the virtues and piety of his brother Canute, who periſhed a martyr to religion by the hands of an enraged populace, and requeſting that he might be enrolled in the calendar of ſaints; which petition was honourably received and granted by his holineſs, who had too much policy to refuſe a requeſt from ſo potent a monarch, which, at the ſame time, implied a compliment to his own authority. Not long after this incident the pope, Paſchal II found an opportunity of diſplaying his power more amply to the Danes. A diſpute, concerning ſome temporalities, ariſing between Eric and the biſhop of Bremen, that prelate went in perſon to Rome, and, laying the caſe before his holineſs, obtained a verdict, though Eric refuſed for ſome time to ſtand by this award; but was afterwards forced to yield to the clamours of his own clergy, and the thundering menaces of the conclave. It is even affirmed, that he was forced to go in perſon to Rome to ſupplicate the pope's pardon, and make up the breach between him and the holy ſee by the moſt reſpectful ſubmiſſion [b].

[a] Pontan. lib. v. [b] Meurſ. lib. iv. p. 68.

After

After Eric's return from Rome, a musician, boasting to him of his skill on the harp, asserted, that his power over the faculties extended so far, that he could at any time deprive his hearers of their understanding, and render them frantic by the force of harmony. Eric, who greatly doubted the truth of the musician's asseveration, ordered him to give a specimen of his skill, and was himself the first instance of the truth of what the artist asserted; for his passions were so wound up, that, in an extasy of madness, he flew like a maniac round the apartment, and, in his transport, killed four soldiers of the guard, when the musician immediately changing his cadence to a soothing strain, soon assuaged the violent transports he had excited. Grieved at what he had done, Eric made all possible recompence to the relations of the deceased, and vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in order to do penance, and expiate thereby the horrid crime he had committed. For some time he concealed his intention from the states; but all things being ready for his journey, he made public declaration of his vow. They unanimously remonstrated against his design, which would inevitably involve the kingdom in numberless calamities: they embraced his feet, and bathed them with their tears, begging that he would not expose to danger a life upon which depended the felicity of a whole kingdom; but Eric was inflexible. He accordingly pursued his journey, and passing through Greece, was honourably and magnificently entertained by the emperor Alexius. From Constantinople he took ship for Cyprus, and there ended his days a short time after his arrival. His death so affected Bathilda his queen, and faithful companion of his pilgrimage, that she survived him but a few hours, and was buried with him in the same tomb. This event fell out, according to Grammaticus and Suaningius, in the year 1101 after the birth of Christ, although an author quoted by Meursius, places it four years earlier; and thus Denmark was deprived of an excellent king through a false and mistaken spirit of devotion. Eric was surnamed the Good, from an excessive benevolence in his disposition, which rendered him the sure friend and patron of the distressed and unfortunate. His affability was so great, that he conversed with his meanest subjects, received their complaints, and relieved them, either by his authority or out of his own private purse; yet had he the address of blending the dignity of a king with the humility of a subject; for he was equally beloved by his nobility and commons, and respected by all the neighbouring powers. We are told that his eloquence was so great, that he was never

The power of music.

Eric's pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Dies at Cyprus.

His character.

under

under the neceſſity of exerting his authority in the ſenate: the irreſiſtible perſuaſion that hung upon his tongue carried all before it; and if he was ever oppoſed, it was only that his people might have the ſatisfaction of yielding to the ſweetneſs of his oratory. However abſurd his piety may appear in theſe more enlightened days, his implicit faith in the pope's infallibility was the fault of the times: in other reſpects he practiſed the rigid precepts of morality, which are ever inſeparable from true religion; and the laſt act of his reign ſhewed his ſtrict regard to his vows, though it may be condemned by ſuch as are of opinion, that a proper regard to the public good might have ſufficiently abſolved him from an obligation which had been raſhly incurred [b].

When Eric departed for the Holy Land, he left his ſon Harold regent of the kingdom; but the ſtates being made acquainted with his death, recalled Nicholas, paid his ranſom to the earl of Flanders, and placed him upon the throne, out of reſpect to the promiſe they had made to his father on his death-bed. They were urged the more to this by the ſeverity of Harold's manners, which they foreſaw would render them unhappy if they raiſed him to the throne. Before the arrival of Nicholas, Swen, relying upon his intereſt with the diet of Wiburg, had put in his claim to the crown as the elder brother, and was haſtening thither when he was ſeized by a fever, of which he died in a few days. Ubbo, the next in age, wanted not a party of the nobility to eſpouſe his cauſe; but he declined the crown out of reſpect to his younger brother, whoſe capacity he modeſtly declared was more adequate to the weight of governing; a rare inſtance of ſelf-denial and brotherly love.

NICHOLAS.

A.D. 1107. THUS the ſcepter was put into the hands of Nicholas, who at firſt wielded it with great applauſe; but falling off in his character, and degenerating from the virtues of his anceſtors, he fell into the utmoſt contempt, and involved himſelf and his people in a variety of misfortunes. The breach of the public tranquillity had its firſt riſe from Henry, ſon to Godeſchal, prince of the Vandals. This prince, after the deſtruction of his country in the laſt reign, lived privately for ſome years in Denmark; but, on Eric's ſetting out for the Holy Land, found means to recover his hereditary dominions. He was nephew to Nicholas, and had frequently beſought him to reſtore his mother's portion; but had always met with a harſh refuſal. This irri-

[b] Auct. citat. ibid.

tated

tated the young prince, and determined him to have recourse to arms. Entering into an alliance with the Nordalbingi, a people of Lower Saxony, or properly the Holsteiners, he soon subdued all that country lying between the Elbe and Sleswick. Thence he made such terrible incursions into the duchy of Sleswick, that Nicholas, who at that time resided in the capital, was forced to double his guards, and provide for the security of the city. For this purpose he sent to the several parts of his dominions for troops, and unfortunately committed that trust to Elive, a nobleman, who held a clandestine correspondence with Henry, and stipulated with him to betray his royal master. With this view he used all possible delay in marching the troops; and, to cover his treachery, was continually sending expresses to Nicholas, representing the occasion of his dilatoriness, and raising some new difficulty. At length the infantry arrived, and with them Nicholas, at Elive's persuasion, determined to give battle to Henry. The event fell out as the traitor foresaw: Henry's horse broke and put in confusion the Danish infantry; and now, when it was too late, the perfidy of Elive was discovered. Nicholas was defeated, and forced to retreat with precipitation into Denmark; where he no sooner arrived than he divested the treacherous Elive of all his employments, and confiscated his estate, believing that, and its necessary consequence, poverty, to be a more severe punishment than death itself [b].

Some of the Danish provinces laid waste by the Vandals.

In the mean time, Henry, grown bold by his victory, repeated his incursions into the Danish territories, and, laying waste all the sea-coasts, made an attempt on Sleswick; but was repulsed with loss. Canute, the son of Eric the late king, and nephew to Nicholas, perceiving the misery to which this fine duchy of Sleswick was reduced by the cruelty of the Vandals, requested the government of a country which had been refused, on account of the danger, by many of the nobility. With a great deal of intreaty and interest he at length obtained it, and immediately set out to perform the duties of his employment. His first measure was to offer proposals of peace to Henry, which he assured him he would willingly grant, without any other conditions than his indemnifying the duchy of Sleswick for her losses, and the king of Denmark for the expences he had been at in the war. These were terms which he was sensible the haughty spirit of Henry, now rendered more insolent and untractable by prosperity, would reject, and therefore provided accordingly, by raising a

Canute, the son of Eric, obtains the government of Sleswick, and obliges the Vandals to sue for peace.

[b] Meurs. lib. iv.

body

body of troops with the utmost expedition and secrecy. With these he marched in the middle of the night, directly to a castle on the frontiers of Slesvick, where Henry kept his head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to surround the place before the Vandal prince received any intimation of his approach. In this situation, Henry, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, mounted his horse, and by a secret path made his escape, leaving the castle to be plundered by the Danish soldiers [f].

Canute defeats Henry prince of the Vandals.

Henry's escape occasioned a prolongation of the war: he levied a strong body of troops, with which he had frequent skirmishes with Canute, without ever venturing upon a general engagement. At length the Dane, tried out with the tediousness of a war which kept him in perpetual apprehension, determined to finish it by one decisive stroke. He augmented his army, entered the enemy's country, laid it waste, and then defeated Henry, who had hazarded a battle. The consequence was, that Henry sued for peace in the most abject terms, promising to submit to any terms which the conqueror would think fit to impose. His submission was immediately accepted by the magnanimous Canute, who was satisfied with humbling a haughty foe, and delighted with extending his clemency to the conquered. He immediately took horse, attended only by an escort of twenty persons, and entering Henry's dominions with more valour than discretion, sent a messenger to his castle to acquaint him with his arrival. The Danish messenger entered the castle just as Henry was sitting down to dinner; upon which he instantly seized his arms, and ordered all his people to stand on their defence; but being told that Canute was come to conclude a peace, he went out to receive him. These brave princes embraced each other with tears, signed a peace, and contracted the strictest friendship, which continued inviolable for the remainder of their lives. Such was the esteem which Henry conceived for Canute, that on his death-bed he appointed him guardian of his infant-children, and put the government of his kingdom wholly into his hands; he had even taken such precautions and measures with the emperor, that, after his death, Canute found himself raised by his means to be duke of Mecklenburg. Thus the valour and generosity of Canute not only secured the duchy of Slesvick to the crown of Denmark, but strengthened the interest of that kingdom, by attaching to it a brave people, ever before in a state of hostility with the Danes, and procured to him-

Canute and Henry enter into a strict friendship.

Canute's wise policy, by which he is made king of the Vandals.

[f] Saxo. Gram. lib. xiii.

self

self the dignity of a duke and prince of the empire, without art, intrigue, or ambition. Soon after the emperor invested him with the title of king of the Vandals [g].

In the mean time, the king of Sweden dying, the Ostrogoths chose another king in his room; but the Swedes, believing that the right of election belonged only to themselves, put to death the Ostrogoth king, and chose Magnus, the son of Nicholas king of Denmark. This prince marrying a daughter of the king of Poland, was by that alliance involved in a war with Vratislaus, prince of Sclavonia, into which he likewise drew his father Nicholas, not as an auxiliary, but a principal in the quarrel. Denmark, Poland, and Sweden, being combined against Vratislaus, he found himself under the necessity of making proposals of peace, which were extremely advantageous to the allies; but Nicholas would admit of no overtures until he had subdued the greater part of Sclavonia: then he insisted upon the conquered prince's making his submission in person; and was weak and perfidious enough to break the word of honour he had given for the security of Vratislaus, and retain him prisoner, until the remonstrances of Canute, king of the Vandals, obtained his liberty. Nicholas afterwards thanked the generous Canute for this interposition, which, he said, had saved his and the national reputation, which must have received an indelible stain from so notorious a breach of public faith. He then vented his indignation against the advisers of such unworthy and dishonourable measures; yet, after all, his generosity proved the ruin of the noble-minded Canute. His enemies increased in proportion to his virtue, and they were overwhelmed with shame and confusion at his superiority of character: far, however, from endeavouring to imitate his example, they laboured to remove this mirrour of true honour, that only served to reflect with redoubled force their own disgrace. They found means to persuade the credulous Nicholas, that ambition was the basis and spring of all Canute's actions; that, far from being satisfied with the crown he wore, and with the duchies of Slesvick and Holstein, he aspired at a still higher dignity; and that his popularity was paving an easy way for his ascending the throne of Denmark. As his own children were in the number of his accusers, the weak Nicholas the more readily credited these slanders, and only now watched a fair opportunity of robbing Denmark of its greatest ornament and support.

Denmark, Sweden, and Poland unite against the Sclavonians.

His virtues raise him a cloud of enemies.

[g] Pontan. lib. v. Meurs. lib. iv.

In the mean time, Nicholas prepared to celebrate the nuptials of his son with a princess of Poland; for which purpose the nobility and vassals of Denmark appeared with all possible magnificence at Ripen, and among the rest Canute, who eclipsed them all in splendor and pomp, as much as he did in merit. This circumstance added fuel to the fire that was soon to consume him. The king of Denmark was now convinced of the truth of all those treacherous insinuations that were daily whispered in his ear; while Canute, guarded only by his innocence, and unacquainted with the machinations carried on against him, gained the esteem and affection of all worthy men. The plot was ready to break out against him, when a sudden revolt in Pomerania called him to his own country, and for a time postponed his fate. He quickly subdued the rebels, and afterwards returned to Denmark to receive his sovereign's applause; but how was he thunderstruck at the cold reception, nay, the stern aspect of the deluded Nicholas, on his approaching that throne, to which he added so much lustre. He besought that prince to acquaint him with the cause of a conduct so different from what he flattered himself with; he offered to submit his actions to the most minute scrutiny; he breathed nothing but loyalty and duty, and expressed himself with so noble but respectful firmness of mind, that queen Margaret, a woman of great prudence and virtue, espoused his cause, and, during her life, frustrated all the attempts of his enemies. This excellent princess, however, falling into a dangerous malady, he soon lost the benefit of her protection. On her death-bed she sent for Canute, and told him, "that his greatest enemies were those whom nature and duty ought the most firmly to bind to his interest. She recommended to him to establish harmony and tranquillity at home; to gain the love and confidence of his own children, which would be a certain barrier against all the insinuations of other enemies. They had, she said, the king's ear, who allowed great weight to the allegations of those who were supposed best acquainted with the private designs of their own father. She was now departing out of life, and would die contented in the thoughts, that this intelligence, the goodness of the Almighty, the justice of Canute's cause, and his own integrity, prudence, and virtue would surmount all difficulties, preserve Denmark from the calamity of a civil war, and enable him to triumph over all his adversaries [a]." Canute was moved no

A conspiracy against his life.

The queen's speech to Canute.

[a] Saxo Gram. lib. xiii. Pontan. ibid. Meurs. lib. iv.

less

leſs with the death of ſo generous a friend than with the particulars of her dying words. He was ſhocked at the unnatural conduct of his own children, and greatly perplexed in what manner to execute the wholſome advice of the queen. Before he had ſettled any plan of operation, his enemies, taking advantage of her death, prevailed upon the king to have him ſolemnly cited before a general diet of the ſtates, where he was accuſed of heinous crimes, and particularly of a deſign upon the crown of Denmark; but ſuch was the eloquence of Canute, inſpired by conſcious innocence, that even now he baffled all his foes, and fully convinced Nicholas of his honour and loyalty [b].

His enemies renew their attacks.

Notwithſtanding this victory, it was not long before malice found means to renew the attack with redoubled vigour, after having drawn the young queen into their party, who ſoon wrought a change upon the mind of Nicholas, and perſuaded him that he could not expect Magnus, his ſon, ſhould ever ſucceed to his crown while Canute enjoyed ſuch a ſhare of popularity as even affected himſelf, and made him totter in the throne. An accident added ſtrength to her ſuggeſtions; for Nicholas going to Sleſwick, the government of Canute, both kings had occaſion to appear with their royal ornaments, at ſome public aſſembly, when Nicholas entering firſt, ſeated himſelf on his throne at one end of the hall, and was ſoon followed by Canute, who took his place at the oppoſite end, without remembering to pay the expected compliments at his firſt entrance. As ſoon as he recollected himſelf, he leaped down in the utmoſt confuſion to apologize for the omiſſion; but Nicholas conſtrued it into pride, and the queen, with her party, wreſted it into the moſt invidious ſenſe. In conſequence of this notion, the king aſſembled, with the utmoſt privacy, the leading men of the faction, and, after having bound them to ſecrecy by an oath, declared his wiſh, that ſo dangerous a perſon as Canute might be taken off, in ſuch a manner as would not excite the clamours of the people, whoſe idol he was. The manner of executing their deſign was committed to Magnus, who poſſeſſed the art of diſſimulation in the greateſt perfection. This perſon invited, according to the annual cuſtom, all the nobility of the kingdom to an entertainment on Chriſtmas-Eve. Canute was not forgot, and he, deſirous of wiping off the late omiſſion, did not fail to obey the ſummons, that he might ſhew his reſpect for his ſovereign. He was treated by Magnus with the moſt extraordinary marks of eſteem.

An oath of ſecrecy taken by the conſpirators.

The treachery of Magnus.

[b] Auct. citat. ibid.

The perfidious friend told him, that the generosity of his conduct, and steady adherence to virtue, had blotted out all suspicions in the king's mind, and united the whole kingdom in one chorus of applause, and admiration of his great qualities. He said, that intending a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he would request it of Canute, as a proof of his friendship, that he would charge himself with the guardianship of his children, and superintendency of his affairs during his absence. In a word, he said every thing which could flatter, cajole, and confirm Canute in his opinion, that he was perfectly reconciled, because he spoke truth, though it was for the basest and most perfidious purposes. After he had sufficiently lulled Canute's suspicions, he formed his plan, and hearing that he proposed visiting a sister in the country, whither he would repair with few attendants, he fixed upon this as the proper occasion for his destruction. The day arrived, and Canute, who had no suspicion of treachery, though his wife had sent a messenger from Slesvick to acquaint him of the conspiracy, set out with no more than four domestics. He was attacked in a little wood by Magnus, supported by a large body of conspirators, and slain before he scarce had any suspicion of the treachery of this artful friend, and with such circumstances of deep dissimulation and savage cruelty, as render this story one of the most pathetic in history, though our plan will not permit us to dwell upon particulars. Thus fell the generous, the great Canute, the ornament of Denmark, and the greatest hero of his age. His virtues, which had raised him from a private station to a throne, were now the cause of his death, by the hands of wicked conspirators, who could not without envy see themselves eclipsed in the eyes of the people by such superlative merit [c].

Canute falls a sacrifice to the ambition and perfidy of Magnus and the conspirators.

The news of his death soon reached Roschild, the residence of the court, and the king himself could not help shedding tears at the loss of this great man, though he was privy to the plot. The people were inconsolable, they poured out imprecations against the murderers, and nothing prevented an universal insurrection besides the consideration, that now all their endeavours would only augment the public calamity, without being able to recall him to life. His friends solicited the king for leave to bury him with the pomp becoming his quality and merit, in Roschild; but this he prudently declined, from an apprehension of the consequences that might flow from so affecting

The whole kingdom in a tumult.

[c] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii. Meurs. lib. iv. Pontan. lib. v.

a sight

a ſight as his mangled corpſe expoſed to the people. He was therefore privately interred at Ringſtad, without any other monument than what he had eſtabliſhed in the hearts of the affectionate Danes, who to this day adore his memory [a].

Magnus, after this infamous exploit, returned to Roſchild; but could hardly eſcape the vengeance of an enraged populace. His party however was ſo ſtrong, that he ſoon quelled all oppoſition, and began publicly to boaſt of what he had performed. He now looked upon himſelf as the immediate and ſure ſucceſſor to the throne, aſſuming, in all reſpects, the importance of the heir-apparent; but he could little foreſee how juſt and inſcrutable are the ways of Providence, which, ſooner or later, never fails to puniſh the wicked and unjuſt. Ingeburga, the wife of Canute, was delivered of a ſon about eight days after his murder: the infant became dear to the public, from the love they bore to his father. Harold and Eric, his uncles, were appointed his guardians, and joined with the brave ſons of Scialmond, his couſins, to vindicate the cauſe of oppreſſed innocence, determining, at leaſt, that he ſhould ſucceed to the crown of the Vandals, the dukedom of Holſtein, and the government of Sleſwick. They held an aſſembly of their friends at Ringſtad, where they pathetically lamented the fate of the deceaſed, expoſed his rent and bloody cloaths to the view of the populace, craving their aid and aſſiſtance to avenge his memory, and ſupport his infant ſon. All were fired with the affecting ſight; they cried out for arms, and deſired to be inſtantly led againſt the barbarous and perfidious murderer, chuſing Eric for their general [b].

Canute's wife delivered of a ſon, and guardians appointed him.

The king ſoon had intelligence of this tranſaction, and immediately conſulted Aſcer the primate, in whoſe fidelity and prudence he greatly confided, what ſteps ſhould be taken in ſo dangerous a conjuncture. After many propoſals it was determined, that Magnus ſhould be concealed, and that the king ſhould immediately proceed to Ringſtad, and there convoke the people. His edict was publiſhed, and when the day arrived, Eric made a ſpeech, calculated to inflame the minds of the populace; which had a violent effect, until the primate appeared, and by his winning manner and perſuaſive eloquence appeaſed the tumult, and determined the people to receive their ſovereign with becoming reſpect. While the primate was gone to introduce the king, Eric, ſeizing the opportunity, made

An inſurrection of the people to revenge the death of Canute.

[a] Moleſworth, chap. vi. [b] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii.

a short speech, which soon roused them to their former sentiments, and confirmed them in their resolutions of revenge. On the king's arrival he was received with a sullen murmuring, which ran through the whole assembly; upon which Eric again rose, and told him, that the friend of Canute, and the nation in general, demanded that justice should be executed on the murderers of that great man. He was supported by the whole assembly; and the king found it necessary for his own safety, to promise that Magnus should immediately be sent into pepetual exile [b].

Magnus banished to appease the people.

The king recalls Magnus, which occasions an open rebellion, headed by Eric.

In compliance with his oath, Nicholas sent Magnus to Ostrogoth, where, by his influence, he was created king; an instance of paternal affection against which the people shewed no resentment: but, unhappily, he was persuaded soon after, by those who had been engaged with Magnus in the conspiracy, to recall him to Denmark, as his heir apparent. This step raised a ferment in the kingdom, and obliged Eric and Harold immediately to convene the people at Ringstad. Here they set forth the king's perfidy and breach of vows, which rendered him unworthy of the crown he wore; and obtained a resolution of the assembly, that both he and Magnus should be persecuted as enemies to the nation: the assembly farther insisted upon Eric's accepting the crown, which, out of policy, he refused, until he should merit it by his services, and some signal acts of valour. An army, however, was instantly raised, with which Eric marched directly to Jutland, where Nicholas at that time was, and would immediately have made him prisoner, had not the policy of Truro, bishop of Ripen, diverted his intention. This prelate made use of such specious arguments in defence of the king's conduct, which he urged arose from necessity rather than affection for Magnus; he related so many plausible schemes, which he determined to execute as soon as opportunity offered, that Eric's impetuosity was checked; and he encamped in the place where he then was, with a view to receive proposals from Nicholas. His troops were suffered to forage, and wander round the country, as he had no suspicion of treachery in the prelate, who bore the reputation of great piety. This was the opportunity which Nicholas wanted, and he improved it to such advantage, that attacking Eric unprepared, he totally dispersed his army, after having made great slaughter in his camp. Eric's rage, at this fresh instance of his perfidy, was inconceivable; and, indeed, the disaffection of the nation rose now to such a height, that

Eric defeated.

[b] Ibid. etiam Pontan. lib. v.

it

it was not to be satisfied with less than the lives and crown of Nicholas and Magnus. Another assembly was held, and Eric now accepted the sceptre which he before refused: an army was raised with all expedition, and ambassadors was sent to crave the assistance of the emperor Lotharius, in revenging the cause of Canute, for whom he had always professed the strongest friendship. Lotharius promised every thing to the ambassadors: he had, in fact, no other view than the extension of the empire, which he thought might easily be effected by seizing upon the Danish provinces, bordering on his dominions, during the heats of a civil war. For this purpose he levied an army; and marching into Holstein, found Nicholas encamped with a strong body of forces behind the wall of Danewark. Here, instead of giving him battle, he entered upon a treaty, created Magnus a prince of the empire, and then drew off his army. Eric, who had come to Sleswick with a fleet to support the emperor, was astonished at his treachery. He upbraided him with perfidy and cowardice; and told him, that Magnus would return his favours with the same ingratitude he had shewn to Canute: a prognostic that was soon verified by the event; for Magnus, equally deaf to the dictates of honour and conscience, fell upon the rear of the imperialists, cut them off, and obliged Adolphus, who led that part of the army, to save his life by swimming[d].

The ingratitude of Magnus to the emperor.

In the mean time, Eric, having no hopes of assistance from the emperor, returned to Zealand, and there received ambassadors from the king of Norway, who demanded the infant son of Canute in marriage for his daughter. Pleased with the hopes of so powerful an ally as this connexion would produce, he assured the ambassadors, that he was ready to enter upon a treaty with their king, and would with pleasure embrace every opportunity of cultivating his friendship by the strongest ties; to testify which inclination, he immediately offered the king his niece in marriage, and gave pledges for the faith of his nephew.

Both parties now prepared for war; and Nicholas drew to his side all the bishops of Jutland, and several of the principal nobility of the kingdom, besides the conspirators, who were all strongly attached to his interest. In Eric's army was his brother Harold, with his two sons, who could not help espousing his honest cause, though they were displeased at his elevation in preference to Harold,

[d] Meurs. lib. iv.

the elder brother. He was likewise strengthened by the presence of the bishop of Roschild, and Christiern, a nobleman of great influence and personal valour, to whom he gave the command of the forces intended to oppose the king in Jutland, while himself with the fleet should attack Magnus. He soon came up with his antagonist, and, after a vigorous action, totally destroyed and took his fleet, Magnus making his escape in a boat. But this good fortune was counterballanced by a victory which the king gained over Christiern by land, who was made prisoner, and carried to Slesvick. Before Eric received advice of his general's defeat, he was so elated with his own good fortune, that he entered the gut of Alberg, with intention of landing his forces, joining Christiern, and gaining an easy victory over the king. This security rendered him less rigid in point of discipline, so that he permitted the soldiers to relax after the confinement on board, by strolling round the country; an imprudence which the king did not fail of turning to advantage. He attacked Eric in this situation, and defeated a great part of his army. Nor was this all his loss; for Harold, his brother, envious of his dignity, and perceiving the king's cause bore a better aspect, deserted him, and carried over a strong reinforcement to the king's army. Happily however for Eric, the winter came on, and prevented the king from pursuing his advantage, or even keeping the field [b].

Eric defeats Magnus.

Nicholas defeats the land army of Eric.

Harold deserts to the king.

Before the next campaign Sweden revolted, and raised to the sovereignty Licerco, a nobleman of high rank. He immediately assumed his independency by a very extraordinary act, which was no other than debauching Uvilda, wife to king Nicholas, whom, for the greater security, he had sent into Sweden. Early in the spring Nicholas took the field, and joining battle with Eric, who was greatly inferior to him in strength, obtained so complete a victory, that Eric was forced to fly into Norway, accompanied only by his wife, his natural son, Swen, and a few attendants. Here he was at first kindly received, until Nicholas bribed the Norwegian king to put him to death, or deliver him into his hands; but Eric escaped this danger by means of the queen his niece, who privately sent him notice of what was transacting. Upon this intimation, he instantly wrote to his friends in Langland, to send a ship to Norway to carry him off. The ship arriving, he artfully contrived to escape from the castle where he was confined, under pretence of being secure against the machinations of Nicho-

Eric defeated by the king.

Eric flies into Norway.

[b] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii. Pontan. lib. iv.

las.

las. As the ſhip's crew were determined to hazard all for their king, he ſoon found himſelf as ſafe as ſo ſlender a force could make him, and wafted into the midſt of his friends in Langland. As they coaſted along the ſhore, they found ſeveral of Magnus's ſhips entirely deſerted by the crews, who were making merry on ſhore. To prevent their being again ſerviceable, they bored them through the bottoms, and ſunk or deſtroyed them, with all poſſible ſilence and expedition. The report ſoon ſpread that Eric was eſcaped; but Magnus was in no condition to purſue him, his fleet being wholly deſtroyed [e].

Eric makes one more effort to recover the throne.

Eric being now ſafe among his friends, reſolved to make one more attempt to revenge Canute's cauſe, puniſh the perfidious Magnus, and eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne, to which he was elected by the people. His firſt ſtep was to hang up Ubbo, whom Nicholas had made governor of Langland; an ignominious death he juſtly merited, as one of the principal conſpirators againſt the life of Canute. After this execution he made a deſcent with a ſmall fleet on Schonen, which he ſoon reduced, by the means of the friends he had among the inhabitants, who only wanted an opportunity of declaring themſelves diſſatisfied with the preſent government. Early in the ſpring king Nicholas entered upon meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of his rival. He raiſed an army, equipped a fleet, aſſembled the biſhops and his moſt warlike vaſſals, and ſent a number of ſcouts abroad to examine into the ſituation, number, and condition of Eric's force. It was not long before advice was received, that Eric was boldly marching to attack the king, though ſupported but with a handful of men. The ſcouts, who had probably been corrupted by Eric, farther declared, that he appeared like ſomething ſupernatural, riding upon a white horſe that raiſed him into the clouds, and cut the air with incredible velocity. Nicholas perceived, that either fear or treachery had occaſioned this phænomenon; but his ſoldiers judged otherwiſe, and fled with great precipitation to the ſhips, from which they could hardly be prevailed upon to return. In this confuſion Eric attacked the king, and entirely defeated him, having ſlain Magnus in the field, who in this laſt act played the hero, chuſing rather to die honourably than eſcape by an ignominious flight [f].

Eric defeats the king.

The news of this event reaching Norway, the king Magnus was ſo incenced at his wife for the information ſhe had given Eric, by which he eſcaped, that he ſent her back to

[e] Meurſ. lib. iv. Saxo-Gram. lib. xiii.

[f] Auct. citat. ibid.

Nicholas declares Harold his successor.

Denmark. As to king Nicholas, he escaped with Harold into Jutland, where he assembled a council of the nobles, and declared Harold the successor of his son Magnus, not from any personal regard he had for him, but to render it his interest to oppose his brother Eric with all possible virulence and animosity. His next step was to go in person to Sleswick, in order to conciliate the inhabitants, who were greatly incensed at the murder of Canute their governor. His friends had done all in their power to dissuade him from this measure; but he was obstinately bent on it. There had always been an annual festival held at Sleswick, all the members of which were obliged, previous to their admission, to vow revenge against whoever should injure any individual of the society. Canute, while he lived, had been constantly president of this society, and by his affability, kindness, and generosity, had entirely won their affections. On the king's arrival they instantly flew to arms; in the space of a few minutes the city-gates were shut, and the walls surrounded with armed men; every thing in commotion, and all means of escape cut off from Nicholas, who now, when it was too late, perceived his error, but determined to support the consequences with the intrepidity of a hero. His friends advised him to take sanctuary in St. Peter's church; but this expedient he refused, that he might not pollute the holy altar with his blood, and by that sacrilege aggravate the crime of his infatuated people. However, he endeavoured to seize upon the citadel; but was slain in the tumult that arose between his guards and the citizens, after he had reigned thirty-five years, according to Saxo-Grammaticus and Meursius; though Pontanus and Suaningius place his death in the year 1135[c]; and all writers agree, that he ascended the throne in 1107. When his friends represented to him the danger of his going personally to a city so strongly attached to Canute, he told them, that majesty had nothing to fear from shoemakes and taylors; yet did he fall by the hands of those very citizens he affected to despise, leaving this useful lesson to his successors, that moderation, affability, and clemency, are the surest guardians of the crown; and popular hatred the most dangerous enemy in a free constitution (A).

Nicholas put to death by the Slesswickers.

ERIC

[c] Pontan. lib. v. Suan. p. 76.

(A) With Nicholas ended the reign of Swen's fifth son, agreeable to the promise he had on his death-bed exacted from his nobles; a circumstance rather glorious to his memory than

E R I C IV.

AS ſoon as the burghers had executed their deſign upon the king, they marched in a troop to the priſon, in which Chriſtiern had been confined ſince his defeat, and ſet him at liberty. Their next ſtep was to proclaim Eric king, agreeable to a former election in a full aſſembly of the nobility and commons of Zealand and Schonen. Eric having as yet no intelligence of what had been tranſacted in Sleſwick, was making preparations for finiſhing the war. Accordingly he paſſed over with his fleet to Jutland, and there was firſt made acquainted with the death of Nicholas. Though he greatly rejoiced at this event, yet believing that neither his own authority, nor the public tranquility, could be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed while his brother Harold lived, and claimed the enſigns of ſovereignty, he reſolved to march againſt him. Harold, on the other hand, hearing of the king's death, and Eric's approach, was greatly perplexed how to act. His force was very unequal to his brother's, and hazarding a battle would therefore be expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger; yet he had no other alternative than flying into baniſhment. His two eldeſt ſons continued faithful to Eric, and were now in his camp: Harold, however, perſuaded himſelf, that probably they were not deſtitute of filial affection, though honour obliged them to remain firm to their engagements, reſolved to conſult them ſecretly in what manner he ſhould act in ſo dangerous a conjuncture. A truſty friend had acceſs to them, and they, without heſitation, requeſted that he would eſcape with all expedition to the king of Norway, aſſuring him, that riſking a battle would be attended with certain ruin. Thus they acquitted themſelves like faithful adherents to Eric, and like dutiful children to Harold: the former, however, having ſome intimation of this ſecret correſpondence, had them ſeized; and, after a ſhort impriſonment, ordered them, at the inſtigation of Chriſtiern, to be drowned in the river Sley [b].

Harold greatly perplexed.

He flies into Norway.

As ſoon as Eric had ſettled the ſtate of affairs in Jutland and Sleſwick, he returned to Zealand, where he found Harold ſupported by a ſtrong body of Norwegian auxiliaries, and proclaimed king of Denmark at a diet held in

[b] Meurſ. lib. iv.

than fortunate in the iſſue, as each reign was afflicted ſucceſſively with ſome uncommon misfortunes, which the reader muſt have obſerved in the peruſal of the preceding pages.

that

Harold returns with an army, and Eric has his six sons put to death.

that island. On this intelligence Eric speedily returned to Jutland, and ordered five of the six remaining sons of Harold to be put to death, without remorse or pity. As for the youngest son, Olaus, he made his escape in a peasant's dress to Sweden [c].

Mean while, the Vandals, encouraged by the intestine divisions in Denmark, made a sudden irruption into Holstein, and laid waste with terrible desolation every place through which they passed. To repress their insolence, Eric assembled a fleet of eleven hundred sail, embarking in each vessel four horsemen, with their proper accoutrements, besides foot; with which armament he passed over into their country, and soon reduced it. From thence he went to the isle of Rugen to punish the inhabitants, who had not only assisted the Vandals, but renounced Christianity, exercised the most abominable and prophane pagan superstition, and, what more immediately concerned the state of Denmark, the most desperate piracy on the high seas. Having subdued them, he compelled the whole island to banish idolatry, to establish funds for the residence of a bishop to instruct them in the duties of the Christian religion, and to swear allegiance to the crown of Denmark. However, they did not long continue in this state of submission; for Eric was scarce returned to Denmark before they restored their idols, and banished the Christian prelate. He was preparing to punish them with more severity, when the return of Harold, as we have mentioned above, diverted his intention. History relates, that he soon removed this rival brother by assassination; but we no where find the particular circumstances mentioned [d].

Eric subdues Rugen.

Harold assassinated.

During Eric's residence in Denmark, some disturbances arose in Norway, that terminated in the ruin of king Magnus. Harold, who claimed the crown in consequence of his affinity to the late royal family, had so engaged the hearts of the Irish, among whom he lived for a great number of years, that they sent him to Norway, attended with a considerable body of troops. An insurrection of the people immediately appeared in his favour; and they insisted, that Magnus should receive him as his colleague. This proposal he refused, gave battle to the rebels and auxiliary Irish, and defeated Harold, who took shelter in Denmark, where he was kindly received by Eric. The truth was, revenge and policy, not humanity to the distressed, were the motives of Eric's conduct. He considered this as a favourable occasion of punishing Magnus

An insurrection in Norway.

[c] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. [d] Pontan. lib. v.

for

for his treacherous attempts upon his life, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality. Harold solicited his aid, and Eric made no scruple of promising it as soon as he had put an end to the affair, in which the revolt of Rugen now involved him. Against these islanders he set out a second time, and so totally subjected them, that he apprehended no other rebellion for some years. He afterwards applied himself to the performance of his obligations to Harold: he augmented his land and sea-forces, and passed over to Norway with a very formidable army, attended by Harold. Here he took some sea-port towns; but Magnus declining battle, he returned to winter in Denmark, resolving to resume his operations early in the spring [e].

Eric's cruelty to Magnus, king of Norway.

Next year he returned with a superior force, and coming to a decisive action with Magnus, defeated his army, and took him prisoner. His victory he disgraced by his cruelty; for, to prevent all attempts to reinstate the unfortunate king, he put out both his eyes, deprived him of his virility, and enclosed him for life in a monastery, raising Harold to the throne.

Having finished the war in Norway, he returned to settle the domestic œconomy of Denmark, which had fallen into great confusion during the long series of civil and foreign wars, in which the nation had been for several years engaged. While his mind was thus usefully employed, an unfortunate dispute arose among the bishops, about the archbishoprick of Lunden, then vacant. Eschil, bishop of Roschild, supported by the people, and Rico, bishop of Slesvick, for whom the king entertained a personal friendship, on account of his attachment during the civil war, were the candidates. Eschil raised an army, and obliged the king and Rico to retire to Jutland. Here they levied forces, returned to Zealand, gave battle to the haughty prelate, and took him prisoner, keeping him in close confinement, until he was released at an exorbitant ransom, and the strong intercession of the most powerful of the nobility.

The bishop of Roschild raises an army against Eric, and is made prisoner.

This dispute being for a time laid aside, the king resumed his attention to redress the grievances of his subjects, in which he met with numberless difficulties; for, in easing the burthen of taxes laid on the commons, he offended the nobility, and in granting new honours and privileges to the latter, he only rivetted the chains of the former. This conduct soon raised a ferment in the nation, which could be composed only by his death; an event that was

[e] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv.

trea-

treacherously brought about, while he was publicly administring justice in full court, near Ripen, where he was stabbed by one Plogus, surnamed Black, a nobleman of great distinction in Jutland. Thus died Eric, after a reign of scarce four years, resigning with his last breath a crown which he obtained by many valorous exploits, and dignified by such acts of popularity and justice, as long endeared his memory to the commons of Denmark. He obtained, says Pontanus, the surname of Emund, from his courage and the dangers he had surmounted; and of Harefoot, from his agility and swiftness, according to Meursius and other writers [b].

Eric murdered by Plogus.

The royal family being almost extinct in the male-line, great disputes arose in the diet about the succession. Some proposed Swen, the natural son of the late king; others again supported the claim of Canute, son to Magnus, and grandson to Eric; while a third party, headed by Christiern, of whom we have made mention in the late civil war, espoused the cause of Valdemar, the son of Canute, king of the Vandals, by his wife Ingeburga. There were many reasonable objections started against all the three candidates: the first was a bastard son to a prince, who was himself the fruit of an illegitimate embrace; the second was a minor, the son of a prince detested by the people, on account of the murder of their favourite Canute, and banished the kingdom by a solemn decree of the diet; lastly, the third was so young, that dreadful consequences were apprehended from so long a minority as must ensue from his election. However, the influence and address of Christiern surmounted this last difficulty, as the people were greatly disposed to favour the offspring of a person they had perfectly adored. He sent privately for Ingeburga, and introduced her and her infant son to the people, with a pathetic speech, reminding them of the noble virtues of his father. The effect was sudden, and the diet, with one voice, proclaimed him king; but Ingeburga, aware of the dangers to which the child must be exposed by this exaltation, would by no persuasions consent to his election, until a regent should be appointed. She farther insisted, that the regent should actually enjoy the badges and authority of majesty during his natural life; that his ambition might be gratified, and all cause for conspiring against the life of her son removed. This was a wise precaution suggested by maternal tenderness, that probably secured the crown afterwards to Valdemar. So

[b] Pontan. & Meurs. loc. citat.

strenuously

ſtrenuouſly did ſhe maintain this point, that Eric, ſurnamed the Lamb, from the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, was choſen regent, or rather colleague to Valdemar, and ſole king during the young prince's minority. He was the ſon of Hacquin, who had married the late king's daughter, and related to Eric the Good, by the marriage of his ſon Harold.

It was his temper which gave riſe to his elevation; for his known moderation, and extreme love of peace and tranquility, cauſed no jealouſy, that ambition would tempt him to diſturb the public quiet [n].

ERIC V. ſurnamed the LAMB.

ERIC V. had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when the diviſions among the clergy broke out afreſh with redoubled rancour. Eſchil, biſhop of Roſchild, as ſoon as death had removed Eric, who was the greateſt obſtacle to his aſpiring views, went over to Schonen, and by the conſent, and even at the perſuaſion of the inhabitants, aſſumed the title and authority of primate, without obtaining, or indeed aſking the permiſſion of the new king. The people were enamoured of the late archbiſhop; and as Eſchil was his relation, they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted that the dignity ſhould be kept in the family. This induced Eric, ſurnamed the Lamb, to maintain the pretenſions of Rico, biſhop of Sleſwick, who had been patronized by the late king, and likewiſe to curb the ambition and inſolence of Eſchil. Obſerving, however, the obſtinacy with which the whole province of Schonen eſpouſed his cauſe, and that degrading him would neceſſarily be attended with a civil war, he dropped the deſign rather than diſturb the tranquillity of the kingdom. The diſpute about this archbiſhoprick of Lunden was the firſt occaſion the kings of Denmark had to repent of their having inveſted their turbulent prelates with temporal authority, and elevated them to ſuch a pitch of grandeur as rendered them haughty, inſolent, and even dangerous to their ſovereigns. In ſome meaſure to gratify Rico for his diſappointment, Eric made him chancellor of Denmark, and gave him the biſhoprick of Roſchild, vacant by the removal of Eſchil [o].

A.D. 1139.

Eccleſiaſtical diſputes renewed.

Amidſt theſe tranſactions, Olaus, the ſon of Harold, who eſcaped the maſſacre in which his brothers periſhed, by order of the late king, now returned to Sweden, and publicly demanded his father's eſtate that had been confiſcated. This the king refuſed, pleading a law paſſed in the

[n] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. [o] Id. ibid. Pontan. lib. v.

reign

reign of Frother the Great, by which the estates of all persons who had taken up arms against their king and country, were forfeited to the crown. Olaus finding that he could not avail himself of intreaty, law, or force, had recourse to plots and conspiracies. He endeavoured one night to assassinate the king in his bed-chamber; but was prevented by the guards, from whom he escaped with difficuly, and fled a second time into Sweden. Returning thence into Schonen, he levied forces, assumed the regal title, and prepared to invade the whole kingdom. Eschil, notwithstanding his quarrel with the king, raised forces to oppose him, and performed the part of a loyal subject, but unsuccessfully; for being defeated in the field, he retreated to Lunden, and was there besieged by Olaus. After having defended the city with great bravery, he was at length, from the scarcity of provisions, forced to surrender it upon honourable terms. Some writers say that he was taken prisoner, and dismissed, after having sworn allegiance to Olaus, which oath he broke as soon as Eric's army came near enough to protect him. He offered his services to this prince, and took it upon him to crush the rebellion, provided his majesty would furnish him with a suitable army, which was readily granted. As soon as the prelate found himself at the head of a formidable body of men, he went in search of the enemy, who did not decline the battle. Here he was a second time vanquished, and returned to the king with apologies that were easily admitted, as his misfortunes could not be attributed to want of loyalty, but to unskilfulness in a profession no way appertaining to the character of a dignified prelate [c].

Attempts on the king's life.

Eschil raises forces for the king.

Olaus, elated with his two victories, began now to assume the king in reality. He plundered all the effects belonging to Eric and Eschil; deposed the latter from his archbishoprick, and placed another in his room; he revoked all the decrees made in this and the last reign; and lastly, sending his army into winter-quarters, he went over to Schonen with only a few attendants, as if the war had been wholly ended, and himself in quiet possession of the throne. This imprudent security would have wrought his destruction had not fortune interposed for his safety; for Eric receiving intelligence of his total neglect of military discipline, collected a small body of forces, and passing over in the night, attacked the enemy just as their camp was ready to break up, and while every thing was in the utmost confusion and disorder. The consequence of this attack was

Eric defeats Olaus.

[c] Meurs. lib. iv.

a com-

a complete victory. He took four of Olaus's generals, dispersed his whole army, pillaged his camp, reduced Lunden, seized his arms and magazines, and put to death the new bishop, appointed by Olaus in the room of Eschil, or, as others imagine, Eschil himself, for having traiterously suffered himself to be twice defeated in the field [e].

Olaus escaped to Sweden, from whence he soon returned with another army, and gave battle to Eric, in which he was a second time defeated at Glimstorp. Nor did this disaster destroy his hopes, or any ways dispirit him; for we are told, that in the same campaign he fought no less than twelve obstinate battles with Eric, in all of which he was unsuccessful. He had indeed an admirable talent at accommodating himself to circumstances, and retrieving the situation of affairs, after they had been given over as lost by all other men; but he never stuck at the means, whether honourable or not: his whole object was success in whatever manner it could be obtained. Finding, therefore, that all attempts in Schonen would be vain, he passed over suddenly into Zealand, and was there defeated by Rico, bishop of Roschild. Determining however to have his revenge, he gave out that he had quitted the island, and concealed himself with a strong party of desperadoes in a wood adjacent to Rico's palace. This he attacked furiously in the night; but finding the doors too strong to be forced, he called out for fire to consume the building Rico then demanded a parley, which being granted, he was going to remonstrate with Olaus, when he was treacherously slain by his order, before he had well passed through his own gate.

Olaus a second time defeated.

After this infamous action Olaus returned to Schonen before Rico's death could be known there; but Eric took his measures so well, that he had almost put an end to the war by a sudden attack on the enemy, in which Olaus narrowly escaped being made prisoner. This was only a short respite from the fate which impended; for he was soon after defeated and slain in a bloody battle fought just as he was upon the point of quitting Schonen [f].

Olaus slain.

This dangerous rival being removed, Eric applied his attention to compose the state of the kingdom, which was greatly disturbed by this tedious war. He married the sister of the bishop of Bremen; remunerated the nobles with some beneficial grants of estates forfeited in the late war, for the zeal and fidelity with which they had served him; and distinguished himself by many acts of piety, jus-

Eric falls into indolent and shameful measures.

[e] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. [f] Meurs. lib. iv.

tice, and popularity, until at length he fell into an inactivity and indolence that greatly impaired his reputation. To redeem his character he fitted out a fleet againſt the Vandals, who reſumed their old trade of piracy; but a lazy humour had now ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed him, that loitering on the coaſt of Zealand without keeping proper watch, he was ſurpriſed by the enemy, and very nearly taken priſoner. It is ſuppoſed that his fondneſs for his young queen had totally emaſculated his mind, and rendered him indifferent to every conſideration but domeſtic felicity, which he indulged to an exceſs of weakneſs. He now returned home after his ſhameful flight, without again attempting to wipe off the diſgrace, or repreſs the inſolence of thoſe barbarians. Next year he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died, leaving the reputation of a prince endued with excellent natural qualities, corrupted, and at laſt obliterated by a ſhameful indolence, the conſequence of too uxorious a diſpoſition. On his death-bed he was weak enough to put on a monk's habit, looking upon that as a ſure paſſport to the manſions of bliſs; and in this apparel aſſembled his nobility, to whom he delivered his ſcepter. Yet though he reſigned the badges of authority, he could not bear to have a ſucceſſor mentioned; for when that expedient was propoſed by one of the nobility, in order to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Vandals, he turned his face, and expired with marks of reſentment[f].

SECT. V.

Wherein the Hiſtory is brought down to the Acceſſion of Canute VI. in the Year 1182.

SWEN IV. and CANUTE V.

ON the death of Eric V. the kingdom was divided among three perſons, each enjoying a ſovereign and equal authority. Theſe are the words of the Daniſh writers, though it appears in fact, that Valdemar was ſtill in his minority, and enjoyed no part of the ſupreme power. The Zealanders, at the perſuaſion of Steno, a perſon of great influence, eſpouſed the cauſe of Swen, ſon to Eric Emund, and choſe him for their king. The Jutlanders, however, favoured Canute, the ſon of Magnus, and accordingly elected him for their ſovereign, until Valdemar ſhould ar-

[f] Helm. Chron. Slav. lib. i. cap. lxviii.

rive

rive at the age of maturity. Whether he was then to share the authority with the young prince, or entirely to resign it to him, is not clearly determined by historians; but certain it is, that Valdemar had no division of the kingdom appropriated to him during his minority; nor did he at all enjoy either the ensigns or authority of a monarch. He was educated indeed as the prince apparent and immediate successor to the crown, had a household and liberal appointments, but bore no sway in the administration[g].

A war breaks out between Swen and Canute.

The consequence of this partition of power was an immediate rupture between the rivals Swen and Canute, which again involved the nation in a civil war. The latter taking advantage of Swen's absence in Schonen, where he was levying an army, invaded Zealand, reduced it, and drew Eschil, the archbishop, into his interest; whence it appears, that this prelate was not put to death in the former reign, as some historians allege. Endeavouring to join Canute in Zealand, the primate was taken, and, by order of Swen, inclosed in a cage, and suspended in the steeple of his own cathedral, exposed to the derision of the populace. He was afterwards imprisoned, and at length dismissed at the request of the pope.

As soon as Swen had completed his levies, he embarked his army for Zealand, determined to drive the enemy out of the island. Both armies willingly came to an engagement, fought with the utmost obstinacy, and made terrible slaughter, until victory, long hovering in suspence, at last embraced the cause of Swen, and his rival was compelled to retire to Jutland.

A.D.1148.

Swen and Canute reconciled, and march against the Vandals.

Pope Eugenius this year published an edict, strictly enjoining all Christian princes to combine against the infidels, an exhortation which brought about a temporary reconciliation between Swen and Canute, that ended in a confederacy and junction of forces against the Vandals, who still adhered to their Pagan idolatry. Scarce had the allies arrived on the enemy's coast, when they were joined by the Saxons, and now the fleet was divided into three squadrons, who were to make their several attacks. Swen was unfortunate; for the inhabitants of the isle of Rugen, in alliance with the Vandals, destroyed a great part of his fleet by a sudden sally. Terrified at this loss the Danes reimbarked, and, without any farther attempt, returned home; upon which the civil discord was again revived between the rival princes. Swen, by his late defeat, was now inferior in strength to his enemy; which deficiency he determined

[g] Suaning. p. 77.

The civil war again breaks out.

to compensate by all the precautions suggested by the art of war. He set about fortifying Roschild in the strongest manner, and Canute resolved to impede the work as much as possible, and maintain his superiority. Accordingly he passed into Zealand, attacked the city, took the governor, who commanded in a sally of the besieged, and, after having put out his eyes, and plundered the city, he reimbarked for Jutland, to recruit his army and prepare for giving battle to Swen [h].

Canute defeated.

In a short time he returned, and meeting his rival at Thorster, a bloody battle was fought, that terminated to the advantage of Swen. Canute was not only forced to abandon Zealand, but, before his return to Jutland, was deserted by two of the chief nobility, whose weight and valour proved of the utmost importance to his antagonist.

Valdemar declares for Swen.

To this loss was added the influence of young Valdemar, now of age, who, out of hatred to the son of his father's murderer, declared in favour of Swen, and accepted from him the government of Slefwick, which had formerly belonged to his noble father. Young Valdemar's natural vigour, the influence he possessed in consequence of the people's affection, and the forces he drew together, enabled Swen to retaliate upon his rival, and, in his turn, to project the invasion of his dominions [i]. Valdemar was accordingly provided with a fleet, and ordered to make a descent on Jutland; the first expedition he had ever undertaken. His courage and ardour to signalize himself soon infused a spirit of intrepidity in his troops, that made them as desirous of battle as their young leader. The opportunity offered, and Valdemar embraced it with a chearfulness that prognosticated a happy event. Canute was totally defeated; his whole army taken, killed, or dispersed, and himself obliged to fly for shelter to his stepfather, Suerco king of Sweden.

Canute again defeated.

Swen, being thus freed from all apprehensions about his rival, resumed the war against the Vandals, who had become more insolent by the late repulse they had given the Danes, and by the civil discord that rent this miserable people. Impetuosity and fire, mixed with a certain dissipation of mind and inconstancy, distinguished the character of Swen. This disposition rendered the war in general unsuccessful, though he succeeded in all his attacks upon the barbarians. As he never followed his stroke, they always again made head, and were as insolent at the end of Swen's hostile operations as before [k].

[h] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. Meurs. lib. iv. [i] Meurs. lib. iv.
[k] Pontan. lib. v.

During

During theſe tranſactions, Canute, leaving the court of Sweden, repaired to Poland and Saxony to ſollicit aſſiſtance, and met with ample promiſes. At length he viſited the archbiſhop of Bremen, who received him into his protection. This prelate, having been deprived of ſome privileges which he claimed in Denmark, vowed revenge, and aſſiſted Canute with all his power. He likewiſe ſent truſty perſons to ſound the inclinations of the Jutlanders, who all declared they would take up arms in favour of their prince, the moment he appeared with a proper force to protect them. They did not deceive him with falſe hopes; for the moment he arrived, incredible numbers flocked to his ſtandard; and Swen, finding himſelf inferior in the field, took all neceſſary precautions for ſtanding a ſiege in Wiburg. Canute pitched his camp before the city, laid cloſe ſiege to it, and in time reduced the garriſon to great ſtraights for want of proviſions. Swen reſolved, in this emergency, to riſque every thing rather than fall into the hands of his rival. Accordingly, attended by young Valdemar, he ſallied out in the night upon the enemy's camp, when a furious action enſued. The beſieged fought with the deſpair of perſons who had all at ſtake; and the beſiegers determined not to be diſgraced by a handful of men. Both Swen and Valdemar performed miracles of valour; but eſpecially the young prince, who was preſent wherever danger and glory called. Fortune ſeconded their brave efforts; Canute's army was entirely defeated, his camp pillaged, the ſiege raiſed, and himſelf forced to fly with a few attendants into Saxony[g].

Canute again invades Denmark, and beſieges Swen in Wiburg.

In the mean time, the Vandals had invaded Funen, burning and deſtroying the country with all the fury of incenſed barbarians; but Swen, marching againſt them, drove them out of the iſland, after having defeated them in a pitched battle. To prevent their future depredations, he granted, with the conſent of the nobility, the power of making reprifals to all his ſubjects, who had ſuſtained loſſes by their deſcents and piracies. Theſe privateers at firſt compoſed but a ſmall ſquadron; but their ſucceſs ſo encouraged others, that in a ſhort time they became a formidable armament, under the conduct of one Vithemar. Their power rendered them no leſs a grievance to Denmark than the Vandals themſelves; for wherever they met with a ſhip fit for the purpoſe, they thought themſelves ſufficiently juſtified in ſeizing upon her, if they firſt paid down her value to the owner. Other abuſes had

The Vandals defeated, and a law paſſed in favour of privateers.

[g] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv.

likewise crept in, which rendered it necessary for Swen to compile a certain set of laws to regulate their conduct. What these were, history does not inform us: we are only told, that they proved extremely beneficial and salutary; notwithstanding which it was long before the sea-port towns resumed their ancient splendor, and trade recovered its wonted vigour [c].

A third attempt by Canute.

Canute in the mean time was not idle: after having used every art to induce the Saxons to support him, he went to Embden, where he met with some encouragement, from the eager desire with which he found the people possessed of recovering their usual liberty, as they imagined they should, in reward of the services they proposed doing Canute, should he be so happy as to be reinstated in the throne. A small army was soon raised; but there wanted a fleet to transport it into Slesvick. A few ships were therefore obtained from that duchy, and every thing threatened the nation with a new civil war. Nor was Swen less diligent in taking the proper measures to suppress this insurrection. He levied troops with such expedition, and marched them, with Valdemar at their head, with so much celerity, that Canute was attacked, and the rebellion suppressed, before it was believed that Swen could have intelligence of the rising; and thus the unhappy prince was once more driven into exile. After Swen had punished with death the ringleaders, imposed a fine upon the rest, and settled the good order of the country, he returned to Denmark.

Canute once more driven into exile.

He engages the emperor in his service.

Canute resolved upon one more effort; and accordingly went to the court of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, craving his assistance, and promising, if he succeeded, to hold Denmark as a fief of the empire: an argument which weighed so powerfully with Barbarossa, that he cited Swen to appear before him. Meursius says, that he sent a polite compliment, desiring that the king of Denmark would favour him with a meeting at Stadtberg, then called Marberg, in order to renew the ancient amity between their predecessors; assuring him, at the same time, that only affairs of importance prevented him from going more than half way. This embassy was extremely agreeable to Swen, as it flattered his pride, and raised his self-importance. Without hesitation he embraced the proposal, and set out on the journey, attended by Valdemar, contrary to the advice of the senate and most prudent personages of the nation. On his arrival at Stadtberg he was magnificently

[c] Meurs. ibid Pontan. lib. v.

received

received at the firſt congreſs; but, in the ſecond meeting, Frederic began to accuſe him of having driven the lawful heir to the crown of Denmark out of the kingdom, and uſurped his throne. Then the emperor propoſed, that he ſhould hold his crown upon the ſame terms offered by Canute, or run the hazard of his vengeance. He told him, that, if he accepted the firſt, it ſhould be his endeavour to prevail on Canute to lay down his arms, and renounce all pretenſions, accepting of Zealand as an equivalent, which he ſhould hold for his life: on the contrary, ſhould he prove refractory, he threatened to diveſt him (Swen) immediately of the ſovereignty, and confer it on his rival. Swen perceiving now, when too late, the ſnare into which he had fallen, deſired that the matter might be debated before the aulic council, or a diet of the princes of the empire, each of the parties chuſing an advocate, upon whom he ſhould reſt his cauſe. This propoſition ſeemed ſo equitable, that Barbaroſſa, aſhamed to refuſe it, deſired he would fix upon his advocate. Accordingly Swen choſe Henry the Lyon, duke of Saxony; and Canute made choice of the archbiſhop of Bremen. The cauſe was debated with great warmth, and Henry was near carrying the point for his client, when Barbaroſſa put an end to the argument, by decreeing, that they ſhould hold an equal ſhare of the ſovereignty, as colleagues; a determination with which Swen was forced to appear ſatisfied, though the injuſtice of it was flagrant and notorious to all the world. In conſequence of this award, he was permitted to return to Denmark; but had no ſooner arrived at the capital than, aſſembling his nobles, he wrote a letter to the emperor, by their advice; in which he upbraided him for his perfidy, and violation of the laws of nations and public faith. He told him, that his conſent to his unjuſt verdict being extorted, he was determined not to abide by a ſentence ſo partial and iniquitous; and that, as he had not only obtained the crown by the election and free choice of his faithful people, but likewiſe held it by right of conqueſt, it was his reſolution not to participate his authority with the man he had ſo frequently vanquiſhed; and either to live a king, or die in maintaining his right and crown [h].

Treachery of the emperor.

The diſpute between Swen and Canute referred to a diet of the empire; but Swen refuſes to ſtand by the emperor's award.

He afterwards, entered upon a treaty of marriage with the houſe of Saxony, in order the more ſtrongly to unite families already linked together by friendſhip, neighbourhood, and mutual good offices; but this connexion, ſays

[h] Vide Auct. citat. ibid.

Grammaticus, was the bane of his reputation, and the ruin of the kingdom. Swen began to emulate the luxurious and expenſive manners of the Saxons. The ſimple homely coarſe dreſs of Denmark was changed for the more ſuperb and coſtly ornaments of the neighbouring country: the minds of the nobility were emaſculated with foppery, their eſtates ruined with pomp and oſtentation, and the public treaſury was exhauſted by frivolous ſhew and mere gaudy external grandeur. The low condition of the treaſury introduced a train of bare-faced corruptions: honours and preferments were beſtowed, for a certain price, on the mean and unworthy; merit was eſtimated by wealth, and court-favour beſtowed only upon thoſe who could adminiſter for a time to its prodigality [1].

In this condition ſtood the kingdom on the eve of a war with Sweden, from which the pope's nuncio did all in his power to divert Swen. The motives for it were a groſs affront put on the nation by the brutal conduct of John, the ſon of Suerco, king of Sweden. This young prince had violently carried off the wife of the duke of Halland, raviſhed her in the moſt ſavage manner, and then diſmiſſed her with all poſſible marks of ignominy. The whole kingdom of Denmark was fired with the deſire of revenging ſo brutal an injury; for however corrupted the minds of the nobility might be, the nation in general was not loſt to a ſenſe of public honour.

Swen invades Sweden.

In the beginning of the winter Swen led his army into Finland, where it was ſupplied with all neceſſaries by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants, who chearfully offered a part of their ſubſtance to avoid being plundered of the whole. Croſſing the gulf, he made a deſcent on the coaſts of Sweden; and the inhabitants flying for ſhelter into the mountains, were ſoon reduced by the pinching cold and hunger to hazard a battle, in which they were defeated; after which they ſubmitted at diſcretion. Such was the conſternation into which his arrival had thrown the whole kingdom, that he would have found it an eaſy conqueſt, but that the inclemency of the weather rendered it impoſſible for him to keep the field, and the badneſs of the roads prevented his penetrating into the country to any diſtance from the ſea-coaſt.

Swen was ſcarce returned to Denmark with his army, when an inſurrection in Schonen required his preſence. Not chuſing to exert force where gentle meaſures might prove equally efficacious, he demanded a ceſſation of hoſti-

[1] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv. Meurſ. lib. iv.

lities,

lities, and a truce until he could hear the grievance of which they complained. As ſoon as the proper ſecurities were paſſed, the king, attended by a few of his officers, went over to the rebels, and harangued to very little effect; for they grew more inſolent by his lenity, attributing to fear what was really the reſult of his indulgence and clemency. Preſently he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by armed men, and his life in imminent danger; but finding that all attempts to eſcape would be vain, he again waved his hand, as a ſignal that he wanted to be heard: but before he had ſpoke a ſyllable, they began pelting him with ſtones; upon which Tocho, a man of quality in his train, called out to them to forbear; for he himſelf would take it upon him to redreſs their grievances, and, if the king ſhould oppoſe it, would be the firſt man to lead them on to his deſtruction. Perfectly ſatisfied with this aſſurance, the tumult ceaſed, and every man returned peaceably to his own home [h].

Sweno almoſt murdered by an inſurrection of the peaſants in Denmark.

As ſoon as the king was ſet free, he ſhewed his reſentment to this impudent attack upon his life by deſtroying the whole country, which he totally deſoluted, reducing the unhappy natives to the moſt extreme miſery. He permitted the ſoldiers to indulge themſelves in every kind of exceſs, and to commit the moſt ſhocking barbarities: a conduct not to be juſtified, even by the cauſe of his reſentment. But his uſage of Tocho, who had been the immediate inſtrument of his ſafety, admits of no apology or palliation; it was the baſeſt ingratitude, and what alone ſufficiently ſtigmatizes his memory to the lateſt poſterity. This honeſt courtier, moved with the diſtreſſes of the deplorable ſufferers, and with ſeeing innocence involved indiſcriminately in the ruin of the guilty, ventured to intercede for them; an effort of humanity which the king conſtrued into treachery, for which he ordered him to be put to death, as a perſon who had connived at and fomented the rebellion [i].

Sweno's ingratitude.

This laſt action was ſo unpopular that all men began to ſwerve from their affection, and even Valdemar himſelf publicly eſpouſed the cauſe of Canute, rather than ſee a wrong-headed tyrant ſporting with the lives and felicity of his ſubjects. Canute, the more ſtrongly to attach a prince of ſuch qualities to his intereſt, prevailed on Sueno, king of Sweden, to give him his daughter Sophia to wife, who was likewiſe ſiſter by the ſame venter to Canute. As Valdemar did not ſeem very inclinable to the match, as the

Valdemar eſpouſes the cauſe of Canute.

[h] Pontan. lib. v. [i] Meurſ. ibid.

lady

lady poſſeſſed no dowry in Denmark, Canute willingly made over to him a third of all he ſhould acquire, if fortune proved favourable. The terms were accepted, and the marriage concluded, by means of which theſe two princes were connected in the ſame cauſe, by treaty, affinity, and intereſt, the moſt powerful of all ties [b].

They invade Denmark.

This affair being concluded, they both returned to Zealand; and Canute, leaving Valdemar to make preparations in that iſland, went himſelf to Jutland. Swen, having intelligence of theſe proceedings, tried every meaſure to recall to his intereſt young Valdemar, to whoſe courage, prudence, and popularity, he was no ſtranger. For this purpoſe he went to him at Ringſtadt, and expoſtulated with him on his breach of truſt, and the perfidy of uniting himſelf with Suerco, the avowed enemy of Denmark. He then produced a forged anonymous letter wrote to him, with a view of diſſuading Valdemar from engagements replete with diſſimulation and villainy, contrived for his ruin. Valdemar's apprehenſion was quick, and immediately penetrated into the artifice of the king; upon which he gently upbraided him for contriving ſuch a mean artifice, vindicated his own conduct, and lamented the meaſures which had forced him for the public good to relinquiſh his engagements to his majeſty, concluding with a ſhort recapitulation of his own ſervices. Swen, full of reſentment at the young prince's freedom of ſpeech, ordered him to be ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, and carried off priſoner; but this order they refuſed, out of reſpect to Valdemar; upon which the king returned in a fury to Roſchild, and the prince joined his aſſociate in Jutland.

Swen's treachery.

Valdemar's moderation, and a partition made of the kingdom.

His relation of this tranſaction to Canute had ſuch an effect on the Jutlanders, that they all called out for arms to revenge the indignity; but Valdemar, whoſe courage was equalled by his prudence and patriotiſm, endeavoured to aſſuage their paſſions, by repreſenting the horrors of a civil war in terms ſo pathetic that they left the conduct of their affairs wholly to him. It was his intention to compromiſe their differences, and procure a partition of the ſovereignty without ſhedding the blood of the ſubject. Accordingly he met Swen a ſecond time, each being attended with a number of troops, and they agreed that Denmark ſhould be divided between Swen, Canute, and Valdemar; but we are not acquainted with the provinces aſſigned to each, only that the Jutlanders and Sleſwickers inſiſted upon being governed by Valdemar [c].

[b] Meurſ. ibid. [c] Pontan. lib. v.

Public

Public tranquillity being eſtabliſhed upon this footing, Swen attacked the Vandals, who, during the late troubles had made a deſcent on Zealand, and penetrated to the gates of Roſchild. They had alſo invaded Funen, Falſtria, Laaland, and the ſmaller iſlands, which they entirely reduced, carrying off a prodigious booty. There was no ſecurity of property on any of the coaſts of Denmark while theſe freebooters roved about the ſea at pleaſure, and carried terror and deſolation wherever they came. Swen checked them for a time, by a ſucceſsful effort of arms; but finding every part of his dominions inſulted, he called in Henry the Lyon, duke of Saxony, to his aſſiſtance, promiſing him a ſubſidy of fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold, if he would co-operate in ſuppreſſiug the barbarians. Henry firſt demanded the money, which being paid with great difficulty, he entirely neglected his engagements, and applied himſelf wholly to promote pomp, luxury, and pleaſure at his court, at that time the moſt brilliant in Europe. The people were ſo enraged at Swen, that they wiſhed for the opportunity of depoſing him. They exclaimed that he had diſhonoured the nation, by purchaſing with immenſe ſums of gold that tranquillity their anceſtors uſed to ſecure by the ſword [d].

Vandals invade Denmark, and defeated by Swen.

Swen, imagining that the diſaffection of his ſubjects was fomented by Valdemar and Canute, neglected the Vandal war, in order proſecute a ſcheme of revenge. He could have but little dependence upon the force of arms, and therefore choſe to have recourſe to diſſimulation and treachery, as the leaſt dangerous method. Intending a viſit to Conrade, his father-in-law, who reſided in Saxony, he propoſed to Valdemar to accompany him as far as Sleſwick, the government of which he obtained. Valdemar, though he knew the treachery of his diſpoſition, yet generouſly accepted the propoſal, believing that no man would be ſo diſhonourable as to be guilty of ſo flagrant a breach of hoſpitality and faith. On their arrival at Stadt, Swen ſent to Conrade to give him notice of his purpoſe, deſiring he would take meaſures to ſecure the perſon of Valdemar; but Conrade honourably declined the buſineſs, ſaying, that he had rather himſelf, his ſon-in-law, and daughter, ſhould ſuffer the moſt ignominious and excruciating death, than commit an action which would render them unworthy to live. Valdemar, eſcaping through the integrity of Conrade, went immediately to Canute in Jutland; and, finding there was no reliance on the promiſes of Swen, began to levy

He lays a trap for Valdemar.

Valdemar eſcapes the ſnare.

[d] Meurſ. lib. iv.

forces.

forces. It was now that he first assumed the badges of majesty, and not until he was forced to it in self-defence. Swen, hearing of their preparations, began to enter upon measures to subdue them by force: perceiving, however, that the affections of the people were wholly alienated, he retired first with his wife and son to Falstre, and then to Saxony, contrary to the advice of all his friends[a].

Swen abdicates the throne.

Canute and Valdemar, who were yet unacquainted with the king's flight, transported their army into Zealand, where, meeting with no resistance, they received the allegiance of the people. In the same manner they obtained possession of the rest of the kingdom, while Swen lived an exile with his father-in-law, in Saxony; after whose death he went to the court of duke Henry, and made him the most liberal offers, if he would assist to re-establish him on his throne.

Endeavours to recover it by means of the Saxons.

In this manner three years elapsed from his first abdication; but now Henry, excited either by his large promises, or emulous of the honour of restoring an unhappy exile, gave orders to the Vandals, who obeyed his authority, to equip a prodigious fleet, and invade Denmark; he himself determining to march at the head of a Saxon army, and a body of auxiliaries, sent by the archbishop of Bremen, by land. Hathwick likewise, in hopes of recovering a paternal estate which he claimed in Denmark, joined him in person, attended by a considerable body of troops. Swen was to pay him a sum of money when the army should advance to Danewark, the strong wall raised across the land that separates Sleswick from Denmark Proper. Accordingly Henry marched through Holstein, without offering any injury to the inhabitants. On his arrival at Danewark he found it strongly garrisoned, and the officer determined to dispute his progress; but imagining that money would effect what force could not, he offered the Dane a bribe too considerable to be resisted, and was suffered to pass; yet his business being done, he refused the traitor his reward, and even caused him to be put to death, shewing thereby his contempt of perfidy, and detestation of treason, however convenient a tool the traitor might be. Thence he marched to Sleswick, and took it by capitulation, after the city had stood a siege of some weeks. His success in this place, enabled Swen to perform his engagements to Henry, and pay the soldiers their arrears; for, seizing upon all the merchandize in the harbour, the booty was prodigious. The city, indeed, was

The Saxons take Slesvick.

[a] Gram. ibid.

ruined

ruined by it, and the credit of a port which had been the emporium of the Baltic trade, frequented by ſhips of all nations, which never again returned after this violence done to commerce [b].

In the mean time a rebellion appeared in Sweden, which had ſome influence on the affairs of Denmark. Magnus, a nobleman of diſtinction, aſpiring at the ſovereignty, procured the aſſaſſination of Suerco by one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber; then taking arms againſt his ſon Charles, was defeated and ſlain by him in battle. Canute was called thither by the queen, his mother-in-law; upon which he devolved the whole care of the Daniſh monarchy on Valdemar, who prepared with all ſpeed to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the Saxons. His march was ſo rapid, that the Saxon army was ſeized with a panic, and Henry was obliged to retreat with precipitation. He marched back the ſame ſpace in two days that had employed the army for fifteen in their progreſs to Denmark; a circumſtance that irritated Swen beyond all meaſure, as he had now advanced the ſubſidy. However, to ſatisfy him, Henry joined the Vandal fleet with a ſtrong ſquadron, gave the command of the whole to an experienced officer, and directed him to land Swen in Denmark, and ſupport him by every poſſible method. This method promiſed more ſucceſs: for the fugitive king being landed in Funen, all the inhabitants ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and acknowleged him as their ſovereign. At the city Otho he was received with the utmoſt joy, perſons of both ſexes flocking to him in crouds, and offering their lives and fortunes for his ſervice.

Swen makes a ſecond attempt.

Valdemar ſent to Canute, then in Sweden, and both armies marched with an army to give battle to Swen; but Valdemar, deſirous to avoid the ſpilling of Daniſh blood, propoſed a ceſſation of arms, and a congreſs, juſt as the armies were ready to engage. Swen embraced the propoſal with an inſidious view, and the appointment was made in Laaland, where the nobility of the kingdom were to attend. Numberleſs were the attempts which Swen made upon the lives of his rivals, previous to this meeting: but they were all fruſtrated, the congreſs ſat, and the following terms were aſſented to by all parties. 1ſt, That Swen ſhould enjoy the title and authority of a king: 2dly, That an act of oblivion ſhould be paſſed: 3dly, That Swen ſhould be ſole ſovereign of Schonen, Halland, and Bleking: 4thly, That Jutland ſhould be the property of Valdemar: and, 5thly, That Zealand, Funen, and the neighbouring iſlands ſhould

A new partition of the Daniſh dominions.

[b] Pontan. lib. v.

form

form the dominions of Canute; both the latter princes enjoying the badges and authority of monarchs within their several jurisdictions. This, in fact, appears to be the partition which some writers affirm was made immediately after the death of Eric. It was ratified by the diet, and each prince bound himself by an oath solemnly to observe it.

Swen's attempt against Valdemar's life.

It was not long before Swen shewed his dislike to this partition; being upbraided it seems by his wife for accepting a third of the sovereignty, which he had a right to enjoy alone. In order to recover it he employed the infamous means of assassinating his colleagues by the hands of desperate ruffians, while they were entertaining him with the utmost hospitality. Valdemar was saved by his strength and valour, he made his escape after he had killed two of the ruffians who attacked him; but Canute fell by their hands. This event happened, according to Eric of Pomerania, in the year 1156, in the month of August; but Albert, abbot of Stadt, A.D.1157. places it on the same month in the year following. Canute was a prince of a character very opposite to his father, and would have filled the throne with great reputation, and felicity to his subjects, but for the unhappy civil wars which necessarily attended such a number of claimants [c].

Valdemar escaped in a small boat to Jutland, and immediately on his arrival assembled a diet of the states at Wiburg, relating before the whole people the late transaction at Roschild: he shewed them the wound he received in his thigh, while he was struggling with the villain Thitleff, who had descended from the rank of a nobleman to the character of an assassin. At sight of the wound the whole assembly cried out with one voice for revenge, and offered their lives and fortunes to bring to condign punishment Swen, the most perfidious of all men: upon which Valdemar thanked them for their attachment, and assuring them that he would take up arms, not so much with a desire to avenge his own private injury, as the public insult, dismissed the diet [d].

Another civil war breaks out.

Now Denmark was again thrown into the utmost confusion, before the people had well breathed from the hardships of the late civil war. Nothing was to be seen but the tumult of war, or heard but the din of arms. Valdemar well knew that Swen would not stop at this abortive attempt upon his life; he therefore made all possible preparations to oppose him. On the other hand, Swen used all his endeavours to reduce Zealand, and the other dominions of the deceased

[c] Meurs. lib. iv. [d] Pontan. lib. v.

Canute,

Canute, which he ſuddenly beſieged with his fleet, cutting off all the intercourſe between the iſlands, in hopes of obliging them to ſurrender up Valdemar, who, he doubted not, lay concealed in ſome remote ſkirts of the iſlands. The more effectually to prevent his eſcape, he ordered all the boats and veſſels on the coaſts to be perforated at the bottom and ſunk. Afterwards he had all the fens, woods, and caves, diligently ſearched, but without meeting with Valdemar, who was now at the head of a powerful army, ready to march and puniſh his perfidy. Swen had even the preſumption to order proclamation to be made, that Canute and Valdemar, in defiance of all the rights of hoſpitality, had laid a ſnare for his life; but this palpable and notorious falſity ſerved only to render him more odious to the people, already too well acquainted with his character [e].

Underſtanding that Valdemar had eſcaped to Jutland, he made a deſcent on that coaſt, but found it ſo well defended that he was forced to retreat. Next year he was invaded in his turn; firſt his fleet was defeated, afterwards Funen taken, and then the two armies coming to a general action, he was defeated and ſlain in the purſuit, endeavouring to conceal himſelf amidſt the ruſhes which bordered a lake near Grant-head, the place where this victory was obtained. Among the priſoners was Thitleff, who was executed upon the ſpot; a puniſhment too ſlight for the villainy of his attempt baſely to murder two princes of ſublime merit.

Swen defeated and ſlain.

Thus ended all the plots and machinations of Swen, in the month of October, in the year 1157; Valdemar came to the ſole poſſeſſion of the crown of Denmark, after the kingdom had been continually involved in civil wars for upwards of ten years. It would be unneceſſary to ſum up the character of Swen after what has been related. He was certainly poſſeſſed of talents which might have perpetuated felicity to himſelf, had he known how to apply them. A fickle diſpoſition, a falſe heart, and a head bent on contrivances and ſecret plots, in which he employed the moſt infamous tools, diſtinguiſh him from every other prince who had ſat on the throne of Denmark, and tranſmit his memory to poſterity with ſuch indelible ſtains of diſhonour as time can never efface (A).

VAL-

[e] Saxo-Gram. lib. xiv.

(A) Meurſius relates, that his name was held in ſuch deteſtation, that the diet came to a reſolution never to elect a king of his name, and all future kings have, for that reaſon, been

VALDEMAR I.

VALDEMAR, now ascending the throne of all Denmark, began his reign with several acts of clemency to his enemies, and among others to Magnus, natural son to the late king Eric, one of the strongest adherents of Sweno. Those only he punished who committed actions worthy of death, had they been his friends. He blamed no man for acting according to principle and inclination, provided he fought like a generous enemy; it was vice, without regard to party, that felt the scourge of his displeasure [f].

He next turned his attention to the barbarians, who had never ceased, from the first rise of the civil war, to harrass the coasts and shipping of Denmark. He prepared a fleet to invade the Vandals; but the expedition was laid aside by the advice of the senate, and on account of the scarcity of provisions.

In this as in the former reigns sharp disputes arose among the clergy about the see of Roschild, now vacant by the death of Rico, whom Meursius falsely calls Aper. These feuds caused an insurrection of the burghers, who despising the king's authority, insolently attacked and beat his procurator. The incensed Valdemar entered the city, at the head of a body of troops, and would have severely punished their temerity had they not made their submission, and voluntarily mulcted themselves in a large sum of money. He then ordered four of the principal clergy, the most celebrated for learning and piety, to be chosen candidates, among whom was Absalon, his old friend and school-fellow. One of these was to be elected by ballot; and upon a scrutiny it appeared, to the great satisfaction of Valdemar, that Absalon was raised by universal assent to this high dignity.

The Vandals invade the small islands.

Having thus, by his prudence, terminated the ecclesiastical disputes, he resumed his intention of punishing the Vandals. Just as he was preparing to invade them, they anticipated him, by making a descent on the smaller Danish islands, from whence they were quickly driven. They afterwards spread themselves over the coasts of Jutland, and over-run the island Fallstre, before a proper number of troops could

[f] Saxo-Gram. lib. xv. Pontan. lib. vi.

been careful to avoid it in baptizing their children (1). By his wife Adelheida, daughter of Conrad, he left a son, an only child, whose name we are not told (2).

(1) Meurs. lib. v. p. 97. (2) Saxo-Gram.

be

be got together to oppoſe them. At length a fleet of light ſhips was ſent out under the command of Abſalon, biſhop of Roſchild; or, according to Grammaticus, under the king in perſon, who reconnoitred the enemy in the harbour of Lunden, and found their armament (greatly ſuperior to his own) conſiſting of two hundred and ſixty ſtout ſhips. This conſideration made him defer fighting until a reinforcement arrived, before which time his fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm. The ſame misfortune happened to the ſecond fleet he equipped, Valdemar very narrowly eſcaping the fury of the waves. Towards the end of the year, however, he came to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeated them, being greatly aſſiſted by Periſlove, ſon to Nicotes, prince of the Vandals, who embracing Chriſtianity, ſought refuge with Valdemar, and was by him made governor of the ſmall iſles [g]. This victory was obtained off Rugen, which iſland the king plundered and deſtroyed (B). *Vandals defeated.*

Returning home laden with ſpoils, in order to repair his fleet and renew the war, he was followed by the Vandal ambaſſadors, who ſupplicated peace with ſuch ſubmiſſion, that the good king, laying aſide his juſt reſentment, granted their requeſt. Their unbridled inſolence, however, drew down upon them that vengeance next year from which their ſervile obedience ſaved them at this time. It would appear that only a ceſſation of arms was granted by Valdemar; for Grammaticus ſays, that the Vandals ſent back Domboro, their former ambaſſador, to conclude the treaty, and demand hoſtages for its performance; his directions being beſides to accept of no terms but ſuch as were honourable. Domboro firſt applied himſelf to Abſalon, who he knew had the king's ear, and told him, that the firſt article of his inſtructions was to demand hoſtages; Abſalon replied, that the Danes were not accuſtomed to grant ſuch terms to their inferiors whom they had vanquiſhed. He then acquainted the king with the purport of the embaſſy, with which he A.D. 1181.

g Meurſ. lib. v.

(B) This iſland is ſituated in the Baltic, on the coaſt of Pomerania, and at preſent does not exceed nine leagues in length, though it is confidently aſſerted, that its dimenſions were formerly larger, being joined with the little iſland of Ruden, now ſeparated by an arm of the ſea. It formerly had the ſtrong town of Arcona for its capital, ruined in the year 1168 by Valdemar (1).

(1) Vid. Baudrand Voc.

was so offended, that he ordered Domboro to quit his dominions, without giving him any answer.

A.D.1162. Immediately he prepared for war; but his fleet was so long wind-bound, that, fearing the consequences of a long delay, he endeavoured to prevail on Henry of Saxony to chastise the Vandals. Induced by a large subsidy, and the hopes of extending his dominions, Henry accepted the proposal, and agreed to attack the enemy by land, while the king should distress them by sea. In consequence of this plan, the Vandals were reduced to great extremities, having lost a battle which they hazarded with the Saxons, and their king, who was slain fighting with great intrepidity, amidst heaps of his slaughtered enemies. His head was fixed on a pole by the Saxon soldiers, carried triumphantly to their duke, and sent by him to the king of Denmark, just at the time when he was at supper with Perislove, the son of the deceased. That prince, after he had paid the tribute due to nature, and shed tears over the head of his parent, said, he thanked God for thus punishing impiety; disclaimed the brave Niclotes for his father, and proved himself a true barbarian by his want of filial affection, a principle so strongly and wisely implanted in the human breast. Valdemar himself seemed displeased at this overstrained Christianity, gently rebuked the young prince for his impetuosity and want of natural feeling, and ordered the head to be buried with the honours due to the valour of the deceased [b].

The king of the Vandals slain.

Notwithstanding the death of their king, the Vandals ventured to engage the Danish fleet, which they surrounded in a shallow creek, whither they had been driven by a storm. Here the Danes fought to great disadvantage, their large ships being intirely useless; but, animated by the presence of their king, and encouraged by his example, they not only repulsed the enemy, but obtained a complete victory. This, with two other defeats, compelled the Vandals to sue for peace in the same abject manner they had used before; which the king granted upon such terms as he thought fit to impose, in order that his presence in Denmark might appease some tumults occasioned by Eschil, archbishop of Lunden.

Vandals sue for peace.

During the contest between Alexander and Victor, about the papal dignity, the bishop of Slesvick dying, one Occo was substituted by Victor, with Valdemar's approbation, in his room. This promotion was disagreeable to the archbishop Eschil, who espoused the cause of Alexander, and declared the election void, prohibiting Occo from the use

[b] Saxo Gram. lib. xv. Meurs. lib. v. Pontan.

of

of fire and water, after having first excommunicated him. What increased the prelate's fury was the loss of a large sum of money sent to him from France, which he imagined had been seized by the king's order at the instigation of Occo. This notion made him send a haughty message to Absalon, desiring him to acquaint Valdemar, either to return the treasure or prepare for war. Absalon was shocked with the insolence of this message, and declined informing the king of the express terms used by the proud priest, though he told him enough to raise his indignation, and make him threaten to punish the archbishop. Eschil, upon reconsidering the matter, began to apprehend the effects of the royal vengeance, and sought an opportunity of appeasing it, without diminishing his own dignity. With this view he withdrew to a remote part of the country, from whence he proposed to accommodate the breach: but Valdemar, collecting a body of troops, laid siege to Lethra, a strongly fortified city which Eschil had built in the midst of a morass. The siege was tedious, but at length the city was forced to surrender for want of provisions, but chiefly by a stratagem which Valdemar contrived. Gerhard, the governor, had before demanded a parley, and promised to surrender the place within a limited time, if Eschil did not come to its relief, and, as a pledge of his faith, he put the archbishop's grandson into the king's hand, and immediately acquainted Eschil of what he had done. The prelate's answer was to defend the town to the last extremity, he valued it far above the life of his grandson. Upon this hostilities therefore recommenced, and the king forged a letter, in which he made Eschil retract his former sentiments, express great concern for his grandchild, and order Gerhard to deliver up the city rather than let his life run any hazard. The more strongly to enforce this letter which Valdemar pretended to have intercepted, he ordered a gibbet to be erected before the walls, on which he threatened to hang up the hostage, if the keys were not sent to him within an hour; and the governor finding him peremptory, and his master's orders express, complied. Here he left a garrison, and passed over to Schonen, reducing all the strong holds within the diocese of Lunden [1].

Eschil rebels against the king.

The king's rapid progress obliged the proud Eschil to ask peace in the most submissive terms; and his request was granted: but upon this mortifying condition, that the archbishop should restore to his majesty all the donations of former kings to the see of Lunden.

[1] Meurs. lib. v.

Valdemar having by his rigour and penetration escaped all the snares laid for him, determined more strongly to fortify his dominions on the German side, and to build stone bulwarks at Danewark, which before consisted entirely of wood. While he was thus employed an embassy came from Norway, offering him that crown, provided he would drive out Erling, who had invaded the kingdom. Valdemar, that he might not rashly embark in a foreign war, took care to sound the sentiments of the people before he made any reply; and finding they were strongly affected to him, promised speedy assistance. Crossing over with an army, he was joyfull received; and traversing the country to Tonsberg, was in that city crowned king of Norway, in a full assembly of the states; though it was observable, that not a single bishop or private clergyman was present, notwithstanding their great influence in Norway. A scarcity of provisions, however, obliged him to return to Denmark, attended with a great number of the Norwegian nobility, who chose to live in exile, rather than subject themselves to the indignation of Erling. This prince still continued with a small army in Norway; and now, taking advantage of the king's retreat, made a descent on Jutland, and ruined and destroyed the Danish fleet that rode at anchor on the coast [k].

The Norwegians offer him the crown.

A.D. 1163. Erling was married to Christina, cousin to Valdemar, a lady of prudence and valour superior to her sex. She, finding that, if the war was protracted, her husband must necessarily sink under the weight of Valdemar's power, took the resolution of going in person to the king, and endeavouring to effect a reconciliation. Having provided herself with a passport, she crossed the seas, and was kindly received by Valdemar, who was pleased with her good sense and spirit, and honoured her with a great many audiences. When she believed she had softened his resolution, she detached a messenger to Erling, who suddenly joined her, and presented himself before the king, whom he thus addressed, "See, Valdemar, the confidence I place in your generosity, thus to put myself into your hands, even without your word for my security: but I know the greatness of your soul, and, though your enemy, have no apprehension of being treated as such while I am your guest." Valdemar replied, "You may safely confide in me: it is not my custom to abuse the confidence reposed in my hospitality." Upon which Erling, approaching respectfully, kissed the king's hand, and obtained peace, upon condition that he should himself remain a hostage in Denmark, and Esbern be sent to govern the

Erling, king of Norway, comes over to Denmark, and submits to Valdemar.

[k] Pontan. lib. iv.

king-

kingdom of Norway in quality of viceroy for Valdemar; who, in return, conferred upon Erling several dignities and lands of considerable value for his support [l].

No sooner was the tranquillity of Norway established than new insults from the Vandals occasioned a renewal of the war; that it might be carried on with vigour, Valdemar entered into a fresh alliance with the duke of Saxony; and the more firmly to cement their friendship, a contract of marriage was executed between Canute, prince of Denmark, and Gertrude, an infant, the daughter of Henry, the duke. The plan of operations was settled, and Henry sent a body of horse into the enemy's country, while he himself followed with slower marches at the head of the infantry; the king blocking up the sea-ports, and opposing the Vandal navy. An ambush was laid for the Saxon horse, by which they were at first defeated, till Gunceiin, a Saxon general, rallied them, and renewed the fight with such intrepidity, that the enemy, intent upon plundering, were driven out of the field, and victory wrested out of their hands. Nevertheless, Henry was so much incensed at the repulse his troops had met with, that, entering Pomerania, he carried terror and desolation wherever he marched. A.D. 1164.

Alliance between Denmark and Saxony.

On the other hand, Valdemar finding the Vandals had drawn their forces from the fleet, the better to oppose the Saxons, landed his troops, and marched to the city of Vologast, or Wolgast, the capital of Swedish Pomerania, then the country of the Vandals, which he found deserted by the inhabitants. They, however, dreaded that he would set fire to the city, and sent ambassadors to assure him of their allegiance, provided he would restrain his soldiers from plundering and destroying their houses. The proposal was accepted, on condition that Rugen should pay a tribute, and give hostages that the inhabitants would shut up the mouth of the river Pene, which was a nest for pirates; that, dividing the city into three parts, they would obey Toliflaw, Casimir, and Priflaw, as governors, who should be answerable for their conduct to the king of Denmark; and, lastly, that the duke of Saxony should remain in possession of all his conquests in Pomerania [m].

Rugen submits to Valdemar.

This treaty of peace did not hold long; for next year the citizens of Wolgast, disliking the administration of Casimir, entered into a secret alliance with the people of Rugen; in which, indeed, Henry of Saxony, the good ally of Valdemar, was a party, and began to make new depredations upon Denmark. Valdemar was incensed more at the per-

[l] Saxo Gram. lib. xv. [m] Meurs. lib. v.

fidy of Henry than the inconstancy of the Vandals. Without delay he invaded Rugen; and, by the conduct of the faithful Absalon, who, though a bishop, shewed the capacity and courage of a soldier, reduced many of the most important places; then he returned to his own dominions, to refresh his soldiers. After a short stay he again came back, and laid siege to the strong city of Arcona, which was well fortified by nature and art. Such were the difficulties he met with from the situation of the place, and valour of the besieged, that, breaking up his camp, he marched to the interior part of the country, which he laid waste. The Vandals, terrified at this desolation, applied to Henry the Lyon for the promised aid; but being put off under various pretences, they once more received the yoke, purchased a peace at a heavy price, and gave hostages for the security of payment. They likewise agreed to abjure idolatry, and embrace the Christian religion, which Valdemar made a preliminary article to the treaty.

A.D. 1165. About this time it was that Valdemar laid the foundation of the city of Dantzic, so famed for its opulence and freedom. At first it was composed of the huts of poor fishermen; but Valdemar conferring upon the inhabitants certain privileges and immunities, it soon became a flourishing place of trade, and not the least ornament of that glorious reign. Some writers indeed affirm, that this city owes its origin to Sobislaw, prince of Pomerania; but the Danish historians, and the accurate Crantzius, with one voice attribute the honour to Valdemar[n].

Dantzic built.

On the king's return from this expedition, the diet taking into consideration the danger to which the kingdom would be exposed, should any misfortune befall him in the wars in which he was constantly engaged, humbly proposed, that his son Canute, then but four years of age, should be taken as his associate, and consequently owned as his successor on the throne. The king, who was by no means displeased with their request, willingly complied, and Canute was proclaimed king of Denmark, conjointly with his father, by universal consent; without we except Burisius, young Canute's kinsman, who had himself some designs upon the crown, and therefore refused his vote at the election. Valdemar put up with the affront for a time, but did not forget it: he saw through the views of Burisius, and resolved not only to frustrate them, but to punish the author as soon as a fit occasion should offer.

[n] Lib. ii. Hist. Saxon.

Next

Next year great preparations were set on foot for giving such a blow to the Vandal power, as should for a while disable them from disturbing the peace of Denmark, if not totally destroy the state. Almost all the inhabitants of Schonen, Zealand, and Funen, fit to bear arms, went forth under the conduct of Absalon, Magnus, son to Eric Lamb, and Christopher, natural son to the present king. They entered the enemy's country, and, without mercy, set the whole in a flame; but did not come to action with their main army. Next year the expedition was repeated, in which the Danes had the good fortune to destroy pert of Arcona, the capital, and strongest hold in Rugen.

A conspiracy formed against Valdemar.

While Valdemar was gathering laurels against foreign enemies, he received a letter from Henry, duke of Saxony, acquainting him with the impending danger from domestic foes. Burisius, his brother Ormos, and Erling of Norway, had secretly conspired against his life, and concerted a plan for making themselves masters of Jutland, which was proved by an intercepted letter from Norway. They had engaged several of the nobility in the plot, and had taken their measures so well, that nothing but this early intelligence could have saved Valdemar. The king immediately seized upon such of the traitors as were within his reach, and sent Absalon with a fleet to intercept Erling and Ormos in their return for Norway. Absalon obeyed his orders, and defeated their fleet; but had not the good fortune to take Erling, who escaped under favour of a dark night. Burisius was already a prisoner, and authors differ about the nature of his punishment. Saxo-Grammaticus says, that he was confined for life in prison; Eric of Pomerania affirms, that his eyes were put out; Albert, abbot of Stadt, asserts that he was strangled; and others, that he was smothered under a feather-bed [d].

A.D. 1167.

About this time it was that Absalon built the castle of Stegelburg, afterwards called Exelhusia, then Hafnica, and now the celebrated port and city of Copenhagen. The intention of this castle was to awe the pirates, and afford a safe protection to the Danish ships of commerce.

A.D. 1168.

Henry the Lion breaks his alliance.

Next year was ushered in with preparations for attacking Erling; but from this design Valdemar was restrained by certain advice that Henry, duke of Saxony, had entered into a strict alliance with Bogislaus, prince of the Vandals, who had sought his protection against the Danes, and received the strongest assurances of support. There could be nothing more absurdly inconstant than the conduct of

[d] Vide apud Pontan. notæ ad Hist.

Henry; sometimes forming alliances with Valdemar, cementing them with the ties of blood, and proving his friendship by discovering to him the machinations of his enemies; at other times, and perhaps within the space of a few months, contracting alliances with his inveterate enemies, contriving schemes with them for Valdemar's destruction, and shifting diametrically opposite to the sentiments he had lately espoused. The truth is, Henry's profusion and magnificence always rendered him necessitous, and every tie of honour and affinity yielded to his wants. Money was the actuating spring of all his conduct, and the last and largest subsidy confirmed his friendship. Valdemar was not ignorant of this disposition; but he disdained purchasing alliances at the expence of his people, except when emergencies required it. The present occasion might well be reckoned such, for Denmark was hardly ever in a more critical situation, or beset with more enemies. On one side were the Vandals and Saxons; on the other, Erling and the Norwegians; so that Valdemar had reason to dread a descent from one while he was acting against the other. His first care was to fortify the coast of Zealand, the superintendance of which work he committed to Esburn Snare, who built a number of strong castles and towns in the most commodious places. He next employed Gondescal, a man of high distinction, that had passed the first years of his life among the Vandals, and had acquired a perfect knowlege of their manners and language, to break the league between them and Henry of Saxony; which business he chearfully undertook, and effected with such consummate address, that the Vandals, taking arms, drove all the Saxons out of their garrisons and country [e].

Henry the Lion sues for peace.

Henry was terrified at this very extraordinary and sudden change in their councils, for which he could assign no cause, the Danish agent having come over with such privacy, that not a syllable transpired to the public. Dreading lest Valdemar should seize this opportunity of punishing his treachery and fickleness, he sent ambassadors to him to apologize for his conduct, and promise measures more steady and consistent for the future. As his eldest daughter, betrothed to young Canute, was dead, he offered the younger sister in marriage upon the same terms; requesting, at the same time, an interview at Bremen with the Danish monarch, in order to put the last hand to the proposed treaty.

[e] Meurs. lib. v. Saxo-Gram. lib. xvi. Pontan. lib. v.

The

The princes met, and it was agreed they ſhould join forces againſt the Vandals, Henry marching to Demin, and Valdemar to Wolgaſt. The devaſtation they made was terrible, and unbecoming Chriſtian princes, had it not been abſolutely neceſſary to repreſs thoſe barbarians by cruel methods, that ought not to be uſed againſt a people more civilized, who fought by regulated laws of war. This conduct had the deſired effect; for the Vandals, perceiving nothing but deſtruction before their eyes, purchaſed peace with a large ſum of money, and gave hoſtages for the ſecurity of the payment. *A new alliance between Leo and Valdemar againſt the Vandals.*

Having finiſhed matters on the ſide of the Vandals, Valdemar turned his arms againſt Norway; but, after many fruitleſs attempts to bring Erling to a battle, he returned home with his fleet. The ſoldiers had begun to complain of long confinement on board in ſearch of a fugitive who eluded all their endeavours, a ſcarcity of proviſions began to prevail in the fleet, and the winter was now approaching. Another circumſtance which contributed to his return, before he had done any thing deciſive, was intelligence, that the Rugians had again revolted, notwithſtanding the low ſtate to which he had lately reduced them. He now determined fully to extirpate this perfidious and obſtinate people, and for that purpoſe formed an alliance with Bogiſlaus, prince of Pomerania. After having ravaged different parts of the iſland, he ſat down before Arcona, the ſuburbs of which had been deſtroyed in the former war. Nature never, perhaps, formed a ſtronger ſituation than this place, itſelf ſtanding on a high promontory, the eaſt, north, and ſouth ſides defended by ſteep and lofty precipices, inacceſſible to men; and the weſt by a wall fifty feet high, proportionably thick, and ſecured by a deep and broad ditch. Nevertheleſs, Valdemar carried on his operations with ſuch ſkill and perſeverance, that the garriſon was forced to ſurrender upon the conditions he thought fit to impoſe: one in particular was, that the Rugians ſhould deſtroy a temple they had erected to St. Vitis, and deliver up the vaſt treaſure of this tutelary god, which had been amaſſed by a tax on the conſciences of his votaries. They likewiſe agreed to embrace Chriſtianity; to reſtore the Daniſh priſoners without ranſom; to pay forty ſilver yokes for oxen by way of yearly tribute; and to enter as ſoldiers in the ſervice of Denmark, when called upon, in the ſame manner as the other ſubjects of the crown [f]. *Arcona beſieged and taken.* *Vandals reduced.*

[f] Saxo Gram. lib. xvi.

The

The princes of Pomerania were of opinion that Tetiſlaw, prince of Rugen, ought to have been diveſted of his ſovereignty, and that authority tranſlated to themſelves, in reward of their ſervices; they were diſguſted at Valdemar's moderation, which they deemed an injury done to them, and therefore reſolved to withdraw from his alliance; a meaſure which gave no diſturbance to the Daniſh monarch, who had now accompliſhed his buſineſs.

A.D.1169. The beginning of this year was employed in acts of piety to his father's memory. He ſent an ambaſſador to Rome to have him canonized. On the day of his return, with the pope's aſſent, he convoked the people at Ringſtad, and ſolemnly proclaimed his ſon Canute an aſſociate in the throne, and his ſucceſſor; an event which has greatly perplexed hiſtorians with reſpect to the chronology. His next care was the firm eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in Rugen, to which place a number of the clergy was ſent to inſtruct thoſe rude barbarians in the truths of the Goſpel; and the ſuperintendency of the whole was committed to Abſalon, his favourite prelate [z].

The Courlanders ſubdued. Theſe acts of piety were conſiderably diſturbed by the piracies of the Eſthonians and Courlanders, againſt whom he ſent a fleet under the conduct of Abſalon, ſtrictly enjoining him to beware of their ſnares and ambuſhes. Abſalon, however, was entrapped, and a great part of his army, which he had diſembarked, cut off. This loſs he ſoon retaliated upon the enemy, whom he blocked up in port; and, at length, bringing them to an action, they were totally vanquiſhed.

Soon after this tranſaction, the ſucceſſion was ſtrengthened by the birth of a ſecond prince, whom the king called after his own name; and, to augment the general joy, ambaſſadors arrived from Erling to ſue for peace, and obtain leave that he might come to Denmark, and have an interview with Valdemar. His petition was granted; Eſbern was ſent in his room to Norway, and Erling admitted to a conference with the king. At firſt he was received ſo coldly, that he began to deſpair of obtaining his ends. Next day, however, renewing the conference, his majeſty changed his behaviour, and graciouſly received him again into favour on theſe conditions, which may ſeem hard.

A.D.1170. 1ſt, That Valdemar, the new-born prince, youngeſt ſon to Valdemar, ſhould be educated at the expence of Norway, and enjoy the title of duke of that country. 2dly, That this young prince ſhould ſucceed to the throne of

Conditions of the treaty.

[z] Pontan. lib. vi. Meurſ. lib. v.

Norway,

Norway, provided that he (Erling) and his ſon Magnus, died without male iſſue. 3dly, That Erling ſhould ſerve in Valdemar's wars as a vaſſal of Denmark, and have ſixty ſhips ready to put to ſea on the firſt notice. 4thly, and laſtly, That not only Erling, but all the nobility of Norway, ſhould ratify and confirm theſe conditions by oath, and a written inſtrument, ſigned with their hands, and ſealed with the great ſeal of the kingdom, as well as the private ſeals of individuals.

Peace being concluded in this quarter, the king found it neceſſary to repel ſome freſh inſults committed by the reſtleſs and barbarous Vandals, who could neither ſupport war nor endure peace. While the king and his general Abſalon were taking their towns and ravaging their country, a deſign was concerted by Caſimir, Henry the Lion, and Bogiſlaus, for giving a deciſive blow to the Daniſh power, by ſurrounding the king, and obliging him to ſurrender, with his whole army, at diſcretion. Their deſign was diſcovered and fruſtrated by Valdemar's reſolution and the prudence of Abſalon, who had raiſed himſelf a number of enemies by the ſhare he poſſeſſed of the royal confidence. They now accuſed this brave prelate of having betrayed them to the enemy; but the king knew his merit, and was too diſcerning not to penetrate through the thin veil of patriotic diſſimulation. Committing, therefore, the whole care of extricating the Danes out of this difficulty to the biſhop, the event anſwered his hopes. Abſalon took ſuch precautions, and made ſo good a diſpoſition, that Caſimir found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of retreating or fighting upon unequal terms. He choſe the former part of the alternative; the Danes were delivered, and the character of Abſalon raiſed above envy. In a word, ſo glorious was this expedition, that the power of Caſimir and Bogiſlaus was entirely broke; the deſigns of the fickle but ambitious Henry fruſtrated; moſt of the towns in Pomerania obliged to give hoſtages for their future quiet behaviour; and the Vandal princes ſo exhauſted and reduced as to be obliged to ſeek protection in Saxony.

The Vandals defeated.

Advice of this ſucceſs being received in Denmark, Valdemar made another deſcent on Pomerania, and laid ſiege to Stetin, then the beſt fortified city in all that country. With ſuch vigour did he carry on his attack, that Wratiſlaus, the governor and kinſman to Caſimir and Bugiſlaus, was driven to extremities, and forced to capitulate (A). A.D. 1172.

Val-

(A) As our only guides thro' the period of the Daniſh hiſtory, ſubſequent to Valdemar's reign, are Pontanus and Meurſius, which

A.D.1177. Valdemar was wholly employed in settling the affairs of Pomeraria, and the Vandal country, till the year 1177, which produced a conference between him and Henry, duke of Saxony, for adjusting their mutual right and claims. Authors however are not agreed about the nature or end of this congress: we are only told, that in consequence of it, another expedition was undertaken against the Vandals, in which Absalon gathered fresh laurels, Valdemar acquired great additition of glory, and the whole kingdom of Denmark an increase of wealth, by the prodigious quantity of rich booty brought home. But we know not, whether this expedition was entered upon in consequence of an agreement between Valdemar and Henry, or whether the latter bore any part in it. Certain it is, that next year they acted as enemies to each other; the guardians of the young duke of Holstein levying soldiers in Saxony, in order to make war upon Denmark. His usual good fortune attended Absalon; the enemy were defeated, and the Danes again permitted to enjoy the fruits of this victory.

Disturbances in the Lower Saxony.

But the repose consequent on these advantages was soon again disturbed by fresh commotions in the duchy of Bremen, and other parts of the circle of Lower Saxony. The Saxons highly resented the late disgrace of their countrymen, and, fired with the desire of revenge, assembled in a tumultuous manner in order to march against Absalon; but being met by the fugitives, who escaped from the late defeat, their courage was somewhat repressed by the relation they received of the extraordinary prowess of Absalon's army, and the good conduct of the general. Olimar, a Vandal prince, on whom the command was bestowed, finding that all his endeavours would only serve to hasten his own ruin, went over to Valdemar, and obtained peace from that generous conqueror.

A.D.1178. Next year was introduced by a new conference between Valdemar and Henry the Lion, now elated by his conquests in Bavaria. Henry proposed this meeting, in order to settle the differences between them, and thereby secure his frontiers against the incursions of the Danes, during his necessary attendance at the diet, and the emperor's court. The banks of the Eyder, a river emptying itself into the Baltic, between the duchies of Slesvick and Hol-

Conference between Valdemar and Henry the Lion.

which last is here a mere copier, it may be sufficient that we refer the reader to the last book of Saxo-Grammaticus, the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Pontanus, and the third book of the second part of Meursius, without quoting every particular page.

stein,

ſtein, was the place fixed on for the congreſs; but ſuch was Henry's pride, that he refuſed croſſing the bridge, or going to the oppoſite ſide where the king was. Valdemar only ſmiled at the ridiculous punctilio, and went half way over the bridge to meet this haughty ſovereign prince. Here matters were adjuſted to their mutual ſatisfaction, Valdemar yielding points of no conſequence in order to obtain others of real benefit, conducting himſelf throughout the whole congreſs with the ability of a ſtateſman and the moderation of a great king and conqueror.

Subſequent to this treaty concluded between Denmark and Saxony, were a variety of incurſions, tumults, and rebellions, among the fickle, unſteady, and predatory Vandals, who were neither able to oppoſe the power of Valdemar, nor could reſt ſatisfied under his dominion, though he exerted the rights of conqueſt with all poſſible mildneſs and lenity. The recital however of ſuch unimportant and unintereſting events would be tedious to the reader. Suffice it to obſerve that they were conſtantly defeated, conſtantly ſuing for peace, and no leſs conſtant in taking up arms again upon every opportunity. In a word, nothing ſeemed capable of ſecuring Denmark on this ſide, but the total extirpation of ſo perfidious, barbarous, and warlike a people. This ſcheme had often been reſolved upon by Valdemar, at the inſtigation of his faithful counſellor Abſalon; he had frequently made large ſtrides towards its final execution; but ſome freſh difficulties intervened; or the clemency of his diſpoſition was always wrought on by the ſupplications of the vanquiſhed.

A conſpiracy.

During the Vandal war, a conſpiracy ſet on foot by Magnus, ſon to Eric the Lamb, was happily diſcovered. This young prince had ſided with Swen; and being made priſoner in the laſt battle, was ſet at liberty and kindly pardoned by Valdemar, at a time when he expected the moſt ſevere puniſhment. Unmindful of this inſtance of goodneſs, he joined with Canute and Charles, nephews to Eſchil, in a plot to deſtroy the king. Some of the conſpirators, who were gone to Holſtein upon buſineſs, chanced to lodge in the hut of an old hermit, by whom they were kindly accommodated. After they were in bed they began to talk upon the important ſubject in hand, expreſſing among other things their aſtoniſhment, that the king ſhould ſo long eſcape the machinations of Canute, Charles, Magnus, and other conſpirators, who had vowed his deſtruction. The hermit, ſeparated from the ſtrangers only by a wicker partition, overheard their diſcourſe, and next morning communicated it to the abbot, with his requeſt

that

that it might be inſtantly tranſmitted to Abſalon. By means of this accident, Valdemar was informed of his danger. He conſulted with Abſalon the means of avoiding the impending ſtorm. It was agreed, that the guard ſhould be doubled with as much expedition and privacy as poſſible, and every other meaſure taken that could inſure the king's ſecurity; yet, without diſturbing the public tranquillity, or uſing violence upon the conſpirators, until more ample proofs could be procured. It was not long before ſome letters wrote by Magnus were intercepted: in theſe a full account of the conſpiracy was contained; and Valdemar openly producing them in the aſſembly of the ſtates, confronted him with his own hand and ſeal. At firſt he pretended to deny the hand-writing, affirming it to be an impudent forgery; but ſuch circumſtantial proofs appeared, that in the utmoſt confuſion he fell upon his knees before the king, confeſſed the whole, excuſed himſelf by ſaying that he had been led away by the ſubtile policy and ambition of Charles and Canute, and concluded with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of loyalty and fidelity, if his majeſty would be pleaſed graciouſly to pardon this paſt offence. The good and merciful king, moved with his repentance, granted his requeſt, and impoſed no other puniſhment on his ingratitude and treachery than forbidding him the court for a certain time. Chriſtiern, ſon to Swen, who likewiſe enliſted himſelf with the conſpirators, was pardoned, on condition that he would immediately leave the kingdom.

The endeavours of the nobilty to get an act of amneſty paſſed.

When the aſſembly broke up, Eſchil and the relations of Canute and Charles made all poſſible intereſt with the king to paſs an act of oblivion, in which all the conſpirators, without exception, ſhould be included. They had even found means to engage Abſalon in this requeſt; but Valdemar was inexorable, thinking it neceſſary to make ſome examples, and believing very juſtly, that too much lenity and indulgence would only tempt them to a repetition of their crime, eſpecially as they ſaw themſelves ſupported by ſo powerful an intereſt. Eſchil was ſo chagrined with his diſappointment, that he reſigned his mitre, and retired to a private convent in France. The event proved the wiſdom and prudence of the king's opinion. Magnus was no ſooner at liberty than he began a ſecret correſpondence with Charles and Canute, in order to make a ſecond attempt on Valdemar's life. The meſſenger between them was taken up, the plot diſcovered, and Magnus ſeized and cloſely impriſoned: but before his trial a freſh war broke out with the Vandals.

Magnus makes freſh attempts.

We

We are told that the occasion of this war was their seizing upon the portion of a daughter of Denmark, which was sent by the ambassadors of Henry the Lion into Saxony. From hence it would appear, that a treaty of marriage had been executed between the families of Denmark and Saxony, though we are not informed expressly of any such marriage. Be that as it will, Valdemar entered into an alliance with Saxony against the Vandals. The inhabitants of Rugen were, on this occasion, ordered to take up arms, as their services, it was thought, would greatly promote the designs of the allies, from their perfect knowlege of the country. As soon as the troops could be assembled, and transports got ready, the Vandals were assailed on one side by the king, who destroyed the strong fortress in Wollin; and by Henry the Lion, who attacked Demin. The siege of this place he carried on with great assiduity, but little progress, and at last was forced totally to abandon it. The king, on his side, was more successful; for after having destroyed Wollin he laid siege to Coscoa, which he likewise took and reduced to ashes. Then laying the surrounding country under heavy contributions, he pushed his march to Wolgast, which he besieged so vigorously, that the inhabitants were glad to purchase peace, by paying a large sum of money, and restoring to him prodigious magazines of plunder, which had been deposited there by the pirates. A.D. 1179.

An alliance between Saxony and Denmark against the Vandals.

After these exploits Valdemar returned to Denmark; but having received some fresh insults, he determined to punish the Vandals with still more severity, and accordingly sent a fleet and army against them, under the conduct of his son Canute, Absalon, and Frederic bishop of Sleswick. The young prince, for the first time, appeared in the field to be initiated in the art of war by the prudent and successful Absalon. Frederic perished in a storm before he had any opportunity of serving his master, or exercising his prowess; but, notwithstanding this loss, Canute and Absalon pursued their course with such assiduity and diligence, that they surprised many of the enemy in their houses, who expected not so sudden a visit. They laid waste the country, set fire to a number of towns and villages, besieged Wolgast, and forced the brothers Casimir and Bogislaus, to sue for peace, and purchase it upon terms very advantageous to Denmark. Besides repaying the marriage portion of which the ambassadors had been robbed, they agreed to lay down in money the sum of two thousand talents, together with presents of an hundred pounds of silver, to Canute and Absalon. Having thus finished the

Young Canute takes the command of the army.

the war in one campaign, the generals returned to Denmark, and were graciously received by Valdemar, with very extraordinary marks of approbation and favour.

They resided but a few days at court, enjoying their repose, when the affairs of the state again called them into the field. The rebels Canute and Charles, who had fled to the governor of Gothland, had by his means, and their interest with the people, got together a considerable number of troops, with which they invaded Halland. There they expected to be joined by crowds of the peasants; but finding themselves disappointed, and the whole country firm in its allegiance to the king, they retired to a large wood that forms a frontier to Gothland and Halland, where they hazarded a battle, in which they were totally defeated.

The rebels defeated.

Next year Henry, who was put under the ban of the empire by Frederic Barbarossa, took shelter with Valdemar, and was treated with the distinction due to his rank. His pride was now humbled, and he readily crossed the bridge over the Eyder, which, but two years before, he had refused to pass. Valdemar, to whose generous disposition misfortune was the surest recommendation, promised him all the assistance in his power, without absolutely breaking with the emperor; but the requests of Henry were of so extraordinary a nature, that he found it impossible to comply with them, without being unjust to the people and clergy, whom he governed and was bound to protect.

A revolt in Schonen.

While this transaction was on the carpet, a revolt happened in Schonen; to appease which the king immediately dispatched Absalon. The people of Schonen were tumultuous and inexorable; they believed themselves oppressed, and would hear of no terms but a positive compliance with their remonstrances, and redress of their grievances; upon which Absalon returned to Zealand, and laid their complaints before the king and senate, or rather council of the nobility. Although Absalon was perhaps the most concerned of any other, yet with a noble spirit of disinterestedness, he pleaded strongly, that the first article of their remonstrance should be redressed. Foreigners, and among the rest himself, had long enjoyed the lucrative posts and places belonging to this province, while the natives were excluded, and the principal nobility of Schonen forced to live in indolence on their estates, without any share in the administration. This was a grievance insupportable to a free-spirited people. Absalon's sentiments were, however, over-ruled by a majority, and, instead of redressing the grievances of the disaffected, a letter filled

with

with promiſes on the one hand, and dreadful menaces on the other, was ſent to the malecontents. This more and more incenſed a people already irritated, and inflamed them to ſuch a degree that they broke out into open acts of rebellion. They refuſed to pay the uſual taxes, and particularly the biſhop's tithes, and reſtored to the inferior clergy their ancient privilege of marriage. The ſtroke was levelled at the biſhops, and particularly at Abſalon, the primate of all Schonen. They inſiſted that the ſuperior clergy were an unneceſſary load upon the people, fattening upon the ſpoils of the land, while their flocks were left to find heaven in their own way, or by the aſſiſtance of the inferior clergy, who were not rewarded in proportion to their ſervices, or, in ſuch a manner as to render their ſituation eaſy and independent.

Perceiving they were not to be wrought on by gentle means, Valdemar reſolved upon uſing force. The troops were aſſembled at Helſenburgh, the van led by the king in perſon, and the rear by Abſalon. In their march the latter was groſly inſulted by a mob of fiſhermen, who flocked together in a tumultuous manner, and preſumptuouſly flung ſtones at the good prelate, even while he commanded a ſtrong body of troops. His majeſty was enraged at ſo bold an inſult, and determined to puniſh the offenders with the utmoſt ſeverity; but was perſuaded, by the moderate and prudent Abſalon, to let it paſs as an ebullition of that noble ſpirit which characterized this people. He then again exerted all his influence with the king to liſten to their complaints: he inſiſted, that people ſo tenacious of their freedom muſt be bold and intrepid, and of conſequence the beſt ſupports of the regal authority duly adminiſtered; in a word, he uſed ſuch prevailing arguments, that Valdemar determined to avoid bloodſhed. All thoſe perſons who were obnoxious to the malcontents he removed from their places; Abſalon reſigned his biſhoprick, and accepted of one greatly inferior in power and profit, and the province was in a fair way to be ſettled, when ſome of the more turbulent, who found their own intereſt in the public diſturbance, ſpirited up the people ſtill to refuſe payment of the biſhop's tithes, or, in other words, inſiſted upon the abolition of this order of eccleſiaſtics. Abſalon himſelf now loſt all patience, and, with the king's leave, laid the inſurgents under ſevere interdiction. For a while they perſiſted in their obſtinacy; but were at length tired out by the firm conduct of Abſalon and the clergy, whom he had gained over to his intereſt. The inſurrection was not, however, terminated without bloodſhed. Two battles were fought, in

The tumult suppressed.

both of which the malcontents were defeated, and at length reduced to the necessity of obeying upon the king's terms, which were more reasonable and mild than they could expect.

About this time Frederic Barbarossa, resolving to deprive Henry, duke of Saxony, of every friend capable of supporting his cause, endeavoured to draw off Valdemar from his attachment to him, by some proposals equally honourable and advantageous to Denmark. The emperor proposed that the king's two daughters should be matched with his two sons, one of whom was to succeed to the imperial diadem, the other being already duke of Suabia. The Danish nobility easily perceived that these overtures were made rather from enmity to the duke of Saxony than friendship for Valdemar; and the king, joining with them in opinion, expressed no great eagerness for the alliance: but his queen interfered, and used all her influence to prevail on him to accede to proposals which might render her daughter queen of the Romans and empress of Germany. In compliance with her vanity a grand fleet was equipped, and Valdemar went to meet Barbarossa at Lubec. He was met on the banks of the Trave by a great body of the German nobility, who conducted him with all imaginable pomp to the imperial quarters. Here he was treated by Barbarossa with every possible mark of respect: his person and address were the admiration of the Germans, who could not avoid making public comparisons between the monarchs, no way to the advantage of Barbarossa, whose appearance and aspect were mean. After visits had passed, business at length was brought on the carpet, when Barbarossa's demands in point of fortune appeared so extravagant, that Valdemar and the Danes began to question his sincerity. The king positively refused the portion he asked for his eldest son; but at length consented to what was demanded for the duke of Suabia; upon which the treaty was concluded, sworn to, and guarantied by Bela III. king of Hungary.

Conference between the emperor and Valdemar.

Matters being thus finished, the king went on board the fleet that waited for him, with intention to sail with the first fair wind; but next morning he was surprised by a visit from the emperor in person, escorted only by a few of the nobility. Immediately the two princes retired from company, and Barbarossa earnestly requested the king that he would permit him to bestow the dignity of dukes of Pomerania on Casimir and Bogislaus, in order the more easily to reduce Henry to his obedience. Valdemar did not deny this favour; and accordingly those two princes were installed

ſtalled in the uſual manner, the king aſſiſting at the ceremony. Before the king of Denmark's departure his eldeſt daughter was betrothed, with the emperor's approbation, to Sigefred, landgrave of Thuringia; and ſoon after the nuptials were celebrated at Sleſwick. On this occaſion it was that Barbaroſſa inveſted Valdemar with the title of duke of Holſtein, and annexed the country in perpetuity to the crown of Denmark. *Valdemar inveſted with the duchy of Holſtein.*

In the beginning of the following ſpring Valdemar receiving advice that the Vandals began to fortify ſome places which had been diſmantled at the laſt peace, ordered Abſalon and his ſon Canute to levy an army, and proceed againſt them; but the Jutlanders refuſed to inliſt themſelves under ſuch generals, deſpiſing the prince on account of his youth, and hating the miniſter for no other reaſon than that the king loved him, and that his influence was great; though he ſtudied popularity, and was conſtantly the mediator between the king and the people. Valdemar was incenſed at their refuſal; and determined, notwithſtanding his ill ſtate of health, to command the expedition in perſon. The ingratitude of his ſubjects increaſed his diſtemper, and in a few days confined him to his bed; yet would he not relinquiſh his deſign. At length, by the tears and intreaties of his nobility, he was prevailed on to commit the war to his generals, and his own perſon to the care of his phyſicians at Wortenburg. *Valdemar falls ſick.*

While the fleet was detained in port by contrary winds, the Jutlanders began to mutiny, to complain of the ſcarcity of proviſions, and inſiſted upon a releaſe from the ſervice. Homer, biſhop of Ripen, a man greatly eſteemed for his character and eloquence, harangued them for a long time to little purpoſe; and at length ordered one of the ring-leaders to be ſeized and bound. Inſtead of quieting, this act increaſed the tumult to ſuch a degree, that the officers were conſtrained to diſmiſs the ſoldiers, and permit them to return home. Valdemar obſerved them from his window diſperſed over the fields, gueſſed the cauſe, and was ſo afflicted, that his diſtemper increaſed, and his life was deſpaired of. The art of all his phyſicians was foiled; upon which the nobility prevailed on him to call in the aſſiſtance of a certain abbot, an empiric, whoſe impudence and boaſting had raiſed him to a high degree of credit: his fatal noſtrum was adminiſtered, and the king breathed his laſt, while he was left alone to take that repoſe which the quack inſiſted would reſtore his health.

Thus died Valdemar, a prince reſpected more than any of his predeceſſors for the qualities of his mind and perſon, at *His death and character.*

at the age of forty-eight, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, from the death of his aſſociate. His piety, juſtice, prudence, and clemency, rendered him no leſs the idol, than his bravery, conduct, and ſucceſs excited the admiration of his people and of neighbouring ſtates. His diſpoſition was equally ſuited for war and peace; but the latter he choſe to cultivate, and never entered upon the former but to ſupport the honour and dignity of his crown. His conqueſts were leſs brilliant, but more uſeful and neceſſary than thoſe of former kings. He ſubdued Rugen, annexed it to his crown, and confirmed the iſlanders in the true principles of religion, the Chriſtian faith. He overcame Wratiſlaus, duke of Stetin, and made him a vaſſal of Denmark. Henry, duke of Saxony, a powerful, fierce, and fickle prince, he thrice obliged to ſue for peace in the moſt abject manner. Twice he defeated Erling and the Norwegians, and often overthrew the Vandals; but his behaviour to the conquered added more to his fame than all the great talents by which he became a conqueror. In a word, he is extolled by all contemporary and ſubſequent writers as the greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the beſt monarch, who had hitherto filled the Daniſh throne [z].

[z] Saxo-Gram. lib. xv. Meurſ. lib. v. p 1118.

END OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH VOLUME.

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